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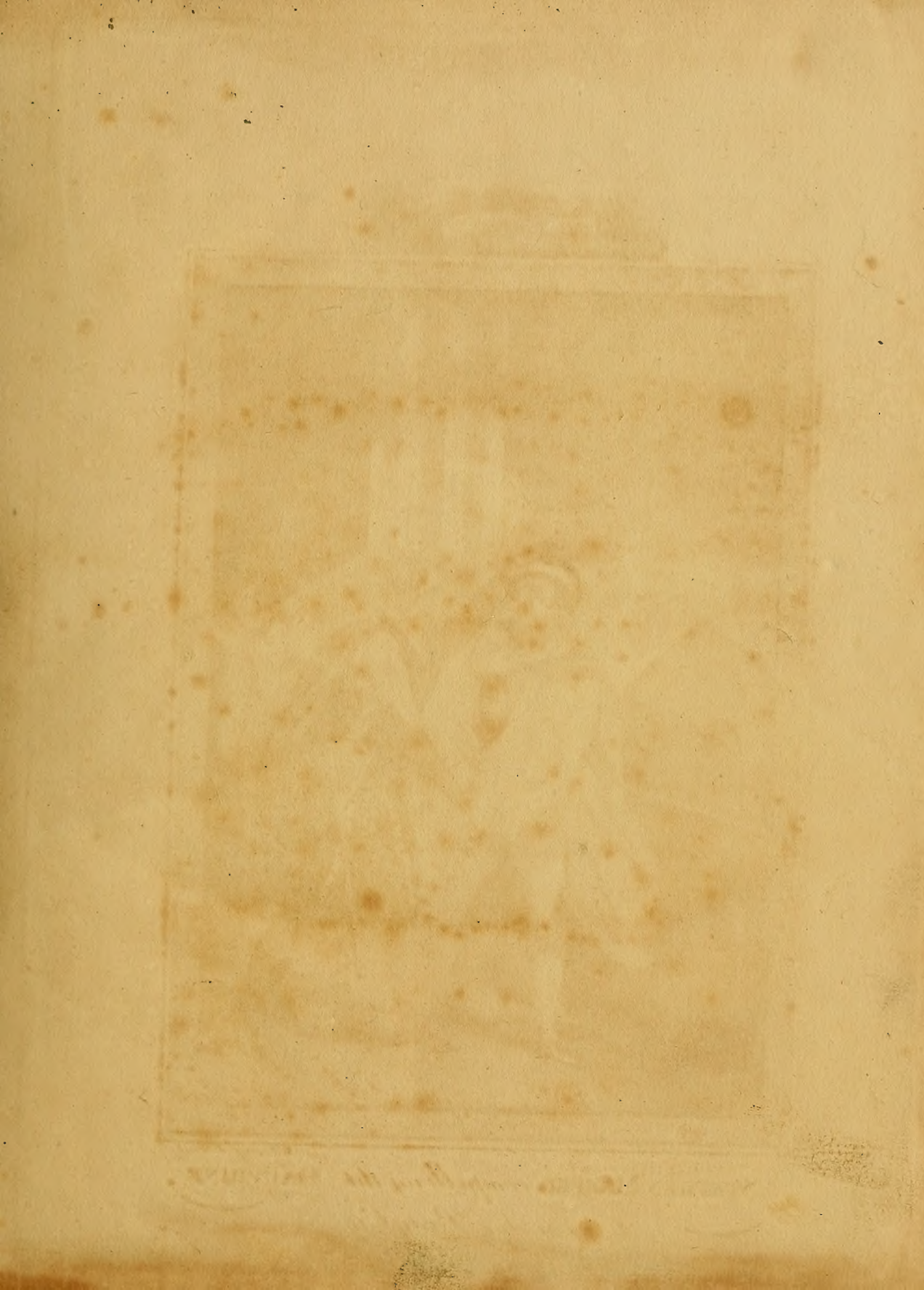


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AD. 1358.



Rollin's scul. N York.

STEPHEN MARCEL *compelling the* DAUPHINE
to wear the Party Cap.

THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TILL THE DEATH OF

Lewis the Sixteenth.

FROM THE FRENCH
OF VELLÉ, VILLARET, GARNIER, MEZERAY, DANIEL,
AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS;

WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY;

By John Gifford, Esq.

AND, CONTINUED

FROM THE ABOVE PERIOD,
UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY.

BY
A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

VOL. III.

PHILADELPHIA:

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1797.

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HISTORY OF THE

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHARLES THE EIGHTH.

A. D. 1483.] CHARLES, either from the delicacy of his constitution, or from motives of jealousy, had been deprived of all the advantage of education; the orders of his father, to prevent his application to study, had been so rigorously enforced, that, on his accession to the throne, he could neither read nor write.—Ashamed of his ignorance, the youthful monarch no sooner became his own master, than he pursued his studies with indefatigable zeal; he even acquired a taste for books, and engaged Robert Gaguin, general of the Mathurins, to translate, for his use, the commentaries of Cesar, and the life of Charlemagne. It was easy to perceive, from the admiration which he betrayed on perusing the account of the martial achievements of those heroes, that a thirst for military glory formed one of the leading features of his mind. But his utmost efforts proved inadequate to supply, in a full degree, the want of an early education; he always retained an invincible repugnance to business; displayed a want of penetration in his choice of ministers, and abandoned himself, without reserve, to favourites who, too often, abused his confidence: but, with these failings, Charles was frank, generous, and magnanimous; and “*So good*”—says Phillip de Commynes—“*that a better creature never existed!*”

Although, by the laws of the realm, Charles was of age to assume the reins of government since he had entered his fourteenth year, yet it was not deemed prudent to entrust them to such feeble hands. Lewis, therefore, had, by his will, ordained, that the administration should be vested in his eldest daughter, Anne of France, wife to Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the king had been influ-

enced in his choice, by the consideration that the princes of the blood would not think themselves degraded in being subjected to a princess who, by her birth, was placed above them: that Anne, moreover, could have no interest in defrauding the lawful heir of his right, since her sex precluded her from wearing the crown herself, and her husband could have no possible claim to it; and, lastly, that if, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken, civil commotions should arise, nobody was better calculated for quelling them than herself. In fact, all the historians of that age concur in describing her as possessed of profound genius, a strong mind, and all the graces peculiar to her own sex, combined with all the virtues that characterise the greatest of the other.

These considerations, however, were insufficient to deter those who had, as they supposed, stronger claims to the regency, from standing forward to assert them; and to protest against the partial and improper conduct of the late king. The chief of these competitors was the queen-dowager, whose claims were founded on the rights of nature, and on customs fundamentally established and universally observed since the commencement of the monarchy. Lewis, although he had married against his father's commands, had never a sincere attachment for his wife, whom he treated with the utmost brutality, generally confining her in some distant fortress, and holding no commerce with her but such as was merely sufficient for the purpose of procuring heirs. But neither the unworthy treatment which that princess experienced from her tyrannical husband, who withheld from her those caresses which he lavishly bestowed on the meanest of his subjects, nor the order which Lewis is said to have given on his death-bed, to prevent her from approaching her son, and to banish her into Dauphiné, could deprive her of her rank, or debar her of her rights. And there is every reason to believe that the reins of government would have been placed in her hands, had she been earnest in the assertion of her claims; but the retired life to which she had been so long accustomed, had rendered her averse from the bustle of the world; and her death, which occurred within three months after the decease of Lewis, delivered Madame—for by that appellation was the eldest daughter of the king now distinguished—from a dangerous rival, and encouraged the pretensions of other competitors.

The first of these was Lewis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who had been compelled, by the late king, to marry his daughter Jane, a princess whose person was extremely disgusting, and so deformed, that she was supposed to be incapable of bearing children. The illustrious birth of his consort afforded but a poor compensation for her natural defects, in the opinion of a young prince who is represented as a model of beauty, and as being extremely addicted to pleasure, during the life of Lewis the Eleventh; but the death of that monarch and that of the queen, the youth and inexperience of his successor, and the general discontent of the nation, all combined to furnish him with a favourable opportunity for disclosing his real sentiments. It was requisite that he should first endeavour to set aside so much of the late king's will as related to the regency

of Madame; after which he would find no difficulty in procuring a divorce from his wife, in contracting a marriage that might secure him the possession of a sovereignty, and in enforcing his claims to the duchy of Milan. The execution of these various schemes, however, surpassed the strength of his mind; and, it is probable, he would have been induced to abandon them had he been left to himself; but he had a friend who was capable of giving him advice, and who persuaded him to persevere in the prosecution of his plans. This friend was the count of Dunois, son to the celebrated bastard of Orleans, whose talents for political negotiations are said to be unequalled. The duke was farther supported by the count of Angouleme, his cousin-german; his brother-in-law, the viscount of Narbonne; his cousin, the duke of Brittany; the duke of Alençon, and many others of the nobility, who were eager to pay their court to the presumptive heir to the throne. Independent of the oath which Lewis the Eleventh had exacted from the duke, binding him to an observance of his will, with regard to the regency, two other motives for excluding him from that dignity were now urged; first—That as he was presumptive heir to the throne, it would not be prudent to intrust him with the care of the king's person; and secondly, that as he was still a minor, having but just completed his twenty-third year, and not old enough to be entrusted with the disposal of his own property, it could not be expected that the management of the public revenue should be confined to him.

These objections to the duke of Orleans induced the duke of Bourbon, against whom no such objections could be urged, to stand forward as a claimant. Though of the blood royal, he was so far removed from the throne, that there was no danger of his aspiring to ascend it; his age, his experience, the services he had rendered the state under Charles the Seventh, the persecutions he had experienced from Lewis the Eleventh, all spoke in his favour. If, said he, the duke of Orleans be excluded on account of his youth, with what propriety can Madame be preferred, who is equally young, and of a sex unfit for command? If, on the contrary, Madame has only been chosen to favour her husband, and the lord of Beaujeu is to govern the state under the name of his wife, can I suffer—pursued the duke—my younger brother, whose claims are so inferior to my own, to obtain a preference over me, and to acquire a right to command me?

The two competitors repaired to court, each of them followed by a powerful party. Madame endeavoured, by the bestowal of honours and rewards, to make them desist from their pursuit; on the duke of Orleans she conferred the government of Paris, the Isle of France, Champagne and Brie, with a seat in the council; the count of Dunois was appointed governor of Dauphiné; and the dignity of constable and lieutenant general of the kingdom, which he had been long anxious to obtain, was conferred on the duke of Bourbon.

But the princes were unwilling to barter their claims for such precarious emoluments; they, therefore, filled the council with their creatures, and thwarted all

the measures of the new government. Perceiving, however, that the prudence of Madame rose superior to all their manœuvres, they united in a request that the states-general might be convened, and the arrangement of the administration be left totally to them*.

This proposal threw Madame, and all those who were really attached to the king, into the utmost consternation, as they imagined it was only advanced with the view to set the nation in a ferment, in order that the princes might profit by the general confusion. They had received intelligence, that the duke of Orleans had entered into an association with the duke of Brittany and the arch-duke Maximilian, the two greatest enemies to the sovereign power; and that he had sent to Italy to solicit the young duke of Lorraine to return to France, and claim the succession of his grandfather, René of Anjou. Their terror too was increased, on considering what had recently passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. They had not forgotten, that, on the death of Charles the Bold, the states of Flanders had possessed themselves of the supreme power, had kept their lawful sovereign in a state of captivity, and had massacred her two principal ministers in her presence; that, on a more recent occasion, the duke of Gloucester had procured a declaration from the parliament of England, tending to bastardise his nephews, whom he afterwards murdered, and to place the diadem on his own brows. Tho' the duke of Orleans was not capable of such a flagrant act of villainy, yet was it impossible to say to what lengths his impetuous passions, inflamed by the artful suggestions of his perfidious advisers, might carry him. It was afterward discovered that Peter Landois, prime minister to the duke of Brittany, had fabricated papers, and composed a memorial, in which he had attacked the legitimacy of Charles the Eighth. He affirmed that Lewis the Eleventh despairing to have a son, and wishing to detach from his brother's party the chief nobility of the kingdom, who did not hesitate to expose their lives and fortunes in his defence, because they considered him as presumptive heir to the throne, had compelled the queen to adopt this child. Landois did not deny that Charles might be the king's son; but he maintained, that the queen not being his mother, he could have no right to the crown.

Whatever danger might attend a convention of the states under such circumstances, a formal refusal to convene them would have been still more dangerous. The people, who must soon have been made acquainted with it, would have immediately been led to conclude, that government had no intention of redressing their grievances, and would, perhaps, have proceeded to extremities. If the princes, in that case, had joined the people, Madame must have been lost without resource, and the young monarch might, possibly have been involved in her ruin. Though pressed on all sides, she continued, for some time, to elude the proposal; but finding that the princes were determined, of two evils she chose the least. The states were accordingly summoned to meet on the first of January, 1484.

* Communes.

at Orleans; but, the consideration that that city was the capital of the appanage of the duke Orleans, and that the loyalty of its inhabitants might therefore be justly suspected, induced Madame to change the place of meeting to Tours. Tranquillity was now re-established at court; the princes directed their attention to the election of deputies at the provincial assemblies; while Madame, who, during this interval, remained in possession of the sovereign authority, endeavoured to secure the suffrages of the people by more honourable means than that of corrupting their representatives.

She began by confirming the judges and other magistrates in the possession of their respective posts*; and then directed her attention to the means of affording relief to the people. But before she diminished the receipts, she wisely took care to lessen the expences. The six thousand Swiss that had been taken into pay, by Lewis the Eleventh, she prudently dismissed, and, after paying all that was due to them, sent them back, in an honourable manner, to their own country; she likewise disbanded several companies of the national troops. By the adoption of these good and salutary measures, Madame was enabled to relieve the people, by remitting the last quarter of the taxes of the present year, at the same time that she promised them a more considerable diminution which was to take place as soon as proper regulations could be made with regard to the demesnes of the crown. To forward this plan, all the numerous grants made by the late king were revoked, and orders were dispatched to the treasurers of the different provinces to reunite them to the royal domains.

Madame, apprehensive that the people might be led to believe that she would instil into the mind of her brother the same principles of government which she had seen practised in the preceding reign, was careful to obviate suspicions of that nature, by the adoption of a very different line of conduct. Lewis having, on mere suspicions, sentenced a great number of persons to imprisonment or exile, his daughter ordered the prison doors to be thrown open, recalled those who had been banished, and loaded with favours such as her father had persecuted with the greatest inveteracy. The Prince of Orange, who had been hanged in effigy for having promoted a revolution in Burgundy, was now restored to the possession of his estates in Franche-Comté: D'Urfé and Poncet de la Riviere, whom Lewis had always regarded as his personal enemies, were promoted to places of trust and importance: Philip of Savoy, count of Bresse, was recalled from Germany, where he had been compelled to seek an asylum, and admitted to a seat in the council; and, lastly, having received information of the offers which had been made by the princes to the duke of Lorraine, she dispatched a courier to that prince, who was then in Italy, where he commanded the Venetian forces, to exhort him to repair to court, promising to restore him the inheritance of his grandfather, René of Anjou.

* Godefroi.

At the same time that Madame endeavoured to conciliate the affections of those whom her father had persecuted, she delivered into the hands of justice his two greatest favourites, Oliver le Daim and John Doyac, to whom he had been most liberal in his donations, and whom, on his death-bed, he had particularly recommended to his son. Among a variety of crimes of which Oliver le Daim was accused, the following seems most to have fixed the attention of the judges. A gentleman having been arrested by the king's orders, and being threatened with death, his wife applied to the favourite to intercede in his behalf. Her youth, her charms, and her tears, made a strong impression on Oliver; but incapable of harbouring any generous sentiment, he demanded the enjoyment of her person as the reward of the service she required. This infamous proposal was, at first, rejected by the lady, with the disdain it was calculated to incur; but having obtained permission to visit her husband in prison, she was overcome by his tears and intreaties, and, at length, consented to purchase his life with the sacrifice of her own honour. Oliver, however, being afraid that as soon as she had obtained the favour she asked, she would absent herself, for ever, from his sight, procured an order from the king to put the prisoner to death; and he commissioned Daniel, one of his satellites, to put the unfortunate gentleman in a sack, and throw him into the river. The crime was discovered by some fishermen, who drew up the body in their nets, and the lady had now the mortification to perceive, that the very means which she had employed for saving the life of her husband had proved the cause of his death. So long as Lewis lived she kept her grief to herself, conscious that the publication of her shame would be productive of no possible advantage; but after the death of that tyrant, she boldly stood forward, and demanded justice on the assassin of her husband; and Le Daim, having confessed the crime, was hanged, together with his accomplice Daniel.

Doyac, who had been a common informer, and who had been employed by Lewis to calumniate the duke of Bourbon, escaped the gallows, but to undergo a punishment equally ignominious, and more painful: he was sentenced to be whipped in different parts of the metropolis, to have one ear cut off, and his tongue pierced with a hot iron. He was then conveyed to Montferrand in Auvergne, the place of his birth, and the seat of his pretended triumph over the duke of Bourbon, where he was again whipped, lost his other ear, and was afterwards banished the kingdom.

Cottier, the king's physician, was involved in the same disgrace with the other favourites of Lewis; but his insupportable pride and his extreme avarice formed the only grounds of accusation against him: he was despoiled of all the estates which he had extorted from his master, and was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty thousand crowns*.

A. D. 1484.] On the fourteenth of January, the king, accompanied by the whole court, made his solemn entry into Tours, and, on the following day, the

* Garnier.

states general being assembled, the session was opened by the following speech from William de Rochefort, chancellor of France :

“ My lords, ever since the accession of his present majesty to the throne, he has been extremely anxious to meet the representatives of the people ; and the motives of this anxiety I will now explain to you.

“ He wished for an opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the joy which you evinced on his accession ; in that, indeed, you only followed the example of your generous ancestors, who were ever distinguished for their zealous attachment to their sovereigns. It is the peculiar characteristic of a Frenchman, to love his king, to be ever ready to sacrifice his life and fortune in his defence, and never to despair of his country's safety, so long as he can preserve his lawful sovereign ; while other nations are eternally floating between obedience and revolt, and desert their monarchs on the most trivial subject of discontent, or the most distant prospect of danger. Read their histories ; you will scarcely find two or three successive monarchs who have left their heirs in quiet possession of the throne ; and without going farther for proofs of what I advance, examine what has lately passed in England. Edward, at his death, left two fair sons, the hopes of the nation ; but instead of being suffered to ascend the throne of their ancestors, they have been basely massacred, and their assassin has been rewarded with the crown. You, Frenchmen, have no such act of atrociousness to blush for : open your annals, you will there find that infant sovereigns have been more honoured and better served than the most absolute monarch ; and you will admire a people whose attachment to their kings has been most conspicuous at those periods in which their kings have stood in greatest need of their assistance. It is to this unshaken fidelity you are indebted for the glorious advantage of being the first people in the world ; for what other nation can presume to compare themselves with you ? In the earliest ages, the Gauls, your ancestors, spread the terror of their arms over every part of the continent ; they founded colonies in Italy, on the banks of the Danube, and even in Asia. Though the dissensions which prevailed between them proved the means of subjecting them to the Romans, they inflicted a dreadful vengeance for the defeat they sustained ; it was the sword of the Gauls that enabled Julius Cæsar to enslave his country. In the sequel, the Franks, incorporated with the Gauls, delivered the church of Rome from the yoke of the barbarians, laid the first foundation of her power and greatness, and re-established the western empire, which had long been overturned. Fired with a holy zeal, they flew to the defence of their brethren oppressed by the infidels, fixed their standards on the walls of Jerusalem, and reduced Palestine, Syria, Sicily and Greece. How glorious it is to command a people at once so generous and so brave ! It is to your affection, to your virtues, that the king feels himself indebted for the splendour of his rank ; and a desire to express his gratitude on this account was one of his chief motives for assembling you.

“ A second motive not less powerful was his desire of seeing you, of offering himself to your sight, and of encreasing, thereby, the mutual affection by which you are united ; contemplate, then that august prince, on whom the country now relies for its safety. Let not his youth alarm you : Solomon, the wisest of kings, was young when he mounted the throne ; Scipio, who obtained the consular dignity before he had reached the age required by the laws, repaired the losses of the Roman republic, and made her triumph over her most formidable enemy. Saint Lewis, whose reign forms so glorious an epoch in our history, was not older than your king when he ascended the throne. In privileged minds prudence is not incompatible with wisdom : your sovereign, young as he appears, knows how to act with propriety, and in whom to place his confidence ; of this you may judge by the third motive which induced him to assemble you.

“ He was anxious to explain to you the conduct he has observed since his accession, to communicate his future designs, and to associate you with him, in a certain degree, in the government. Immediately after his father's death, he sent for the princes of the blood, who instantly obeyed his summons, and, by their advice, he confirmed all the officers in the kingdom in the possession of their respective posts, that the public safety might not be endangered, and that the administration of justice might suffer no interruption ; he also entrusted the management of the revenue to persons of acknowledged probity. Being informed that the domains of the crown had, by inconsiderate alienations, been greatly diminished, he granted letters-patent for revoking all such gifts ; for it is not his intention to drain the purses of his subjects, nor to overload them with imposts. He means to begin by appropriating the revenues of the domain to defray the expences of his household, and other state charges ; and only to demand of his faithful subjects such contributions as are indispensably requisite for the defence of the kingdom. His first and most ardent wish is to see his people contented and happy : and the promotion of their welfare and felicity was the sole object he had in view in the reforms which he has already made.— As the nation incurred a great expence by keeping six thousand mercenaries in constant pay, he has sent them back to their own country ; he has also dismissed several companies of the national troops, whose assistance cannot be wanted so long as the kingdom shall be at peace ; and in order to secure the continuation of tranquillity, he has sent ambassadors to all the neighbouring powers, either to renew the old treaties, or to contract new ones. These occupations have not prevented him from directing his attention to two other objects of importance—the legislation, and the reform of the clergy. With regard to the first, he has caused all the ordonnances of Charles the Seventh to be collected, in order to put them in force ; and as to the second point, he conceived, that without subjecting himself to censure for violating the decisions of the church, which he holds in the greatest respect, he might, as head of the state, take cognizance of whatever related to discipline and manners.

“ This is what the king has already performed ; you are now to hear what he expects from you ; and this formed the fourth motive for assembling you. He requires that you should point out to him whatever abuses may have escaped his knowledge, and that you should not conceal from him any of the evils with which the people are afflicted : do not fear that your complaints will be importunate, the king will pay due attention to all your remonstrances. And you, princes, who hear me, I entreat and conjure you, in the name of our country, our common mother, to lay aside all spirit of party, and to suffer the deputies to enjoy a full and perfect freedom of debate.

“ The fifth motive for the convention of this assembly, was the necessity of forming a council for the king, who might second his plans for the preservation of peace, for the re-establishment of the police, for the administration of justice, and for the encouragement of trade : this council ought to be composed of men, whose experience of the past may enable them to provide for the future ; whose dispositions and characters are calculated to secure to the king the affection of his subjects, and the esteem and confidence of his neighbours ; of men who have a thorough knowledge of the constitution of the kingdom, and who are capable of setting in motion all the springs of the body-politic, without embarrassment or confusion. If the king’s wishes are gratified, justice will sit on the throne, and dictate laws to his people. Whoever shall commit any offence against justice, will offend the king ; and whoever may wish to prove his affection for the king, must begin by paying a strict attention to justice. In order to remove all doubts as to his true sentiments, the king has commanded me to warn every person not to presume to ask him for any thing unjust ; for whoever shall make such an attempt, will meet with the punishment due to his temerity. Justice, prudence, resolution, and temperance, will support the throne, and regulate all the actions of the monarch. Then may the people—rescued from shipwreck, and daily repairing their losses—exclaim, with transports of joy, *O thrice happy day ! that has restored to us peace and plenty, and has given us a prince whose conduct is influenced by wisdom, and who merits the appellation of—* Father of his Country !

“ In vain should we aspire to the possession of these advantages, unless concord and union were previously established among the different members of the state ; and this desirable object it is chiefly your business to accomplish. Recollect what Cæsar said of our ancestors :—*All the troops in the world would prove insufficient to subdue the Gauls, were they united among themselves.* What caused the destruction of the Roman republic ?—the rivalry of two of her citizens. It would be needless to remind you of the calamities produced in France, under the reign of Charles the sixth, by the hatred of two powerful families.

“ I conclude, by consigning to your care the interests of the king, the church, and the people. You will observe the following order in your deliberations—you will first discuss all matters which relate to the general welfare of the state ; you will next examine such as concern only a single province or town ; and,

“lastly, you will attend to the affairs of individuals. Take care not to confound these objects. The king will grant you an audience whenever you shall apply for one; and he will refuse justice to no man, not to the meanest of his subjects*.”

The assembly immediately adjourned till the next day, when they proceeded to the election of a president, and two secretaries; after which, they agreed to divide themselves into six parts, or *nations*, in order to avoid that confusion which a contrariety of interests might occasion in the course of the debates between the deputies of the different provinces.—The first nation comprised the isle of France, Picardy, Champagne and Brie; the Nivernois, the Maçonnois, Auxerrois, and the Orleanois.

The second consisted of the two Bugundies, and Charolois.

The third, of Normandy, Alençon, and Perche.

The fourth, of Aquitaine, Armagnac, the county of Foix, l’Agenois, the Perigord, Querci, and Rouergue.

The fifth, of Languedoc, Dauphiné, Provence, and Rouffillon.

And the sixth, called the *Langue d’Oyl*, included Berri, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, the Limoufin, Auvergne, the Bourbonnois, Forés, Beaujolois, Angoumois, and Saintonge.

Each division had a private apartment for the discussion of such matters as they meant to lay before the king; after which it was agreed that the six divisions should meet to report the result of their respective labours, when the most important objects should be selected, and formed into one *cabier*, or string of resolutions, which were to contain the demands of the whole nation.

It would be superfluous to detail *all* the proceedings of this assembly, to notice the intrigues of the princes to corrupt the deputies, the petitions of individuals for redress of injuries sustained during the preceding reign, or the various disputes which occurred between the members themselves. We shall only, therefore, select such parts as relate to the general history of the kingdom, or as tend to explain the maxims of government, and to illustrate the notions of liberty, which were then entertained by the French.

The debates on the formation of a regency, and the establishment of a council, were long and animated. The nation of Normandy proposed to leave the king’s person to the care of those who had hitherto discharged that important trust with wisdom and with zeal; to vest the government of the kingdom in the hands of the council; to admit all the princes of the blood to a seat in the council, according to their rank, and to give them the power of choosing eight or twelve of the old councillors, and to dismiss the rest; that, to that number should be added twelve, fifteen, or even four-and-twenty new councillors, to be selected from the states-general, by the states themselves, which new members should enjoy the same rank and prerogatives as the old ones. This proposal, which tended to throw the whole

*. *Mansf. de Maffelin, tirée de la Bibliothèque du Roi. — Garnier, tom. xix. p. 167.*

power of the government into the hands of the people, acquired numerous partisans. Many members exclaimed—That its propriety could not be questioned; that the supreme power was, during the king's minority, vested in the nation, who had an undoubted right to impose its commands on individuals; and that, consequently, the princes of the blood should be compelled to submit to this regulation. On the other hand it was maintained, with equal warmth, That, in an hereditary monarchy, such as France, the nation had no right to the sovereign authority, so long as there remained any lawful heirs: that, after the king's death, that authority passed into the hands of his son if he were in a condition to exercise it; and, in case of a minority, into the hands of the princes of the blood, who were his natural guardians; that they also had a right to form a council, and to regulate all the different departments of government; and that they were under no necessity of asking the people's advice, except with regard to the *distribution and collection of imposts*; that, if the princes, on the present occasion, had deigned to consult the nation, and chuse her as the arbiter of their respective claims, it was a pure condescension on their part, which demanded a grateful return, and should not, on any account be abused; that, by exciting their discontent on an article in which the happiness of the people was in no wise concerned, they might perhaps be led to dissolve the assembly, and that then every advantage, which the people expected to derive from the convention of the states, would be irretrievably lost; that prudence required the states should confine themselves to such objects as came immediately within their province, and leave to the princes the care of settling their own disputes, as they might think proper.

The speech of Philip Pot, lord of Roche, representative of the nobles of Burgundy, is peculiarly worthy of notice. “If I were not well acquainted”—said he—“with the sentiments of the most enlightened part of the assembly, on the liberty and authority of the states, I should not now attempt to oppose the vain clamours of the multitude; but after the proofs which you have already given of your discernment and knowledge, I need not fear to advance what reading and reflection have taught me on this fundamental point of our public law. If I succeed in making myself understood, I dare flatter myself that those who now blame us for the care we take in the formation of a council, will change their opinion and their language. Before I enter into an explanation of the reasons on which I found the authority of the states, let me be allowed to put a question or two to our adversaries:—Do they imagine that, on the death of a king, who leaves a son in his minority, the guardianship of the infant-monarch, and the general administration of the kingdom, belong of right to the first prince of the blood? No, doubtless—they will answer—for then the life of the monarch will be exposed to evident danger; the law, too, has provided for this case, by conferring the administration on the first prince of the blood, and the guardianship on the next in succession. Take care, I reply, that you do not, by this arrangement, equally expose the life of your sovereign; for the two princes, between whom you seem to divide the authority, may unite and have the same interests. But of

what law are you speaking? Where does it exist? By whom was it made? In what book have you read it? I defy you to answer any one of these questions.—If such a law did really exist, do you suppose the duke of Orleans would have consented to submit to arbitration a question already decided, and to suffer the discussion of claims already settled? In vain do you cite the case of Charles the Wise; that case makes against you; for Charles did not succeed to the regency till two years after the throne had been vacated, and till that dignity had been conferred on him by the states.—

“ I now address myself to those who pretend, that, during a minority, the guardianship and administration devolve on all the princes of the blood indiscriminately; and let me ask them, if they mean to comprise in the number, such as are descended from our sovereigns, on the mother’s side, for, in that case, they will have a long list of guardians and administrators, among whom it will be difficult to establish union and concord. But I will suppose that they confine themselves merely to the male line: if those princes have any dispute among themselves about the government, who is to decide between them? Is it not plain, that they will immediately have recourse to arms, and involve the nation in all the horrors of civil war? Is it not evident, also, that, in this case, the supreme authority will often become the reward of a madman, and a disturber of the public repose, who, in a well-regulated government, would incur the severest punishment? What then—will it be asked—must the kingdom during a minority, remain in a state of anarchy? No, certainly, for the authority then devolves on the states-general, who will not, themselves, take charge of the government, but who will entrust it to such persons as they shall deem most capable of discharging its duties with zeal and ability. Now, hear what books, and conversation with men of wisdom and experience, have taught me on this important matter.—

“ When men first began to form societies, they chose for their masters such of their equals as they believed to be possessed of the greatest knowledge and integrity; in short, such as by their personal qualities were best calculated to procure the greatest advantage to the infant society.—Those who, after their election to this important office, only thought of enriching themselves at the expence of their subjects, were not considered as true pastors, but as ravenous wolves; and those, who, without waiting for an election, seized upon the sovereign authority, were not regarded as kings but as tyrants. It is of the utmost consequence to the people, to know the disposition of the man who is destined to govern them, for on that alone depends the happiness or misery of the whole community. Now to apply these general principles:—If any dispute arise with regard to the succession to the throne, or to the regency, who is to decide it, unless that same people who first elected their kings, who conferred on them all the authority they enjoy, and in whom the sovereign power ultimately resides? For a state or any government whatever is the *res publica*, and the *res publica* is the *res populi*; by the people I would be understood to mean the collective body or totality of the citizens, and in this totality the

princes of the blood themselves are necessarily included, as chiefs of the order of nobility: can you, then, who, are the representatives of the people, and obliged by oath to defend their rights, still entertain a doubt that it is your province to settle the administration and the form of the council? Who is to prevent you? Has not the chancellor declared, that the king and the princes expect you will do this? I am told, that immediately after the death of the late king, the government was settled, and a council chosen, and that thus our cares on this head became superfluous. To this I reply, that as the state could not remain without governors, it was necessary to appoint, without delay, some persons who might watch over the public interest; but that such appointments, as well as all other regulations which have been adopted since the king's death, are merely provisional, and cannot subsist without your confirmation. These assemblies of the states, and the power which I ascribe to them, are no novelties, as all who have read history must know. When, on the death of Philip the Fair, a dispute arose between Philip of Valois and Edward, king of England, with regard to the succession, the two competitors submitted their claims, as they were bound to do, to the decision of the states, who pronounced in favour of Philip. If, then, on that occasion, the states could lawfully dispose of the crown itself, how can their right to appoint a regency be called in question? During the reign of king John, when that courageous, but imprudent prince, was taken prisoner, and conveyed to London; the states did not intrust the administration to his son, although he had then completed his twentieth year; it was not till two years after, that the same states, assembled a second time, invested him with the dignity and authority of regent; and finally, when Charles the Sixth acceded to the throne, at the age of twelve only, the states general again appointed a regency, and settled the government. This is a fact that cannot be disputed. After such positive authorities, will you still doubt the validity of your rights? And since, by the form of your oath, you are bound to do and advise what, according to God and your consciences, you shall deem most useful to the state, can you neglect the fundamental point of all your proceedings? For if the promises which you mean to exact from the princes should be broken, to whom are you to apply for redress? Omit the article of the council, and all your subsequent labours will be superfluous:—In short I have proved to you that you have an undoubted right to settle the administration, and to regulate the form of government; I have quoted a great number of examples to demonstrate this truth; the king commands you to exercise your right, the princes consent to it, and your country exhorts you by the mouth of her first magistrate. If reasons thus strong can make no impression on your minds, any calamities which the state may experience hereafter must be ascribed solely to your baseness. And you, who still cherish the name and preserve the resolution of Frenchmen, do not give the nation cause for accusing you of having betrayed her confidence, nor let posterity have reason to reproach you with no-

having transmitted the precious charge of *public liberty* in the same state in which you received it from your ancestors."

This speech was differently received by different parties; by some the orator was warmly commended for his patriotic zeal; while by others he was loudly censured for his audacity and factious disposition: and many long debates and much altercation occurred before the question of the council could be finally decided. At length, on the twelfth of February, the assembly came to the following resolutions:

"The king having entered into his fourteenth year, and displayed a degree of wisdom, prudence and discretion superior to his age, shall himself publish all lettres-patent, regulations and ordonnances, after they have been discussed by the council.—The states beseech the king to preside at the council, in person, as often as he can, in order to acquire an early knowledge of business, and to verse himself in the arts of government.

"In the king's absence, the duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, shall preside at the council, where every measure shall be decided by a plurality of suffrages.

"After the duke of Orleans, and in his absence, the duke of Bourbon, constable of France, shall preside.

had "The lord of Beaujeu, who had already rendered such important services to the state, shall have the third place, and shall preside in the absence of the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon."

It was farther resolved, that twelve new counsellors should be chosen by the king and the princes, from among the members of the states, two from each of the six nations. The fear of offending the duke of Orleans prevented the states from making any mention of Madame in these resolutions; but she had no reason to complain, for the resolutions were so contrived as to leave her in possession of all her authority. If she should find her measures thwarted in the council, by the presence of the duke of Orleans, she could easily remedy that inconvenience by sending the king—of whose person she had the sole disposal—to preside. The constable, from his age and infirmities, would seldom be present, so that the lord of Beaujeu would mostly be president of the council. The king went to the assembly, where the resolutions were read to him; the deputies then bent one knee to the ground, and in that posture waited his determination. After conferring for some minutes with his chancellor, he confirmed them all without any restriction.

The next object of importance which engaged the attention of the assembly was the state of the revenue; and the deputies seemed unanimous in their opinion that a general abolition of imposts ought to take place. This, they conceived, the king might be enabled to allow; first, by reuniting to the crown all kind of possessions, which, at any time, had been alienated from it, on whatever pretext: on this subject they maintained, that the domain, being the true patrimony of the crown,

ought to be appropriated solely to the purpose of defraying the expences of the state, and that a king could not, without manifest injustice, alienate any part of it: secondly, by suppressing all useless offices, and by reducing the wages of such placemen as it should be found necessary to retain: thirdly, by retrenching, or, at least, diminishing pensions; and fourthly, by reducing the number of national troops. Having discussed this matter, they came to the following resolution:

“That all taxes, and other arbitrary exactions, ought to be abolished; and that, in future, agreeably to the national *franchise* of France, no tax or impost whatever should be levied, within the kingdom, without the free consent of the states-general.”

But this resolution, as well as the article which related to the reduction of the national troops, experienced a violent opposition from the king and the princes of the blood; nor, indeed, could the assembly themselves agree as to the most essential points, from the difficulty which they found in reducing their theory to practice. In order to obtain a just criterion of judgment, they had applied to the king for a full and regular account of the different branches of the revenue; and of the different articles of expenditure, that, by a comparison of the receipts with the expences, they might be able to decide how far their projects of economy were feasible and adviseable. This statement had accordingly been delivered to them by the officers of the revenue; but, on perusing it, it appeared to be drawn up for the mere purpose of deceiving the deputies. The revenue of Normandy was stated to amount to no more than twenty-two thousand livres, and the whole revenue of the crown was only estimated at seven hundred and fifty-five thousand, in short, the receipts were every where diminished, and the expences magnified. The account was divided into six parts: 1. The expences of the king's wardrobe, of his table, and that of his guests. 2. The wages of the officers of his household; of the hundred gentleman of his guard; of the two hundred archers *à la grande paye*, and of the two hundred *à la petite*; private pleasures and embassies. 3. The pay of the troops, to the number of two thousand five hundred lances, and of seven or eight thousand infantry; the artillery, the fortifications, and the expences of the royal camp, or Camp of Peace, established by Lewis the Eleventh. 4. The salaries of the judges of the parliaments of Paris, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Burgundy and Grenoble; the chamber of accounts, the chancery, the grand council, and the officers of the finance. And lastly, the list of pensions, in which only the names of the pensioners were mentioned, who amounted to nine hundred.

This false account deranged all the combinations of the assembly, who, after much altercation and debate, were, at length, induced to give up their original plan, which they found to be impracticable in its full extent, and to make another proposal to the king. They chose John de Masselin for their speaker, who, at a general assembly, at which the chancellor and all the princes of the blood were present, pronounced the following harangue:

“ We have examined the accounts which were delivered to us by the officers of the revenue, but, at first sight, we found them so full of such gross untruths, and such palpable falsehoods, that we could scarcely believe our eyes: we must observe, that we did not expect to be treated with such contempt; and since it had been resolved to deceive us, a more skilful mode of accomplishing the resolution ought, at least, to have been adopted. I shall not attempt to point out every falsehood; a whole day would be insufficient for the purpose; I shall, therefore, confine myself to one or two articles. The revenue of Normandy, for which province I am member, is, in that account, only estimated at two-and-twenty thousand livres, whereas there are people in this assembly who offer forty thousand for it, and will give good security for the performance of their engagement. The revenue of the two Burgundies, which are known to amount to eighty thousand livres, are only estimated at eighteen thousand; and the same falsehoods are observable with regard to all the other provinces. The deputies for the various provinces are all present, and ready to attest the truth of my assertions. But if they have been actuated by a spirit of diminution in their calculation of the receipts, they have, in revenge, wonderfully swelled out the expences. The first article, which includes the expences of the king's wardrobe and table, amounts to an incredible sum; God forbid we should let ourselves up for censors of our master, and pretend to throw any restraint on his inclinations!—no;—we shall only presume to request that he will regulate his household by the example of Charles the Seventh, of glorious memory. That monarch whose life had been a life of labour, and whose brows were shaded with laurels, kept, in his old age, a table much less expensive than that of a modern prince in his infancy; for although, magnificence—as we have been told—be the appanage of royalty, and every man ought to live according to his rank, yet, it must be acknowledged, that every thing has its bounds, and that the master of the world might ruin himself by superfluous pomp and unbridled luxury. The remarks we have made on the king's table and wardrobe, apply equally to his guard, which is three times more numerous than was that of Charles the Seventh. They apply also to the officers of his household, and of the finances, whose number is not only doubled, since that period, but their wages likewise. Nor can one office, however lucrative, satisfy the person who obtains it; the same person frequently enjoys four or five, each of which would be sufficient to constitute the happiness of a worthier man, who, despairing to procure a place, applies for a pension, and becomes a burden to the state. In short, the multiplication of officers of every kind, and the increase of their wages, are now carried to an intolerable excess; the deputies for Burgundy have furnished us with a striking example of the prevalence of this evil. In the time of duke Philip the Good, the revenue of the duchy and county of Burgundy was collected by one treasurer, who had a salary of six hundred livres; this treasurer had a clerk, whose wages were two hundred livres, and no other expence whatever was incurred by the collection of the revenue. Now there is a treasurer with a salary of two thousand

nine hundred livres; a receiver-general, with the same salary; a private receiver at twelve hundred livres; and a comptroller at six hundred; so that a considerable part of the revenue of the province is totally lost to the state.

“Now for the troops; in the list which has been presented to us, the expences have been made out for the support of two thousand five hundred lances, and six or seven thousand infantry, with the addition of a royal camp. On this subject the states have ordered me to make the following representations. If France had no mercenary troops, she never could be considered in the light of a kingdom destitute of the means of defence, since she possesses a brave and warlike nobility, obliged by their institution, and by the nature of their possessions, to fly to the defence of their country; she has several princes of the blood, men of wisdom and experience, who are the natural chiefs of the nobility; and lastly, she can boast of a numerous and martial people, who make it their pleasure, and think it their duty, to shed their blood for their king. For several centuries she required no other defenders; and so far from finding herself exposed to the insults of her neighbours, she gave the law to all the nations of Europe. These armies of mercenaries, whose utility is now so much dwelt upon, owe their first institution to suspicious tyrants, who thought they had no other means to defend themselves from public vengeance, and who often received their punishment from the very men to whom they had entrusted the defence of their persons. Let us, then, no longer be told—that they are the arms of the body politic, and that on them the safety of the state depends!—It depends on the love which the subjects bear their sovereign. A state is happy and tranquil, when all orders of men unite in their wishes for the preservation of their chief. How glorious it is for a king to live among his subjects, as a father in the midst of his children, and only to be indebted for the sincere homage which they are eager to render him, to his own virtues and their affection! But any attempt wholly to eradicate such an inveterate evil would be vain. Since it appears evident that they are resolved not to abolish the wretched custom of keeping and paying a voracious instrument of murder, we require, at least, that the example of Charles the Seventh, may, in this instance, be followed;—that is to say, that only twelve hundred lances may be kept in pay, and that the greatest attention be paid in making them observe the strictest discipline.

“As to the royal camp, established by Lewis the Eleventh, we consider it as a superfluous expence, which ought to be immediately abolished. Our opinion is the same with regard to several garrisons mentioned in the paper that has been delivered to us: we cannot, for instance, conceive the necessity of keeping a garrison of four hundred lances at Arras, since that town is defended by the garrisons of the neighbouring places; if, through excess of precaution, it were deemed necessary to station some troops there, we are thoroughly persuaded that fifty lances, and a company of infantry, would form a sufficient garrison. The same observation applies to Peronne, and several other places too numerous to mention. But

we were particularly astonished at finding a captain and a garrison set down for places situated in the center of the kingdom. Who could have expected to find a salary of twelve hundred livres, inscribed on the list for the captain of the Bastille, and as much for the captain of the tower of Bourges; as if those fortresses were exposed to any danger, or as if there were even reason to apprehend that the English could approach sufficiently near to them to descry, from some lofty mountain, the summit of the towers! I shall conclude this article by a fact, which tho' it be of little importance in itself, proves to what deprivations the public treasury is at this time exposed. Twelve hundred livres are set down as the expence of preparing this room, when every person present must know that it could not possibly exceed three. If, in an object thus trifling and exposed to public sight, they have not scrupled to be guilty of such a gross imposition, what must be the imposition on objects of greater magnitude, and with regard to which it is often impossible to procure any information? I know it has been said, in order to justify the persons who made out the accounts, that their only object was to amuse and mislead us; if that be their excuse, let me ask them, how they dare to insult the representatives of the nation? I shall take no notice of extraordinary expences, but proceed to the pensions. We have only received the names of the pensioners, without the amount of the respective pensions: but even were each pension moderate, the list is so long, that they are sufficient to drain the public treasury. We are of opinion that none have claims of this kind on the state, except such as have rendered signal service to their country; and that more than half of the names should be stricken off the list; we had even some thoughts of entreating the king to suppress all pensions for a time.

“Such, illustrious princes, are the reflections which the states have made on the accounts which have been presented to them; you will doubtless enquire what subsidies they have voted, and what is the final result of their deliberations? I will satisfy you in a few words. Although the total abolition of taxes, and other arbitrary exactions, appeared to us to be the only means of relieving the distresses of the people; although we are still persuaded that such an abolition is not only possible, but would be even advantageous to the king; yet, discouraged by the numerous obstacles which have been opposed to the accomplishment of such a laudable plan, considering how dangerous it would be to draw any conclusions from a false account, and despairing to triumph over the malice of those who are interested in the perpetuation of abuses, we have had recourse to an expedient, which, although it be onerous to the people, removes all difficulties, and will prove to the king the sincerity of that affection which his faithful subjects bear him—*We offer then to pay to the crown, by way of gift or grant, the same sum which the kingdom paid to Charles the Seventh, of glorious memory; but on condition, that this contribution shall be limited to two years, at the expiration of which, the states shall be again assembled; and we require that the time and place for the future assembly shall be immediately fixed by an irrevocable declaration.*—If all superfluous expences be retrenched, we are thoroughly convinced that this sum of twelve hundred thousand

livres, joined to the produce of the domain, the aids and Gabelles, will more than suffice for the discharge of all necessary expences, and that a very considerable portion of it may be set apart for unforeseen contingencies. The reasons on which we formed this opinion are these: the revenue of Charles the Seventh was greatly inferior to that of the present monarch, since he was not in possession of Anjou, Maine, the two Burgundies, Artois, a great part of Picardy, Dauphiné, the county of Provence, nor Roussillon. Charles the Seventh had greater expences to defray than our king has, since he had sons and daughters, and, moreover, paid pensions to Rene of Anjou, and the count of Maine; yet notwithstanding these additional expences, he, with such an inferior revenue, had the most brilliant court in Europe. He was a generous and munificent prince; he recovered, by force of arms, the two most important provinces in the kingdom, Normandy and Guienne; and, at his death, he left immense treasures. We therefore conjure the king and the princes, not to ask for any greater sum than that which we now offer."

This determination of the states occasioned violent altercations between the princes of the blood and the members of the council; as the acceptance of the offer which had been made by the representatives of the people must necessarily have occasioned a considerable diminution of pensions, salaries, and places. The princes, and people in power, did not choose that these retrenchments should fall upon them, nor upon the persons who were attached to their party; and it seemed impossible to engage the states to change their last resolution. The chancellor, however, who was harassed by the murmurs and discontents of either party, resolved once more, to try his influence with the states; he accordingly repaired to the assembly, accompanied by the princes, and addressed them in the following words:

"You have made some useful remonstrances to the king, who will pay them all the attention which faithful subjects deserve, for you cannot doubt but that he deems it more glorious to be king of the Franks than to be king of the slaves; but, at the same time, it behoves you not to forget what was said to an ancient people,—In aiming at the acquisition of too much liberty, you run the risk of falling into the opposite extreme: it is no proof of wisdom, to throw yourself on the discretion of your enemies, nor can it be safe to sleep in the midst of serpents. I will suppose for a moment, that the kingdom has nothing to apprehend from foreigners; but then has it nothing to dread from the inordinate passions of some of its own members? Who will be able to check the turbulence of ambitious minds, if you take the troops from the king? Who will ensure you the execution of the laws? Who will defend the widow and the orphan from violence and oppression? You have paid a just tribute of applause to Charles the Seventh, who first established regular companies; with what propriety then can you censure the king for wishing to keep them? If it were ever your intention to do good to your country, this is certainly the time to shew it.

“You have entreated the king to be contented with the same sums which Charles the Seventh levied on his subjects; but you have not paid attention to the difference of the times and of the circumstances. Charles the Seventh was a prince who had learned wisdom in the school of adversity; he was, moreover, vigilant, intrepid, and active: whereas your sovereign is almost an infant, and finds himself exposed to the snares of all who shall seek to profit by the weakness of his youth to shake off the yoke of dependence; he is, of course, in greater want of troops, from his inability to take upon himself all the cares of government, he stands in need of intelligent ministers and a numerous council; he cannot, therefore, avoid granting pensions: besides, since the change that has taken place in the value of money, the sum you offer is not equivalent to that which Charles the Seventh exacted from his subjects. Weigh all these reasons, and attend to my proposal. You require that the king should relieve the people; he will do more, for to relieve is only to lighten a burden, in a small degree, and you cannot be said to lighten a burden merely when you take off two thirds of it: the king, then, is willing to remit three deniers out of five, and this is a greater favour than you could presume to hope for. Last year the taxes amounted to three millions four hundred thousand livres. Onerous as that impost was, had not the king a right to continue it, since he found it established? Certainly he had, but it is not his intention to exert that right. He means that the fifteen hundred thousand livres, to which he is pleased to confine himself, shall be levied in equal proportions, on all the provinces which, in the time of Charles the Seventh, composed the monarchy; and he reserves to himself the power of making a particular arrangement for such as have been annexed to the crown since that period. You may now retire, not to deliberate, for you have heard the king's will, but to prepare yourselves for expressing your gratitude in a becoming manner.”

This speech, far from exciting applause, was followed by a dead silence—in a few minutes some confused murmurs were heard, and then a general expression of discontent burst forth from every quarter. The members maintained that the chancellor had attacked the liberty of the nation, and the sacred rights of property, for, said they, if the king can, of his own will, and without the consent of the states, exact an additional contribution of three hundred thousand livres, he may, by the same rule, double or triple the taxes, and then all our pretensions fall to the ground. The president, after conferring with some of the members, who stood near him, asked permission for the states to deliberate in private; the princes accordingly withdrew, and the next day was appointed by the chancellor for receiving the final decision of the assembly.

The states seemed strongly disposed to resent the conduct of the chancellor, and to assert their own rights, by the immediate adoption of some violent measures, but the princes of the blood, by the alternate employment of promises and threats, at length induced them to yield, and to pass the following resolutions:

“In order to defray the expences of government, and to ensure peace to the kingdom, the members of the three estates grant the king, their sovereign lord, *by way*

of gift and grant, and not otherwise, the same sum—which can, at no future period be called a tax, but a gift and grant—that during the reign of Charles the Seventh, was levied on the kingdom, and this, for two years only and no longer, on condition, two, that the said sum shall be equally divided among all the provinces of the which the monarchy is actually composed.*

“ Besides this first annual sum, the states, who are anxious to promote the welfare, honour, and prosperity of the king and his kingdom, and who wish to obey and to please him, grant him the net sum of three hundred thousand livres, as a free gift, on account of his joyous accession to the throne, and in order to defray the expence of his coronation, and his public entry into paris.

“ The states beseech and request the king to convene and assemble the states at the expiration of two years, and to immediately point out and declare the time and place at which such assembly shall be holden: for it is their intention that, hereafter, no sum of money whatever shall be levied on the people, without convening the states, and obtaining their consent, *agreeably to the privileges and liberties of this kingdom.*

“ If the future assembly shall be of opinion, that the affairs of the kingdom admit of a diminution, or require an augmentation, the said states will ever be ready, like most humble and most obedient subjects, to make provision accordingly, cheerfully, and courageously, without sparing any thing, so that the king, our sovereign lord, shall have reason to be contented with his good and loyal people, and to hold them in great and perpetual esteem”.

As soon as these resolutions were adopted, intelligence of the same was sent to the lord of Beaujeu, who promised that the king should come to the assembly the next day; but the bad weather prevented the young monarch from attending, though the chancellor and the princes were punctual to their time. This disappointment somewhat disconcerted the speaker, Maffelin, who thus addressed them:

“ We had encouraged the hope that the king would honour this assembly with his presence; but, since he is here represented by the princes of the blood, I shall still address myself to him——August prince, under what happier auspices could you, possibly, have begun your reign? Your first steps have been guided by wisdom and justice. You assembled the states of your kingdom, and ordered them to point out to you all the abuses which had crept into the administration; we have obeyed those orders. Not content with discovering the disease, we have, at the same time indicated the means of removing it: it remains with you to complete the cure, and your glory is interested in the event. The nation would be dishonoured in the eyes of foreign powers, if, after having undertaken to reform every branch of the administration, our labours should be productive

* In the reign of Charles the Seventh, in 1456, the mark of silver was worth eight livres, ten sols; comparing it, therefore, with the modern price of fifty livres, we shall find that the livre of those times, bore to the livre of the present day the proportion of seventeen to a hundred; thus the twelve hundred thousand livres, granted by the states, were equivalent to seven millions, fifty-eight thousand, eight hundred and twenty-five livres, ten sols, seven deniers.

of no solid advantage, no real good to our country. Continue, august prince, to regulate your conduct by wholesome advice, but beware of the arts of those perfidious councillors by whom the princes of your blood are surrounded; they will tell you that a king is omnipotent; that he is never mistaken; that his will is law;—these are monsters, objects of public execration; exterminate them without delay, or they will not only corrupt your heart, but will infect your court, and the whole body of the nation.

“ After dismissing such evil councillors, a king who wished to govern with equity, would immediately choose others whose integrity would justify the confidence he reposed in them. He would honour the church, because a contempt of religion occasions a depravation of manners, and prepares the downfall of a state; he would listen with respect to the ministers of the gospel; he would impress on his mind an exact image of virtue, in order that his thoughts, words, and actions, might correspond to it; he would teach his subjects, by his own example, to respect the laws; he would cherish the nobility, and consider them as the arm of the state, and the support of the throne; in short, he would live as a father in the midst of his children, and would frequently ask, with a tender emotion, *How fares it with my people?*

“ If he found that his people were burthened with taxes, or that the sum they paid, though moderate, was more than requisite to supply the wants of the state, he ought immediately to put a stop to the exaction; this is a duty and not a favour; unless words are grossly abused, and the action of a strong man who forbears to insult a weak man whom he meets on his road, is also dignified with the appellation of a favour. The people in a monarchy possess rights, and have a real property, since they are free and not slaves, and since the monarchical government, according to the opinion of the ancient philosophers, is the mildest of all governments, and that which is the most compatible with liberty. *An abuse, however sanctioned by prescription, can never be pleaded in bar of a natural right;* and whoever affirms that a king who, on his accession to the throne, finds his people overburdened with taxes, is not bound to relieve them, advances a false and injurious principle.

“ It has given us the greatest concern to find, that there are men base enough to accuse us of a wish to deprive the king of his lawful prerogatives; such an atrocious imputation can only reflect dishonour on its author. Convinced that the welfare and advantage of the people, and the welfare and advantage of the king, were one and the same, we thought that, by seeking to relieve the people, we were serving the king, and fulfilling the duty of faithful subjects. In blaming the disorders which prevailed in the old government, we only obeyed the king's commands, as he enjoined us, by the mouth of his chancellor, to expose to him, without disguise, all the abuses which disfigured the state. If we have expressed ourselves with energy, and with a kind of asperity, the subject required it, and we do not repent it.

"It has been objected to us, that while we have, on all occasions, commended the officers of Charles the Seventh, we have observed an offensive silence with regard to those of Lewis the Eleventh; but we hope our conduct, in this respect, has not offended any one, for by praising Peter we do not satirise Paul. If among the officers of Lewis there be—as we doubt not there are—some men of integrity and honour, let them be rewarded and exalted; we willingly consent to it. But as we know there also many of a contrary description, we beg and require that all such may be immediately dismissed, and kept at a distance from the king's person.

"I now come to the principal object of this session. My lord, the chancellor, having explained to us the wants of the state, demanded that an annual impost of fifteen hundred thousand livres should be levied on the kingdom. We could wish, most high and potent princes, that the French people were in a situation to listen only to the dictates of their generosity, and of their love for their sovereign; but you all know to what a state of wretchedness and humiliation they are reduced, and of what importance it is to afford them the means of extricating themselves from their difficulties. Anxious, therefore, to please the king, without completing the misery of the people, we have adopted the resolutions which will now be read to you."

After settling the distribution of the taxes on the different provinces, and arranging some other matters of less importance, the states were dissolved on the fourteenth of March. It appears from their proceedings, that the French, at this period, entertained some just and rational ideas of civil liberty, and that though they had tamely acquiesced in the tyrannical measures of Lewis the Eleventh, they did not chuse that his conduct should be received as a precedent: indeed, they seem rather to have wanted an opportunity than a spirit for asserting and maintaining their rights, in opposition to the unconstitutional encroachments of their sovereigns; and had the states-general but procured the privilege of assembling at fixed and stated periods, despotism could never have reached to that alarming height, to which it attained under the succeeding monarchs of the Capetian Race.

The princes of the blood, who had insisted, with such warmth, on the convention of the states, derived from it none of those advantages which they had expected to obtain.—Madame triumphed; but far from insulting her rivals in their disgrace, she spared no pains to console them for their disappointment. To the duke of Orleans she gave the command of a company of one hundred lances, with a considerable pension; and the counts of Angoulême and Dunois had a fo each of them a company, with a pension of sixteen thousand livres. It is probable that the princes, convinced that the majority of the nation were hostile to their pretensions, would not have attempted to disturb the peace of the kingdom, had not the troubles which prevailed in Brittany, and the dangerous intrigues of a man who, from the most abject situation, had been raised to the highest rank, revived their ambition, and betrayed them, by degrees, into an open revolt. As

the first sparks of that general conflagration, which spread over France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands, were kindled in Brittany, it will be necessary to explain the situation of that court, at the present period, and to point out the motives which induced the dearest friends and relations to take up arms against each other.

Francis the Second, who then reigned over the duchy of Brittany, had been twice married; by his first wife, Margaret of Brittany, he had no children; and by his second, Margaret of Foix, only two daughters, Anne and Isabella. His violent attachment to his imperious mistress, Antoniette de Magnelais, widow to the lord of Villequier, who had acquired an unlimited authority over him, had long prevented him from contracting a second marriage, so that he was far advanced in life, when his two daughters were still in their infancy, and there were little hopes of his living to see them married. This prospect equally encouraged all who had any claims to the duchy to advance them; and such as aspired to the possession of these rich heiresses, to make their proposals.

The dispute which had arisen, during the reign of Philip of Valois, between the rival houses of Blois and Montfort, had never been completely settled. Philip had decided in favour of Charles of Blois; but the assistance of the English, and the fortune of war, had secured the possession of the duchy of Brittany to the count of Montfort. After the battle of Aurai, in which the former lost his life, a convention was signed by the belligerent powers, by which the duchy of Brittany was secured to the house of Montfort, and the county of Ponthièvre, with several other considerable possessions, were ceded to the family of Blois. The latter, in consequence of a conspiracy against the duke of Brittany, were declared guilty of high treason, and despoiled of all their territories; but, through the mediation of Arthur of Brittany, constable of France, another convention took place between these rival houses, by which duke Francis the First engaged to restore to the Penthievres the county whence they took their title, and all the other estates which they had formerly enjoyed; and he farther declared, in letters-patent, duly signed and sealed, that, notwithstanding the formal renunciation of their claims to the duchy of Brittany, it was his will, that in case he, his two brothers, his uncle Arthur, and his cousin Francis, should die without male heirs, John and William de Ponthièvre, their niece Nicole, wife to the lord of Broffes, or their children, should succeed to the duchy, to the exclusion of the females of the branch of Montfort. But the Breton historians affirm—and the affirmation appears to be well founded—that these letters-patent were granted merely for the purpose of deception, in order to save the honour of the count of Ponthièvre, who was afraid that he should be reproached by the court of France, with having too hastily sacrificed his pretensions; and that when the duke granted them, he had exacted a counter-letter, by which the count declared, that, after he had shewn them to the king, and to his friends and relations, he would send them back to Francis, and never make any use of them. Be that as it may, they had fallen, by some means or other, into the hands of Tanneguy du Chatel, who

was induced, by the love he bore his country, to keep them secret* ; his widow, however, less delicate, delivered them to Lewis the Eleventh, who, seeing the male line of the house of Montfort on the point of failure, since Frances the Second had no son, purchased of Nicole de Ponthièvre, and her husband, John of Broffes, the sole remaining heirs of the house of Blois, all their rights to the duchy of Brittany. Though the validity of those rights was exposed to such strong doubts, Lewis intended to support them by a formidable army ; but dying before the duke of Brittany, he transmitted them to his son.

Next to Charles the Eighth another claimant appeared on the list, whose pretensions were trivial indeed : this was Francis, Baron d'Avaugour, a natural son of the present duke of Brittany by Antoniette de Magnelais ; he had been legitimated, and his father had conferred on him a profusion of honours and riches. Promoted to the rank and dignity of first baron and lieutenant-general of Brittany, he now aspired to the succession, and imagined, that as the Bretons were attached to the blood of their ancient sovereigns, and wanted a prince who was able to govern them, they would overlook the defect in his birth, and prefer him to a stranger.

The viscount of Rohan advanced pretensions that were somewhat though not much better founded : he was brother-in-law to the reigning duke, and had two sons by his wife, Mary of Brittany, second daughter to duke Francis the First.—If Francis the Second had succeeded to the duchy in right of his wife, the sons of the viscount would have had a preferable claim to the children of the duke by Margaret of Foix ; but as there was a law in Brittany, by which females were excluded from the succession, so long as there were any male heirs remaining, though farther removed from the direct line than the females, and as Francis had succeeded to the duchy, not as husband to the princess, but as the nearest male heir, the viscount could advance no good reason for the exclusion of Anne and Isabella : he, therefore, contented himself with claiming for his sons all the treasures and moveable effects of duke Francis the First ; the dower and moveables of their aunt Margaret ; and lastly, all the territorial acquisitions made by the first Francis, and one half of those which Francis the Second had, himself made during the period of his first marriage. Convinced that the duke, even had he the inclination, had not the ability to comply with these demands, he proposed, in order to avoid all discussion, to unite the claims of the two families by a marriage between his two sons and the two daughters of Francis. The proposal was supported by the marshal de Rieux and the principal nobility of Brittany, but the duke rejected it with disdain.

Francis, in order to connect his interests with those of the English monarch, had proposed an alliance between his eldest daughter, Anne, and the prince of Wales, but on condition that Brittany should never be annexed to the crown of England. This alliance, however, had been prevented by the assassination of the prince and his brother.

Disappointed in his hopes from that quarter, the duke now cast his eyes on Maximilian, archduke of Austria, to whom he proposed to marry his eldest daughter, and, at the same time, to give his youngest to Philip, the youthful sovereign of the Netherlands, son to Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. But the duchy being soon reduced to extremity, Maximilian, sufficiently occupied in providing means for his own defence, and having but little prospect of affording the duke speedy and effectual assistance, Francis was induced to listen to the proposals of another lover. This was the lord of Albret, surnamed the Great, the most opulent subject in the kingdom, after the princes of the blood: he had claims on some places in Brittany, but more generous or more artful than his competitors, he appeared to forget his own interests in order to maintain those of his ally. He demanded that the hand of the princess should be the reward of that warrior who should best signalise his courage and zeal in her defence, and who should render the most important services to the duchy. D'Albret, however, had but little to recommend him; he was advanced in years, and had several children either married or marriageable; his person was disgusting, and his temper insupportable.

Lastly, the duke of Orleans appeared in the list of competitors, and for some time eclipsed all his rivals. His recommendations were strong and powerful; he was first prince of the blood; presumptive heir to the throne; and cousin-german to the duke of Brittany; he was supported by the house of Foix, whence the duchess of Brittany was herself descended; and as he, moreover, possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of pleasing, he soon engaged the affections of his youthful mistress.

Such were the principal claimants, whose efforts either to dispossess or to marry the heiress of Brittany, soon filled that court with factions and intrigues. Even an active, enlightened and resolute prince would have found the repression of so many tumultuous and discordant passions a task of extreme difficulty; and, unfortunately for Brittany, Francis was a weak and irresolute prince, who had long suffered himself to be guided wholly by his ministers. After Lescun had engaged in the service of France, he placed his confidence in Peter Landois, a man not less artful and intriguing than Lescun, but more proud and corrupt; who, from the abject state of a taylor, had been promoted to the dignity of treasurer and prime minister. Convinced that the nobles would never forgive him for engrossing the favour of their sovereign, he did not attempt to conciliate their esteem, but only sought to render himself formidable by the indiscriminate destruction of all who refused to acknowledge his authority. The last victim of the favourite's ambition, was Chauvin, chancellor of Brittany, a man of the strictest integrity, who had rendered the greatest services to the state: Landois persuaded the duke that he was a pensioner of the court of France, and was hired to betray the interests of his master: in consequence of this falsehood, he surprised an order from Francis to imprison the chancellor; and, after a long series of persecutions, that worthy magistrate perished by a most miserable death.

The nobility enraged and alarmed at these iniquitous transactions, repaired in a body to the palace, in order to seize the object of their indignation, but he was so fortunate as to elude their search, and to escape, for the present, the effects of their vengeance. Landois now conceived the design of forming a party which might enable him to triumph over his enemies. For this purpose he cast his eyes on the duke of Orleans, and invited that prince to repair, without delay, to the court of his cousin the duke of Brittany, who, he said, intended to bestow on him the hand of his eldest daughter.* The duke of Orleans was already married to the second daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, but his aversion to that deformed and sterile princess was a matter of public notoriety. He hastened to Brittany, contracted a strict friendship with Landois, and obtained permission to visit the young princess, who, even at that early period of life, gave signs of those great qualities which rendered her the admiration of the age.

Madame, to whom the conduct of the duke of Orleans gave just subject of complaint, profited by the circumstance of the king's coronation, which was fixed for the thirtieth of May, to recall him to France; and the duke, though extremely mortified at being compelled to leave Brittany so soon, obeyed the citation, and was present at the ceremony. But his return to France occasioned Madame almost as much uneasiness as his stay in Brittany would have done. The king became so enamoured of his company that he was never easy without him; and he was easily taught to consider the salutary restraints imposed on him by his sister as destructive of his freedom, and derogatory to his rank. Impressed with these ideas, Charles consented to elope; some councillors of state, in the interest of the duke of Orleans, laid the plan of his evasion, and three of his chamberlains undertook to put it in execution. But Madame, informed of the plot, entered the king's chamber in a rage, broke the chamberlains in his presence, and immediately appointed others who were devoted to her interest. After this event she conceived that she was no longer in safety at the castle of Vincennes, on account of its vicinity to Paris, of which place the duke of Orleans was governor; she therefore took the king to Montargis, where she passed the remainder of the year, attentive to the motions of her enemies, and careful, by adopting the insidious policy of her father, to foment the troubles in Brittany.

The duke of Brittany had, during these transactions, been prevailed on by his favourites to declare the nobility, who had shut themselves up in the strong town of Ancenis†, traitors to their sovereign. This rash and inconsiderate proceeding, had, as Landois expected, engaged the nobles in an open revolt; and having no other resource, they did not scruple to purchase the protection of the king of France by the violation of their oaths, and the sacrifice of their duty. They sent the prince of Orange, Peter de Villeblanche, and John le Bouteiller, lord of Maupertuis, to Montargis, where they promised and swore, that, after the death of Francis the Second, they would acknowledge Charles for their lawful sovereign, and

* Godefroi Preuves de l'Histoire de Charles VIII.—Brantome, Vies des grandes Capitaines.

† Lobineau, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne.

would devote their lives and fortunes to the advancement of his authority, on the following conditions. 1. That after the annexation of Brittany to the crown of France, justice should be administered in that province in the same manner as before, and by the magistrates of the country. 2. That the nobles, ecclesiastics and others, should have their privileges and franchises confirmed. 3. That no tax should be levied in the province, without the previous consent of the states. 4. That the gentry should only be obliged to serve in such cases and in such manner as should be settled by the king. 5. That all employments, both civil and military, should be conferred on the natives of Brittany. 6. That in case the duchess should survive her husband, a proper settlement should be assigned her, to be fixed by the states. 7. That the duke's two daughters should be married, with the advice of the states, according to their rank. 8. That in case Charles or any of his successors should have several sons, one of them should be created duke of Brittany. On these conditions, which were granted without any restrictions, the king took the Breton nobles under his protection, and he immediately sent an order to the duke, his vassal, to abstain from all farther violence against them, and to repair the damages which they had already sustained.

On exciting his master to drive the malecontents to extremities, Landois had explained to him the means by which he meant to reduce them to obedience. Besides the succours which he expected from the duke of Orleans, he assured him that he should soon have all the forces of England at his command. The circumstance on which he founded this assurance, were these :

After the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, which fixed the crown of England on the brows of that sanguinary tyrant, the fourth Edward, the earl of Pembroke, with his nephew, Henry Tudor, the young earl of Richmond, had embarked at Tynley for France; but contrary winds forced them to land in Brittany where they experienced a hospitable reception from Francis the Second. Edward, alarmed at Richmond's escape, who was considered, by many, as next heir to the throne, and on whom he knew, all the secret friends of the house of Lancaster had cast their eyes, sent ambassadors to the duke of Brittany, to require that he would give him up : but that prince refused to commit so flagrant a breach of hospitality as to comply with this demand ; though he assured Edward, that he would watch Richmond so closely that he should never have an opportunity of disturbing his government ; in consideration of which promise, the king of England paid a yearly pension to the duke.

But three years after this attempt, Edward's fears of young Richmond being renewed with redoubled violence, he determined to make another effort for obtaining possession of his person. With this view he again sent ambassadors to the duke of Brittany, on pretence of renewing the truce, which was confirmed without difficulty ; after which they proceeded to unfold the real object of their embassy. They told the duke, that the king their master was extremely desirous of totally extinguishing the embers of those factions which had raged with such violence in England ; that the earl of Richmond being the only surviving prince of the house of Lancaster, it was his intention to marry him to one of his own

daughters, that all future disputes might be avoided by an union of the rival families; he, therefore, hoped the duke of Brittany would entrust the earl to his care, that he might distinguish him by marks of his bounty, and convince the world of his earnest anxiety to secure, on a solid basis, the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom. The duke, trusting to the sincerity of Edward's professions, ordered the young earl, with his uncle Pembroke, to be delivered to them, and they immediately departed with their victims to the port of Saint Malo, whence they prepared to embark for England. But John de Quelenec, admiral of Brittany being apprised of this circumstance, entered the duke's apartment with sorrow expressed on his countenance; which the duke observing, he enquired the cause of it. "The paleness you observe in my face," replied the admiral, "is the forerunner of death, which, I could have wished, had put a period to my days, before I had witnessed an action that must dishonour my master. My lord, you have acquired the reputation of a man of honour, how then could you be so inattentive to the preservation of that character, and how, after you had pledged your faith, could you consent to deliver up a prince, who had asked your protection, to punishment and death?"—"Mr. Admiral," interrupted the duke, "you are mistaken, there is nothing to fear for the earl of Richmond, whom Edward only besought me to send to him, that he might make him his son-in-law."—"Be assured," replied Quelenec, "that if he quit your dominions, he is a dead man." The eyes of Francis were now opened, and he immediately dispatched his favourite, Peter Landois, to Saint Malo, to bring back the refugees. He arrived as they were on the point of embarking; and, having made known the purport of his mission to Richmond and Pembroke, he amused the ambassadors while they affected their escape to a sanctuary, from whence he would not suffer them to be taken. The ambassadors complained loudly of this artifice, and Landois made some frivolous apologies, which they would by no means admit. He then frankly told them, that the duke his master, having duly reflected on the subject, had become sensible that he could not deliver up his guests without a flagrant violation of the laws of hospitality; but he renewed, in the duke's name, those assurances which had been before made to Edward, that the two earls should be so strictly guarded they would be effectually prevented from interrupting the tranquillity of England.

It was by means of this prince, who was already indebted to him for the preservation of his life, that Landois hoped to effect a revolution in England; he justly imagined, that should he succeed in his attempts to place him on the throne, he should receive from him such assistance as would be requisite to make him triumph over his enemies; and that by the subsequent promotion of a marriage between Richmond and the heiress of Brittany, he should be enabled, after the duke's death, to preserve his rank and station. In order to secure the success of this plan, Landois, after the accession of the third Richard, sent ambassadors to England, under pretence of renewing the truce which subsisted between the two crowns. These ambassadors could not have arrived at a more fortunate period,

as the duke of Buckingham discontented with Richard, had just formed the design of deposing that usurper, and had entered into a correspondence, with the view to hasten the execution of his plan, with all the malcontents in different parts of England.

The Breton ambassadors returned with this favourable report; and they were soon followed by two confidential friends of Richmond, who brought him a sum of money from his mother, and pressed him to hasten to England, where his friends were waiting to receive him. Landois, to whom the earl communicated his dispatches, furnished him with a fleet, and a body of five thousand men, with which he sailed from Saint Malo, in October, 1483; but before he could reach the English coast, the duke of Buckingham had been defeated and executed; not thinking it prudent, therefore, to land, he returned to Brittany. He was there joined by numbers of the English nobility, who exacted from him an oath, that, so soon as he should have effected the deposition of Richard, he would unite the opposite pretensions of the houses of York and Lancaster, by marrying the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward. They then swore fealty and allegiance to him, as their lawful sovereign, and Richmond immediately formed a little court of his own at Rennes; Landois seemed to encourage these proceedings, and renewed his promises of assistance, though, at the same time, he had entered into a correspondence with their enemies.

Richard the Third, convinced that he should never be at ease, so long as Richmond should be at liberty, sent an ambassador to Brittany, who addressed himself to Landois, and made him such offers as were well calculated to seduce a venal and perfidious mind. He engaged to restore to Francis the earldom of Richmond, which had formerly been possessed by his ancestors; to give Landois all the estates and other property of the English refugees in Brittany, and to supply him with a body of troops for the purpose of reducing his enemies. Landois, considering that the plan for dethroning Richard would be attended with considerable difficulty and expence, and was subject, moreover, to a thousand interruptions; and that, even should it succeed, he could not expect to derive from it greater advantages than those which were now offered to him, at a time, too, when he was in the greatest want of them, accepted, without hesitation the proposals of Richard, and promised to deliver up to him, without delay, the earl of Richmond, and all his partisans. The negotiations, however, had not been conducted with such secrecy, but that the bishop of Ely, who was then on the continent, was advised of it. That prelate immediately dispatched a messenger to Richmond, warning him of his danger, and urging him to escape to France. But this appeared to be a matter of difficulty, as a very early day was fixed for the execution of Landois's plan, and there could be little doubt but that he had taken every precaution to prevent his evasion. After much reflection, however, Richmond settled the plan of his escape:—he made the earl of Pembroke and some other noblemen take the road to Nantes, where the duke of Brittany resided

under pretext of imparting to Francis some affairs of importance; but he advised them by no means to enter that town, and to make the best of their way to the frontiers of France. He then announced his intention of visiting, in two days time, a country house which he had at a short distance from Rennes; and on this pretence he entered a forest, which lay on the road, with only one attendant, and travelled day and night, by private ways, towards the frontiers of Anjou. Landois ordered him to be pursued, and the messengers he sent after him, only missed him by one hour. Three hundred Englishmen, who remained at Rennes, gave themselves up for lost; but the duke, who was a stranger to the intrigues of his minister, gave them permission to follow their master, and defrayed their expences on the road. The fugitives experienced a favourable reception from Madame, and were even encouraged to hope for assistance.

Though disappointed in his hopes of procuring assistance from England, Landois did not renounce his schemes of vengeance. The troops which he had at his disposal were more than sufficient to destroy his enemies, had those enemies been left to themselves; but as they had been taken under the protection of the king of France, he could not attack them without exposing his country to an immediate invasion. He, therefore, resolved to wait till the duke of Orleans and Maximilian should act in concert, and draw all the forces of France to another quarter.

Madame, in the mean time, aware of his designs, was studious to throw such obstacles in the way of Maximilian, as should deter him from engaging in a war with France; she followed the plans of her father in rewarding such of the Flemish nobility as resisted the authority of that prince, and in encouraging the turbulent inhabitants of Ghent to revolt. She farther sought to raise up a personal enemy to Maximilian, in René, duke of Lorraine, celebrated for the victories he had obtained over Charles the Bold. This prince had appeared before the states at Tours, where he claimed the restitution of the Barrois, Provence, and the inheritance of the house of Anjou, from which he was descended by his mother's side. Madame, afraid that he might be tempted to espouse the interests of the princes, had not rejected any of his demands. She had already restored to him the duchy of Bar; and had made a formal cession of all the claims which Lewis the Eleventh had preferred to the duchy of Lorraine: with regard to Provence, commissioners were appointed on both sides, to discuss the respective rights of either party; and till their decision, which was to be delivered at the expiration of four years, should be known, the king had consented to pay the duke, by way of indemnity, a pension of thirty-six thousand livres. This generous proceeding had attached the duke of Lorraine to Madame, and she now wished to oppose him to Maximilian by making him marry Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her husband, the lord of Beaujeu, and daughter to Adolphus, who had been deprived of his dominions by the duke of Burgundy. This young princess had but one brother, who had just entered the service of Maximilian; and, in case of his death, she had an indisputable right to the duchy of Gueldres, and the country

of Zutphen; if, on the contrary, that prince should with the assistance of the duke of Lorraine, recover the inheritance of his ancestors, he would become a powerful ally, and might give his sister a considerable dower. To enable the duke of Lorraine to assert the rights of the family with which he was about to connect himself, Madame procured him the alliance of William de la Mark, chief of the Liegeois, and the implacable enemy of Maximilian.

Maximilian, notwithstanding his eagerness to revenge the insults he had sustained from the French, was so surrounded by enemies on all sides, that he would certainly have remained tranquil, had not the duke of Brittany, or rather his favourite, Landois, urged him to a renewal of hostilities, by a promise to give him the heiress of Brittany in marriage. Resolved to hazard every thing in order to merit such a flattering distinction, Maximilian summoned the Flemings to acknowledge him for the guardian of his son—whom they had taken from his father—and for the governor of his dominions; and he warned them that he should consider their refusal as a declaration of war. The Flemings answered this citation by an appeal to the parliament of Paris, or to the court of French peers. Madame, meanwhile, who had only wished to intimidate Maximilian, and was extremely anxious to avoid an open rupture, sent Anthony and Baldwin, bastards of Burgundy, into Flanders, in order to promote an accommodation between Maximilian and his subjects. With this view, they assembled thirteen knights of the Golden Fleece at Terremonde, where deputies from all the towns in Flanders were invited to attend. William Rym, chief of the deputation from the inhabitants of Ghent, a man of a turbulent and seditious spirit, after declaiming with great virulence against Maximilian, drew his sword, and threatened with instant destruction any man who should dare to speak in favour of the prince. The assembly was accordingly dissolved without coming to any decision, and Maximilian prepared for war. He first took Terremonde by surprise, and then reduced Oudenard, Granmont, and Ninove; while the militia of Ghent, under the command of the count of Romons, carried desolation into the environs of Bruxelles and Hal. Maximilian marched into that country with a view to bring them to action, but they retired on his approach; and the winter being far advanced, the operations on both sides were suspended.

A. D. 1485.] The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, had adopted every plan he could devise for strengthening his party: since the court had retired with such precipitation from the castle of Vincennes, he had remained at Paris, where he exerted his utmost endeavours to render himself popular. As soon as he thought his credit sufficiently established with the multitude, he repaired to the parliament, accompanied by the count of Dunois, and by his chancellor, Denis Mertier, who observed to the court*—"That the duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, and the second person in the kingdom, ought to be entrusted with the sovereign power during the king's minority: that, anxious to procure relief for the people, and to correct the abuses which prevailed in the administration, he had, in conjunction

* Reg. du Parlement—Codefroi, Recueil de Pièces—Hist. Univ. Paris.

with the dukes of Bourbon and Brittany, insisted on the convocation of the states-general: that after many contradictions and refusals, he had at length succeeded in convening them; that having received information of attempts to intimidate the members by threats, he had declared himself their protector, and had procured for them all the liberty which was necessary for the purpose of their meeting: that they had made a great number of salutary regulations with regard to the general police of the kingdom, and had also determined that the king, having entered his fourteenth year, should govern in his own name, but according to the advice of his council, of which the duke of Orleans had been declared president: that all these useful regulations had been treated with contempt: that Madame de Beaujeu had taken possession of the revenue, and exhausted the royal treasury by a boundless prodigality: that the states having granted, besides the produce of the taxes, which they had restricted to twelve hundred thousand livres, a supply of three hundred thousand for one year only, that sum had been already extended to another year, in violation of the most solemn engagements; that even this additional burthen had not prevented the government from contracting a debt of two or three hundred thousand livres, by which means it would become necessary to double the taxes the following year, and thus reduce the people to a state of despair the most wretched: that all this money was employed for no other purpose than to confirm the authority of Madame de Beaujeu, and to render her more despotic than ever: that she had already presumed to exact from the guards that oath which ought only to be taken to the king: that she had, of her own authority, deprived three chamberlains of their places, and conferred them on others; that she kept the king in such a state captivity, that no prince or nobleman was permitted to see him; that she had even threatened the duke of Orleans, and had attempted to get him assassinated by du Lait; that though that prince despised all threats and attempts which only affected himself, yet he could not but feel the greatest concern, at seeing his sovereign kept in the state of confinement and servitude, in which he was meant to be retained till he should have accomplished his twentieth year; that he had already written to his majesty, to entreat him to take refuge in Paris, where he would be at liberty, and where he might chuse a council composed of men of virtue and knowledge; that in order to prove that his advice, in that respect, was not influenced by interested motives, the duke offered not to appear in the king's presence, unless he should be sent for; and, in case Madame de Beaujeu would consent to live at the distance of ten leagues from court, he himself would retire to the distance of forty leagues; that being resolved to devote his life and fortune to the purpose of rescuing the king from captivity, he had come to consult the parliament, who constituted the sovereign justice of the kingdom, whether it would not be advisable to convene the states-general a second time, or what other measures it would be prudent to adopt for the good of the kingdom."

The first president of the parliament, very properly, replied—"That the good of the kingdom chiefly consisted in the enjoyment of public tranquillity; that

such tranquillity could never be maintained so long as the principal members of the state refused to set an example of concord——Prince——pursued the worthy magistrate, addressing himself to the duke of Orleans——“ you are more interested than any one, in preventing the prevalence of dissensions in the royal family of France, and you ought not, therefore, on reports, often false, and always equivocal, to venture on measures which may be productive of the most fatal consequences.*” The duke’s chancellor attempted to reply, but the magistrates persisted in their resolution of not becoming instruments of sedition; and all that the duke could prevail on them to do, was to send his remonstrances to the king, without observation or comment.

The duke of Orleans next attempted to secure the university in his favour, which at that time contained five-and-twenty thousand students, most of them able to bear arms, who formed, as it were, a private republic in the heart of the capital. But that learned body followed the example of the parliament, and would only consent to forward the duke’s proposals to the king.

Madame, informed of the manœuvres of this prince, sent a party of soldiers, in disguise, to secure his person†, but the duke, apprised of the danger, fled with precipitation to Verneuil, a place belonging to the duke of Alençon, who was one of his partisans. Madame then hastened to Paris with the king, who entered that capital on the fifth of February, 1485. Her first care, after her arrival, was to express her gratitude to the parliament for their firmness and loyalty: she then deprived the duke of Orleans of all his posts, and conferred the government of Paris, and the Isle of France, on the old count of Dammartin. The government of Dauphiné, which, at the request of the duke of Orleans, she had given to the count of Dunois, was now assigned to Philip of Savoy, count of Bresse, brother-in-law to the lord of Beaujeu. She broke the three regular companies commanded by those princes, and by the count of Angoulême, their cousin, and suppressed their pensions; and, as soon as the season would permit, she conducted the king to Evreux, and made the army advance to Verneuil. Such was the celerity of her motions, that the duke of Orleans was deprived of every resource, and compelled to make his submission to the king: after which he was restored to his seat in the council, but neither to his place nor pension. Whatever resentment he might experience on this occasion, he concealed it for the present, and accompanied the king on his tour to Normandy.

But while the court remained in that province, the duke of Orleans contrived to form a fresh confederacy against Madame‡; in which he engaged the constable, Lewis, George, and Busli de Amboise, Philip de Commines, and some other councillors of state, who were displeased at not being suffered to enjoy, in the present reign, the same credit and influence which they had possessed in the pre-

* Garnier, tom. xix. p. 411.

† Hist. Ludovic. Aurelian, Lancelot.—Memoires de l’Academie des Belles Lettres.—Godefroi, rec. des pieces.—Preuves de l’Hist. de Bretagne.

‡ Hist. Ludov. Aurel.—Lancelot, Memoire de l’Academie des Belles Lettres.—Hist. de Bretagne par Lobineau.—Annales de Belleforest.

ceding one. The authority which the constable possessed in the kingdom gave great strength to the confederacy ; and the duke of Orleans, confident of success, retired to Blois, whence he wrote to the counts of Angoulême and Dunois, and the viscount of Narbonne—who was then disputing the county of Foix and the principality of Bearn, with his niece, Catherine, queen of Navarre—to levy troops, and to form a junction either with him, or with the forces under the command of the constable. The duke of Brittany, also, promised to assist him with all his forces, as soon as he should have reduced his rebellious subjects : but the prudence of Madame, and the death of his unprincipled favourite, Landois, who was seized and hanged by the Breton nobles, prevented him from fulfilling his engagements.

The confederated princes wished to obtain possession of some strong town which might serve as a place of rendezvous for their troops, which were levying in different parts of the kingdom*. They accordingly pitched upon the city of Orleans, which commanded a bridge upon the Loire; but they were too slow in their motions, and that fault decided the fate of the campaign. Madame, apprised of their intentions, sent the lord of Bouchage, to exhort the citizens of Orleans to remain faithful to the king, and not to tarnish the glory they had acquired under Charles the Seventh, by an act of rebellion ; and that nobleman succeeded so well in his embassy, that when the duke of Orleans presented himself, two days after, before the town, the gates were shut against him, and the citizens were unanimous in refusing him admission. The duke's army consisted of two thousand six hundred cavalry, and about eight thousand infantry, with which he ravaged the country round Orleans, and then proceeded to take possession of Beaujenci. Madame, meanwhile, in order to increase the mortification of her rival at the failure of his attempt upon Orleans, repaired to that city, where she attended the celebration of the nuptials of the duke of Lorraine, with Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her husband, the lord of Beaujeu. She then placed Lewis de la Tremouille—who afterward acquired, by his conduct, the honourable appellation of *Chevalier sans reproche*—at the head of her troops ; and that nobleman sent two heralds to Beaujenci to order the forces under the duke of Orleans to lay down their arms ; but the heralds were dismissed with contempt, and preparations for resistance were made. But no sooner had la Tremouille invested the place, than the count of Dunois, sensible that it was unprovided with provisions and ammunition sufficient for sustaining a siege, persuaded the duke of Orleans to make proposals for an accommodation. The council was divided in opinion as to the propriety of accepting these proposals ; Madame, and all those who had espoused her quarrel, insisted on the wisdom of profiting by this opportunity to ensure tranquillity to the state : they maintained, that as soon as the duke of Orleans should have extricated himself from the danger which now threatened him, he would promote a renewal of hostilities, and would take care so frame his schemes in future as to ensure his success ; it would, therefore, they asserted, be more prudent to secure

* Hist. Ludov. Aurel.—Histoire de Louis XI. par Saint-Gelais.—Godefroi, Recueil de pieces.—Reg. du Parlement.

his person, as well as that of the count of Dunois, who was the most dangerous man in the kingdom, and send them to be tried by the parliament. This advice, however, was over-ruled by those who were fearful of incurring the hatred of the presumptive heir to the throne; and it was at length agreed to accept the duke's proposals for a peace, on condition that he would admit a royal garrison into all the fortresses in his appanage, and that the count of Dunois should be banished to the town of Ast, beyond the Alps. The duke, at first, rejected these conditions with disdain, but by the voluntary submission of the count of Dunois to the sentence imposed on him, and by the strenuous persuasions of that nobleman, he was at length prevailed on to accept them. As the constable had only taken up arms in favour of the duke of Orleans, he was soon persuaded to disband his forces, and to become a party in the treaty of accommodation.

At the same time, the ministers of France and Brittany, who had assembled at Bourges, concluded a treaty, by which the duke of Brittany engaged to pay the same kind of allegiance to the king, as his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the French monarchs; to renounce all alliances, as well within the kingdom as out of it, that could tend to interrupt the tranquillity of the state; to break off all commerce with the king's enemies, and neither to furnish them with men, arms, or ammunition. There was the greatest reason to believe that the duke would fulfil these engagements, as, since the death of Landois, he had regulated his conduct by the advice of his barons, all of whom were under obligations to Madame; and, in order farther to secure the attachment of the Breton nobles, she distributed honours and rewards among them with a liberal hand. She was, at this time, extremely anxious to live at peace with the duke of Brittany, as, although she had succeeded in dissolving the confederacy of the princes, her arms had been less successful in the Netherlands.

After the reduction of Tenremonde, Oudenarde, Ninove, and Granmont, by Maximilian, the Flemings, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, had sent to demand succours of France, and to require that the king would openly declare in their favour*. In consequence of this application, Charles addressed a manifesto to his father-in-law, Maximilian, accusing him of having violated his duty as a vassal to the crown, in attacking the towns belonging to young Philip, who was a peer of France; and enjoining him to make reparation for such damages, as well as for the losses which the Flemings—whom the king, as lord paramount of the county of Flanders was bound to protect and defend—had sustained from his arms. As it was not supposed this manifesto would have much effect, the marshal Desquerdes received orders to march to the assistance of the inhabitants of Ghent, with an army of six hundred lances. The marshal first attempted to get possession of Tournai, but failing in the attempt he repaired to Ghent, where the citizens, whom he had been sent to protect, soon became jealous of his power, and forced him to leave the town. After the expulsion of the French, who retired into Artois, the inhabitants of Ghent concluded an accommodation with Maximilian,

* Heuter. *Rer. Belgic.*—Godefroi *rec. de pieces.*—Hareus. *Annal. Brabant.*

on the following conditions:—1. The citizens agreed to acknowledge Maximilian for the guardian of his son, and the administrator of the county of Flanders, and to take an oath of allegiance to him in that capacity. 2. They consented to receive that prince into the city with the same number of troops as generally accompanied him in his visits to the other towns in Flanders. 3. They engaged to recal all such as had been banished from the town on account of their attachment to Maximilian, and to restore them to their estates. And, lastly, they agreed to pay seven hundred thousand florins, for the expences of the war. But a riot which occurred in Ghent, through the imprudence of a German foldier, after Maximilian had entered that city, afforded him a specious pretext for completing the humiliation of this turbulent and seditious people. He ordered their fortifications to be demolished, destroyed a part of the walls, took from them all their artillery, deprived them of their privileges, and established a magistracy of his own election.

After he had restored tranquillity to Flanders, the attention of Maximilian was called to another quarter. The marriage of the duke of Lorraine with the princess of Guilders, had already excited his suspicions; and he soon learnt that the duke had had an interview, at Meziere, with his great enemy, William de la Mark; that, at the instigation of, and in concert with, Madame de Beaujeu, they had formed a plan for making an incursion into Brabant; and, in order to facilitate that enterprise, la Mark had ceded to the duke several fortresses in the territory of Liege. Maximilian, however, found means to avert the danger which threatened him, by sending one of his officers to secure the person of la Mark, who was conducted to Maelstricht, where he paid, by his death, the forfeit of his numerous crimes.

A. D. 1486.] Madame de Beaujeu, though possessed of many good qualities, appears, in some respects, to have followed that insidious and dishonest system of policy, which had been adopted by her father. Notwithstanding her late treaty with the duke of Brittany, she spared no pains to disturb the government of that prince. The lord of Broffes, being dead, she had the precaution to exact from his widow, Nicole de Penthievre, a fresh confirmation of the cession which she and her husband had made to Lewis the Eleventh, and his successors, of all their claims to the duchy of Brittany. The duke, informed of these proceedings, sent ambassadors to the king to express his astonishment at the conduct of the French council, in thinking of making use of a title so false and illusive as the famous letter granted to John de Penthievre, and to offer in his name either to give an authentic copy of the counter letter written by that nobleman, or to shew the original to any commissioners whom his majesty might chuse to appoint for the purpose of inspecting it. Madame, however, affected to treat this counter-letter as a forgery, and desired it might be sent for examination to the council of France; a request with which the duke was not so weak as to comply. Finding it impossible to obtain any satisfaction from the French council, and learning that Madame was using her utmost exertions to acquire partisans in Brittany, the duke assem-

bled the states of the duchy, and made them swear, in the most solemn manner, that, after his death, they would acknowledge his two daughters, respectively, and according to the order of their birth, for his sole and lawful heirs; that they would pay them obedience as such; and that they would oppose, to the utmost of their power, any attempts that might be made to despoil them of their sovereignty, and of their just rights.

After he had taken this precaution, the duke sent an ambassador to Maximilian, who had lately been raised to the rank of king of the Romans, urging him to invade France, and promising to supply him with a body of troops, with provisions, and with arms. A treaty was concluded between these princes at Bruges, by which they engaged not to lay down their arms, till they had obliged the king to dismiss all those members of his council who gave him evil advice, and to observe all the regulations proposed by the states at Tours. The better to secure the obedience of the Flemings, he made his son, though an infant, swear to observe this treaty, under the title of the duke of Austria and Burgundy; and with the money he had exacted from the inhabitants of Ghent, he was enabled to raise a powerful army of Germans and Swifs.

Madame, apprised of these preparations, thought it necessary to encrease the number of her troops. Since the suppression, by Lewis the Eleventh, of the free archers, which had been embodied by his father, and the dismissal of six thousand Swifs at the commencement of the present reign, France had no other infantry than the militia of the different towns, who were ill-disciplined, and who were barely sufficient to defend the places to which they belonged*. The regular troops of calvary dispersed on the frontiers, and in those fortresses which lay nearest to the enemy, could with difficulty assemble, and form a compact body of forces. Madame, therefore, after consulting the seneschals and bailiffs of the different provinces in the kingdom, on the best means of re-establishing a body of infantry, which had become requisite for the defence of the state, decreed, by the advice of the council, that every fifty-five hearths should supply one man completely armed, and pay him sixty sous a month. This was, to all intents, a new tax, but the necessity of the establishment was so evident as to prevent all murmurs. Besides this national militia, Madame deemed it prudent to recall the six thousand Swifs whom she had before dismissed.

Maximilian, before he proceeded to an open declaration of war, gave orders to the governors of his towns to make some attempts on the French territories; Montigni, governor of Hainaut, accordingly took the town of Mortagne by surprise; while Salazar *escaladed* the walls of Terouenne, during the night, and thus, without the smallest effusion of blood, made himself master of one of the strongest places in Artois; a place, too, rendered more important by the circumstance of of the marechal Desquerdes having established his magazines there. After this

* Godefroi, recueil de pieces—Histoire Manuscrite de Charles VIII. par Fontanieu.

success, Maximilian no longer delayed the publication of a manifesto, in which, excusing the king on account of his youth, he inveighed against the conduct of Madame de Beaujeu and her husband, whose ambition and avarice had, he said disgusted the princes and chief nobility in the kingdom, and induced the neighbouring powers to take up arms against France. He complained of their intrigues with the Flemings; of the supplies, both of men and money, which they had sent to la Mark; and of the hostilities which they had caused to be committed in Flanders, by the marechal Desquerdes; he observed, that the only mode of averting the calamities with which the monarchy was threatened, was to dismiss from the king's presence all those who took advantage of his weakness, and to convene a second assembly of the states-general, to which he and the emperor, his father, would send ambassadors, to restore concord among the princes of the blood, and to ensure, by new treaties, the tranquility of France; and he concluded, by exhorting the parliament and city of Paris to concur with him in so laudable an undertaking. This manifesto was treated with contempt by the council, and the herald who delivered it was advised to dissuade his master from engaging in an unjust war. Maximilian did not, indeed, follow their advice, but finding himself too weak to undertake any expedition of importance, he was soon obliged to disband his troops, while the attention of the French court was once more directed to the affairs of Brittany.

The death of Landois had failed to restore tranquillity to that duchy; the same pretensions, the same intrigues, either for despoiling or for marrying the heiress of Brittany, still subsisted, and the danger to which the duchy had been lately exposed by the duke's illness, awakened the public attention*. In a short time a fresh league was formed against Madame, into which not only the duke of Orleans and the count of Angoulême entered, but the whole house of Foix; the lord of Albret; his son; the king of Navarre; the prince of Orange; Lescun, who had all the forces of Guienne at his disposal; the old count of Nevers, of the house of Burgundy; the lords of Pons and d'Orval; and the duke of Lorraine himself. This last prince had been disgusted with the king, who, before the commissioners, appointed for settling their respective claims to Provence could come to a decision, had, by his letters-patent irrevocably united that country to the crown; he had, also, taken from the duke his company of a hundred lances, and the pension of thirty-six thousand livres, which had been granted him till such time as the difference with regard to Provence could be settled.

Dunois, though in exile, was the soul of this intrigue, and he secretly congratulated himself on the success of his efforts. When he found that Maximilian had been able, without any assistance, to withstand during two years, the whole force of the kingdom; that the duke of Savoy claimed the marquisate of Saluces; that the duke of Brittany was inseparably united to the duke of Orleans, and

* Histoire de Charles VIII. par Jaligot.

was influenced by the advice of the enemies of Madame; that the house of Foix, the lord of Albret, the king and queen of Navarre, had engaged to promote an insurrection in Gascony; while Lescun was to arm the inhabitants of Guienne; that several noblemen of distinction in the provinces, and even some of the state counsellors, had secretly acceded to this league, he had no doubt, but that, in the ensuing spring, Madame must infallibly fall beneath the united exertions of her numerous enemies. Inspired by this hope, he left the place of his exile without the king's permission, and, returning to France, established his residence in the town of Partenai, the fortifications of which he hastened to repair.

This was the first symptom that appeared of the conspiracy. Madame had no doubt, but that a prince so renowned for his prudence had duly concerted his projects before he threw off the mask; in order, therefore, to discover his resources, and to learn what she had to fear, she sent deputies to desire he would account for his conduct, and to reproach him with his presumption in daring to disobey the king's positive orders: these deputies told him, that his rendezvous on the frontiers of Brittany had rendered him an object of suspicion to the court; and they proposed to him, as the last proof of his majesty's condescension, to retire to his county of Longueville in Normandy. Dunois refused to enter into any explanation, and the only answer he would give the deputies was—"I am at home".

An attempt, equally unsuccessful, was made to allure the duke of Orleans to court; and ambassadors were sent to remonstrate with the duke of Brittany; but that prince retorted, by reproaching Madame with her intrigues to disturb his government, and to despoil his daughters of their lawful inheritance.

A. D. 1487.] Madame, meanwhile, intercepted a courier, charged with dispatches, from such of the king's officers and counsellors of state as had joined the princes, in which she found a complete plan of the conspiracy. In consequence of this discovery she immediately issued orders for apprehending Geoffrey de Pompadour, bishop of Perigueux, and almoner to the king; George d'Amboise, bishop of Montauban; his brother, Bussi d'Amboise, and Philip de Commines, the celebrated historian. She had also taken measures for securing Lewis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi; but that prelate effected his escape to Avignon, whence he afterward obtained permission to return to France.

Madame now perceived the extent of her danger, and concluded that her ruin might be the consequence of giving her enemies time to collect their forces and settle their plans. She, therefore, wrote to the citizens of Bourdeaux, and the inhabitants of all the other towns in Guienne, exhorting them to persist in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, and warning them to be on their guard against the intrigues of the governors and garrisons of the different fortresses; and, so early as the eleventh of February, she passed the Loire, and took the king into Poitou. Dunois expected that it was the intention of the royalists to besiege him in Partenai, but he soon learnt that the king had passed through Poitiers, and was directing his march towards Guienne. Charles, accordingly,

entered that province, which was defended by Odet d'Aidie, seneſchal of Carcaſſonne, brother and lieutenant to the lord of Lescun, who advanced with a ſmall body of troops to the town of Saintes, in order to oppoſe the paſſage of the royaliſts over the river Charente, and to give time to the lord of Albret and the count of Angoulême to join him with the forces under their command. But being foiled in the attempt—from his neglect to ſecure a tower which commanded the bridge—he evacuated Saintes and repaired to Pons. He was ſoon, however, obliged to quit that place, and, being cloſely purſued by the king's army, he, at length, ſhut himſelf up in the ſmall town of Blaye, where his troops revolted, and, in conjunction with the inhabitants, compelled him to capitulate. Reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the king's clemency, he only demanded to be continued in his office, and to have his ſalaries and penſions ſecured to him; on which condition he promiſed to ſurrender to the royaliſts all the fortreſſes and caſtles in his brother's poſſeſſion. The offer was accepted, and in a few days, the king became maſter of the caſtle of Trompette, of Fronſac, Reole, Saint-Sever, Dax, and the citadel of Bayonne. He gave the government of Guienne to the lord of Beaujeu, who being unable to reſide, appointed the lord of Candale his lieutenant. The admiralty of Guienne was united to that of France, and the county of Comminges annexed to the crown.

The rapid progreſs of the royal arms ſtruck a panic into the confederates, many of whom haſtened to procure, by timely ſubmiſſion, a pardon for their offences; the lord of Albret, and the king and queen of Navarre, made terms with the king; the count of Angoulême, too, forſook the confederates, and Madame, being anxious to ſecure his future attachment, promoted his marriage with Louiſa of Savoy, daughter to the count of Breſſe, and niece—by her mother's ſide—to the lord of Beaujeu, and the conſtable de Bourbon; from this marriage ſprang Francis the Firſt. The count of Dunois, on the approach of the royal army, evacuated Partenai, and fled, with precipitation, into Brittany, whither the king prepared to follow him.

The aſcendancy which the duke of Orleans had acquired at the court of Brittany, gave great offence to the Breton nobles*; and the mareſchal de Rieux, the count of Laval, the viſcount of Rohan, and upwards of fifty other gentlemen, retired in diſcontent to Chateaubrient, where they formed an aſſociation, which was ſoon after joined by the baron d'Avaugour, the duke of Brittany's natural ſon. The conduct of this ſeditious band, being properly reſented by their ſovereign, they ſacrificed the intereſt of their country to the gratification of their private reſentment, and entered into a treaty with the king of France; by which it was agreed—1. That the king ſhould ſend an army into Brittany, not exceeding four hundred lances, and four thouſand infantry; and that he ſhould prefer no claim to the duchy during the duke's life—2. That theſe troops ſhould be placed under the command of the mareſchal de Rieux, or of ſome one of the

* *Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau.*

confederated barons, and that they should not lay siege to any town, where the duke should have established his residence.—3. That as soon as the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, the prince of Orange, and the lord of Lescun, against whom the war should be directed, should have evacuated Brittany the king should withdraw his troops, without requiring any recompence. Charles accepted these terms without hesitation, and without the smallest intention of adhering to them; this was a part of his father's infamous policy, which his sister had been careful to instil into his pious mind. Madame had resolved to execute her favourite project of reducing Brittany to subjection; and the state of Europe was such as appeared to favour her schemes.

Maximilian, indeed was engaged in close alliance with the duke of Brittany, and was in hopes of marrying his daughter; but his indigence, and the seditious disposition of the Flemings, prevented him from affording that assistance which was expected from him. The attention of Ferdinand and Isabella was wholly engrossed by the conquest of Grenada; and had they even been unoccupied, it was well known that the resignation of Roussillon and Cerdagne, to which they had claims, would have effectually secured their neutrality. England, alone, was both enabled by her power, and invited by her interest, to support the independence of the Bretons. Of this Madame was aware, and to avert the storm which she expected from that quarter, she sent ambassadors to England, to congratulate Henry on his success in reducing his rebellious subjects, and, at the same time, to make the greatest professions of amity, esteem and confidence.

The ambassadors sought to persuade the English monarch that in the contest between the court of France and the duke of Brittany, the latter was the aggressor, in having offered protection to the duke of Orleans, who had been guilty of treasonable practices: and that the war, which, on the part of France, they affirmed was merely defensive, would cease the moment that protection should be withdrawn. They farther observed, that their master was sensible of the obligations which Henry owed to the duke of Brittany for protecting him in the hour of distress; but reminded him, at the same time, that at a more critical period Francis and his ministers had forsaken him, and reduced him to seek for refuge in the court of France, where he had not only experienced the most hospitable reception, but received the assistance which had laid the foundation of his subsequent successes. For these reasons they hoped, that if the situation of Henry's affairs precluded the possibility of returning the obligation to France on the present occasion, he would, at least, observe a perfect neutrality. In order to strengthen this plausible discourse, they imparted to Henry, as in confidence, the intention of their sovereign, so soon as he should have settled the disputes in Brittany, to enforce by arms his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples: a project which, they knew, could give no umbrage to the court of England. Henry, however, was not to be deceived by these artful evasions; but as he imagined that France could not succeed in her attempts, he was induced to listen to the

dictates of his avarice, which rendered him averse from all foreign enterprises and distant expeditions, however politic, and however necessary to the future safety of his dominions. He, therefore determined to try the expedient of negotiation, and gave a general answer to the ambassadors, expressive of his concern at a rupture between two princes, to each of whom he was under such essential obligations, and of his resolution to act as a mediator between them.

The French, meanwhile, had entered Brittany; and, besides the stipulated number of troops which had been promised to the barons, the king sent two other detachments into the duchy, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpensier, la Tremouille, and Saint-Andre*. Hostilities were first begun by the army commanded by the Breton nobles, who took Rhedon, and laid siege to Ploermel, which soon capitulated. The duke of Brittany, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, had placed himself at the head of six hundred lances, and sixteen thousand infantry, with which he advanced to raise the siege; but finding the place had surrendered, he pursued his rebellious barons, in order to bring them to action. But his principal officers, infected by the general contagion of revolt, found means to instil a spirit of dissention into the soldiers, such numbers of whom disbanded, that the duke was compelled to fly before the rebels, and shut himself up in Vannes, which was immediately invested. The town being incapable of defence, the dukes of Brittany and Orleans, with the count of Dunois and Lescun, must inevitably have fallen into the king's hands, but for the activity of the prince of Orange, who no sooner heard of their situation, than he left Nantes, and, sailing down the Loire, stopped at Croisic and Guerrande, where he collected all the vessels he could find, and entered the port of Vannes in safety. The duke of Brittany and the French princes immediately embarked, and made the best of their way to Nantes, while the garrison of Vannes surrendered that town to the French.

Nantes, the most considerable town in the duchy, and the best fortified, was now besieged by the French army; and Dunois, who was with the duke of Brittany, entertained such apprehensions for its safety, that he resolved to go to England in person, to solicit assistance from the English monarch; he accordingly left the town in disguise, and repaired to Saint Malo, but the prevalence of contrary winds prevented his embarkation. This circumstance, however, which Dunois was in used to consider as a misfortune, proved the means of saving the duchy, for it hastened the arrival of a fleet, containing a reinforcement of fifteen hundred veteran troops, which Maximilian had sent to the assistance of his ally. Dunois having, at the same time, received information that the peasants of Lower Brittany, apprised of the danger to which their sovereign was exposed, had assembled in a tumultuous manner, and only wanted a leader to head them, he immediately offered himself to this formidable band, and having selected ten

* Lobineau.—Jaligny.—Hist. Ludov. Aurel.—Belleforet, Annales de France.

thousand of the most able and best-armed, he joined the Germans, and returned in triumph to Nantes.

While the king was engaged in the siege of this city, Ursic, almoner to Henry the Seventh, arrived as ambassador from that prince. Having made known to Madame the purport of his journey, that able princess accepted with alacrity Henry's offer of mediation, under the idea that the duke of Orleans, from a consciousness that his ruin must form the basis of an accommodation, would exert his utmost influence with the duke of Brittany to make him reject the proposal of the English monarch. The event justified her prudence. When the ambassador made the same offer to the duke of Brittany, who was then confined to his bed by sickness, he was answered by the duke of Orleans, in the name of Francis, that, in such a perilous conjuncture, he expected from Henry the most effectual assistance, rather than a fruitless offer of mediation, which could not tend, in the smallest degree, to impede the progress of the French arms: that if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient to impel him to the adoption of such a measure, his prudence, at least, should suggest to him how very important it was to England to prevent the annexation of the duchy of Brittany to the crown of France. This, however, did not induce Henry to depart from that line of conduct which he had previously determined to pursue; and, indeed, when he found that the peasants of Lower Brittany had risen in favour of their prince, and that the reinforcement introduced into Nantes by the count of Dunois, compelled the French to raise the siege of that city, he was fortified in his opinion that the court of France would experience such insurmountable obstacles to the accomplishment of their object, as would finally oblige them to abandon their design.

From Nantes the French army hastened to Clifton, a town belonging to the baron d'Avaugour, who, enraged at the introduction of a French garrison into a place where he commanded in person, abandoned the confederates, and returned to his father's court. Vitry surrendered to the French; and the small town of Dol, in consequence of a refusal to open her gates, was taken by assault, and resigned to pillage. Saint-Aubin du Cormier made a vigorous resistance, under the command of its brave governor, William de Rosnyviken, who had served with distinction in the French army, under Charles the Seventh, his son Lewis; and the desertion of the garrison had left this gallant veteran with only forty or fifty men, with which trifling force, he successfully opposed, for several days, the utmost exertions of an army of fourteen thousand combatants. He had expressed his determination rather to bury himself beneath the ruins of the town, than to surrender it to the enemy; but the earnest entreaties of his friends, and his generous concern for the few brave men who had remained attached to his fortunes, at length induced him to break the rash resolution, and to propose terms of capitulation, which were immediately accepted. The honours paid him by the French, who admired his courage, rendered him an object of suspicion to the court of Brittany, who seized his estates, plundered his house, and deprived him of his

places. A subject less faithful might have been led to revolt, by such an act of injustice; but in the mind of Rosnyviken, honour always rose superior to resentment. He immediately repaired to Nantes, where he procured an audience of his sovereign, to whom he represented, with manly firmness, that four of his nephews, the only support of his house, had lost their lives in the service of their prince; that his brother, who had married the rich heiress of Vaucouleurs, had also perished in the field of battle; that, for his own part, ever since he had been able to mount his horse, he had never failed in his duty to his country; that he had been present at every battle which had been fought in Brittany, and although, when his country was at peace, he had entered into the service of France, and had acquired some reputation in the wars of Charles the Seventh, and Lewis the Eleventh, he had, whenever war was declared between the kings of France and the dukes of Brittany, without hesitation resigned his places, and rejected the most tempting offers, in order to fly to the assistance of his country; that he had not only served her with his sword, but had been so fortunate as to assist his masters with his purse in times of necessity; that the duke must recollect that when Guerche was taken by the French, he had lent him two thousand crowns; and that he had also lent two thousand more to the count of Dunois, to enable him to subsist the troops which he was conducting to the relief of Nantes; and he, lastly, explained his conduct at Saint-Aubin du Cormier, and justified himself so completely, that the duke, detesting the perfidy of his enemies, and condemning his own weakness, in having listened to their suggestions, immediately ordered his property to be restored, and, being unable, at that time, to indemnify him fully for the losses he had sustained, appointed him to be one of his *maîtres d'hôtel*.

Various towns and fortresses were now taken and retaken by the two armies; while Maximilian sent a fresh reinforcement to his ally. The duke was so well pleased at this new proof of his friendship, that he immediately wrote to the king of the Romans, telling him that if he could, within a certain time, repair in person to Brittany, with an army sufficiently strong to expel the French from the duchy, his daughter should marry him without delay, and he would make the states take an oath of allegiance to him. But Maximilian was unfortunately in a situation which rendered it impossible for him to profit by this proposal.

The marshal Desquerdes, who commanded the French forces in the Netherlands, had taken the towns of Saint-Omer and Terouenne, the former by surprise, the latter by the perfidy of one of the inhabitants*. He had also, by an act of treachery, dignified, by the cruel policy of war, with the appellation of stratagem, seduced a body of Germans into an ambuscade, in which most of them perished by the sword. Weakened, by these repeated losses, it was with the utmost difficulty that Maximilian had been able to send a small reinforcement to the duke of Brittany; and so far from being able to join him with a powerful army, he stood in need of assistance himself.

* Heuter. rer. Belgic.—Haraeus, Annal. Brabant.—Jaligny.

Charles, by this time, found himself in possession of the towns of Ancenis, Clisson, Châteaubient, Guerche, Vitré, Dol, Saint-Aubin, Ploermel, Vannes, and Aurai*, and, as the season was far advanced, he distributed his troops in the different places he had reduced, and returned to France.

The duke of Orleans, and the other confederates, now plainly perceived, that, unless they could succeed in promoting unanimity among the Breton nobles, and in procuring more powerful assistance than they had hitherto been able to obtain, their ruin was inevitable. In order, therefore, to remove those prejudices, which the people of Brittany, who imputed to them all the misfortunes of their country, had been led to encourage, they gave it out, that as they had only come to Brittany on the invitation of the duke, their ally, and in the view to defend him, they were ready to leave the duchy, if the king would engage to let him live in peace, and to restore all the places which he had unjustly taken from him : and to prove their sincerity, they demanded a safe conduct of Charles for the lord of Lescun, whom they appointed to settle the conditions of their return. This nobleman accordingly repaired to Pont à l'Arche, in Normandy (where the court then resided) accompanied by Dubois, an officer in the household of the marshal de Rieux, who had been prevailed on by Lescun to forsake the associated barons of Brittany, in case the king should refuse to comply with the demands of the princes.

As Lescun was aware of the improbability of concluding, in the present state of affairs, the accommodation he was sent to negotiate, he only dwelt, in his speech to the French council, on those circumstances which he knew would most offend Madame : he expatiated on the abuses which prevailed in the government, on the infraction of the articles accorded by the states of Tours, and on the unjust persecution of the duke of Orleans. No answer was made to his proposals ; he had been heard with indignation, and was dismissed with contempt. Dubois next spoke, in the name of the marshal de Rieux ; he accused the king of having broken the two first articles of the treaty of Chateaubrient, as well by sending into Brittany a greater number of troops than had been agreed on, as by forming the siege of Nantes, where the duke resided : he expressed his hopes, however, that his majesty would fulfil the third article, by immediately evacuating the duchy, and by restoring the places he had taken from the duke, since the princes of the blood, against whom alone the war had been directed, offered to leave Brittany on condition only that they should be suffered to live at peace. Madame, at first, attempted to separate the cause of the marshal from that of the princes, and she continued, for some time, to elude the demand of his envoy ; but Dubois, aware of the artifice, insisted, with becoming firmness, on a direct and positive answer ; When Madame, resolved to sacrifice justice to policy, told him that the king would suffer no man to interfere in his affairs, and that he had advanced too far to retreat.

* Bellefôret, *Annales de France*.

As soon as the marechal de Rieux was apprised of this answer, he dismissed all the French who were then at Ancenis, where he resided, and exacted a fresh oath of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, from the remainder of the garrison, and the inhabitants of the town; and repaired to Chateaubrient, which belonged to his son-in-law, the lord of Montafilant. Having gained access to that town, with a small body of troops, he entered the castle, where several of the confederated barons were at supper, and thus addressed the company:—"Gentlemen, you all know what were the conditions of the treaty we signed in this very place, with the French: they have all been violated. I have complained of this infidelity; my remonstrances have given offence, and the French no longer make a secret of their intention to subdue Brittany, and to treat it as a conquered country. It is now time to shew who we are. This place is already in the power of the duke, our master; but as I gained admission as a friend, I do not mean to offer violence to any man's inclinations; such as chuse to return to their duty, may remain here and rely on my friendship; while those who had rather persist in their alliance with France, are at liberty to leave the town with their arms and baggage."—The lord of Montafilant, and many of his friends, immediately chose the former, and renewed their oaths of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, while some few of the barons profited by the permission to depart.

A. D. 1488.] During these transactions, Maximilian was reduced to the most wretched situation; Desquerdes, having successfully exerted the detestable policy of exciting an insurrection in an enemy's country, the inhabitants of Ghent, ever ripe for sedition, had shaken off the authority of their lawful sovereign, re-established the democratical form of government, and placed themselves under the protection of France. The king of the Romans, on the first news of his event, hastened to Bruges, where the citizens, tainted with the same spirit of revolt, flew to arms, and compelled the prince, who was but slightly attended, to shut himself up in his palace. The brave Salazar, who had accompanied him, proposed to force a passage through the seditious rabble, but Maximilian declined an attempt which he regarded as desperate; Salazar, however, resolved to try it himself: accordingly, having clad himself in complete armour, and fixed on twelve determined men to accompany him, he seized an opportunity while the citizens were opening one of the gates of the town, to attack them sword in hand, and killing all who dared to resist, he cut his way through the mob, and effected his escape. After his departure, Maximilian was treated with the greatest indignity; he was confined a close prisoner in his palace, many of his officers were massacred, and his own life was almost hourly in danger. The inhabitants of Ghent were no sooner informed of his situation, than they sent to desire he might be delivered into their hands; this, however, the citizens of Bruges thought proper to refuse, though they consented to deliver up ten of his attendants, who were conveyed to Ghent where they were put to the torture. Ten of the the citizens of Ghent, who had also distinguished themselves by their loyalty, were invited to dine with the principal magistrates, who, after regaling them in the most splendid manner, and loading them with ca-

resses, introduced an executioner and several priests. The unhappy guests were immediately put to death, and their bodies having been conveyed to a church of a neighbouring convent, the inhuman magistrates sent for their wives, telling them they were at liberty to visit their husbands, and to dispose of them as they pleased. To such refinement of cruelty did these popular demagogues proceed; and, indeed, we have generally found, that were the people have usurped an authority, which, though in particular cases they may be entitled to confer, it was certainly never intended they should exercise, they have employed it for the most abominable purposes.

While these events were passing in the Netherlands, the king returned to Paris, where he held a bed of justice, at which the confederated princes were formerly tried, though it was not deemed adviseable to pass sentence on them. These violent proceedings, at length, opened the eyes of the English monarch, to avert the effects of whose repentment, lord Bernard d'Aubigny, a Scotch nobleman, was sent to London; and this ambassador had orders to persuade Henry to persist in his offers of meditation to the duke of Brittany. Henry, on his part, dispatched another embassy to Paris, consisting of Urswic, the abbot of Abingdon, and sir Richard Tonstal, who were charged with new proposals for an accommodation, all of which were rejected by Madame. No succours, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen of England, having asked permission to raise privately a body of volunteers, and transport them into Brittany, met with a refusal, which, however, proved insufficient to deter him from his purpose. Being governor of the Isle of Wight, he went thither, and raised four hundred men, whom he immediately conducted to the assistance of the Bretons; but this enterprize proved fatal to its projector, and afforded small relief to the unhappy duke.

The French, meanwhile, had opened the campaign by the siege of Châteaubriant, the garrison whereof, after an obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. The town of Ancenis, belonging to the marechal de Rieux, was next reduced and pillaged; the ditches were filled up, and all the fortifications demolished*. At length, however, the duke of Brittany assembled an army (commanded by the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the marechal de Rieux and the lord of Albret) sufficiently formidable to resist the progress of the French, had not the generals been more anxious to lay snares for each other, than to frustrate the designs of the enemy. The object of this army was to relieve the town of Fougères, which was then besieged by the French; but finding it had surrendered, they directed their march towards Saint Aubin du Cormier, with the view to carry that place by assault before the garrison could be reinforced. La Tremouille, who commanded the French, having guessed their design, directed his march to the same quarter, and the two armies met, unexpectedly, at the village of Orange. It is generally allowed that had the Bretons attacked the French without delay, they

* Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau—Hist. Ludovic. Aurelian—Belleforet, Annales des France.

might have obtained an easy victory ; but the dissensions which prevailed amongst their leaders made them lose the opportunity ; and both sides proceeded, with great deliberation, to form their plan of attack. The duke of Orleans was entitled, from his rank, to have the chief command, but a report having been propagated that he maintained a correspondence with the enemy, he alighted from his horse, and placed himself in the ranks, and his example was followed by the prince of Orange, and some other French officers. The command of the van devolved on the marechal de Rieux ; the lord of Albret led the center, and the rear was entrusted to the lord of Montafilant. One of the wings was covered by a thick wood, and the other by the baggage. The French army was drawn up in two divisions, the first of which was commanded by Adrian de l'Hopital, and the second by La Tremouille ; a body of cavalry was placed in ambush, under the conduct of Galiot, who had orders to profit by any confusion which might occur during the action. The first attack of the Bretons was firm and impetuous ; the French, unable to withstand it, gave way and retreated to some distance ; but the Bretons, in pursuing them, incautiously opened their ranks, and thus afforded an opportunity to the cavalry, in which the French were greatly superior, to attack them to advantage. This opportunity was eagerly seized and successfully improved : the horse rushed forward, overthrew the first ranks, and cut their way to the center of the army ; at that critical moment, while the Bretons were in confusion, Galiot attacked them in flank ; the rout then became general ; twelve or thirteen hundred of the Bretons perished in the field ; near six thousand were taken prisoners, and the rest fled with the utmost precipitation. Among the slain was the young lord of Leon, son to the viscount of Rohan ; and among the prisoners were the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and Mosen Gralla, captain of the Spanish guards. Lord Woodville, and all the English, were massacred in cool blood, together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial prowess of that nation was always formidable.

After the battle, the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were conducted to Saint Aubin, where Tremouille invited them, and all the officers who had been taken with them, to sup with him. After supper, he whispered something to one of his attendants, who, in a short time, introduced two friars into the room. The princes, alarmed at the sight, immediately rose from table, and remained motionless ; but Tremouille desired them not to be alarmed, for that their lives were safe till the king should have decreed otherwise. "But," —said he—"as for you, captains, who have been taken in the act of fighting against your king and country, prepare yourselves for death, for you must die instantly." The princes in vain interfered in behalf of their partisans ; the inhuman general remained inexorable, and his sanguinary orders were immediately executed. The duke of Orleans himself, after being transferred from one prison to another for some time, was, at length, confined in the tower of Bour-

ges, where he was treated with the utmost severity, being shut up, every night in an iron cage. The prince of Orange was confined in a prison at Angers.

By the defeat of Saint Aubin the military force of Brittany was totally broken, and the greatest consternation spread throughout the duchy. La Tremouille hastened to Rennes, and summoned the citizens to surrender, threatening them with the effects of his vengeance, should they presume to resist; but they treated his threats with contempt, and expressed their resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity. He was induced, therefore, to alter his plan, and to direct his course to Dinant, which he speedily reduced; he then proceeded to Saint Malo, a place of great strength, but the cowardice of the garrison rendered it an easy conquest.

The duke of Brittany, finding himself unable to cope with the superior power of France, was, at length, reduced to the necessity of suing for peace*. The propriety of noticing his application was submitted to the discussion of the French council; when Madame, and her partisans, maintained that, after so much labour and expence, it would be madness to stop, when in sight of the goal; that the smallest delay might change the face of affairs, and render that conquest a matter of doubt, which now appeared to be certain: that care should be taken not to give the Bretons time to recover from their consternation, and to claim the protection of foreign powers: and that, in all expeditions, the best mode of ensuring success was to make the most of a favourable opportunity, which once lost might never be recovered. These reasons, more specious than solid, were admitted as decisive by the majority of the council, from a servile deference to those who urged them; when William de Rochefort, chancellor of France, thus addressed the council:—"All those who have spoken before me, have endeavoured to prove that the conquest of Brittany would be easily accomplished; but yet no one has taken the trouble to examine whether it would be just to attempt it, yet that surely is the first object of consideration! Nations of old, who had not received the light of the gospel, thought the plea of convenience sufficient to authorise the seizure of any neighbouring country: but a Christian prince has other rules of conduct. He owes an example of justice to the rest of the world, and he considers a war, that is not founded in equity, as oppression. The king, I know, advances certain claims upon the duchy of Brittany, but these claims are still involved in the obscurity of the cabinet; they have not been submitted to the censure of the laws. Let, then, commissioners—men of knowledge and integrity—be speedily appointed; let the respective titles be submitted to their inspection, and let a perfect freedom of discussion be accorded them: if, after a strict examination, those of the king shall be deemed unjust, or even doubtful, there will be no room for hesitation: the conquest of Brittany—were it even more easy of accomplishment than it is represented—must be renounced. This example of moderation will do the king more honour than the most splendid

* Jaligni—Lobineau.

conquest. If, on the contrary, they should be declared valid, it will then be proper to enforce them; the Bretons will open their eyes, and will no longer dare to resist a prince, who has justice on his side." This honest advice was, after much discussion, adopted by the council; and, on the twenty-first of August, 1488, the king concluded a treaty of peace, at Sablé, with the ministers of the duke of Brittany, on the following conditions:

"1. The duke shall dismiss from his dominions all the foreigners whom he has drawn thither, and he shall swear upon the gospel, and upon the true cross, that neither he, nor his successors will ever invite any foreigners into Brittany, to assist him with their advice or with their sword, in making war upon the king, his sovereign. 2. He shall not marry the princesses, his daughters, without the knowledge and consent of the king, who, on his part, declares that he will treat them favourably, and as his near relations. 3. The two preceding articles shall be sworn to by all the nobles, ecclesiastics, barons and inhabitants of the principal towns in the duchy; who shall engage to pay the king, in case of any breach of this treaty, the sum of two hundred thousand crowns of gold; for which sum the principal towns in the duchy shall be mortgaged, and particularly the town of Nantes. 4. The king shall keep, until the full accomplishment of these conditions, the towns of Saint Malo, Dinant, Fougères, Vitre and Saint Aubin, and shall put what garrisons he may think proper in those towns; but he engages immediately to withdraw the garrisons from all the other towns now in his possession, and to renounce all farther conquests. 5. The king shall restore to the duke's daughters, or their heirs, the towns of Saint Malo and Fougères, in case the commissioners appointed to examine the claims of either party, shall determine that his pretensions are invalid, without requiring any indemnity for the expences of the war; but if the princesses should marry against his will, or even without his consent, he shall then keep, as his own property, all the towns he possesses in Brittany."

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Sablé, which Francis swore to observe, and, a few days after, having received a fall from his horse, he expired at Coiron, on the ninth of September*. By his last will, he appointed the marshal de Rieux his executor, and guardian of the two princesses, the care of whose persons he entrusted to Frances de Dinan, countess of Laval; he ordered the county of Penthièvre to be restored to the children of the lord of Albret, and an indemnity to be made to that nobleman himself for the expences he had incurred during the war. He empowered the marshal de Rieux, to whom he entrusted the supreme power during the minority of his daughters, to consult, in all matters of difficulty, with the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and Lescun count of Comminges. He was silent as to the marriage of the two princesses, that he might not violate the treaty he had just concluded with the king; but from the manner in which he had settled the administration, it appear-

* Histoire de Bretagne, per Lobineau—Jaligni.

ed impossible for the princess Anne to escape the lord of Albret, whose interest was espoused by all who had authority over her. Her aversion for this nobleman was, indeed, well known, but this was considered as a matter of such little consequence by the party concerned, that the lord of Albret had already taken the necessary steps for procuring a dispensation from the pope.

Anne's first care was to apprise the king of her father's death, and to request that an event so unfortunate for Brittany might operate no change in the condition of the treaty of Sablé. But the French court had resolved to adopt a system of persecution hostile to every principle of honour, generosity, or good faith; a system conceived and enforced in the true spirit of Lewis the Eleventh. Agreeably to this system the young monarch replied, that he was willing to fulfil his engagements, on the following conditions.—1. That, being the lord paramount, and the nearest relation of the two princesses, he should be declared their guardian, and should have the management of their property during their minority. 2. That, for the final settlement of the difference between them and him, relative to the duchy of Brittany, they should communicate their titles to the commissioners, who should assemble before the month of January, in order to examine their validity; and that, until their decisions should be known, neither Anne nor her sister should assume the title of duchess. 3. That conformably to the first article of the treaty of Sablé all foreigners should be immediately expelled from Brittany.

Anne, without entering into any discussion on these demands, replied, that she should religiously adhere to the last treaty; and that as one of the articles stipulated that the three estates of the duchy should swear to observe it, she had just convened them for that purpose. She then complained of the conduct of the French generals, who, in violation of the treaty, had continued to ravage the country, and had recently made themselves masters of Moncontour. The king promised to repair all damages, withdrew the garrison of Moncontour, and delivered up the town to the Breton officers. But while he thus affected to pay a rigid observance to his word, on matters of little importance, in order to inspire the princess with a dangerous confidence, he connived at proceedings which were more calculated to alarm her.

The viscount of Rohan, at the head of a considerable detachment of the French army, addressed a long manifesto to the principal towns of Lower Brittany, in which, after deploring the calamities of his country, he conjured all his fellow citizens to unite in her defence. He asserted, that the king of France having taken up arms for the purpose of preventing the duchy, which was a fief of the crown, from falling into the hands of a foreigner, was ready to lay them down as soon as the Bretons should have chosen, as a husband for their sovereign, a prince on whose fidelity they could rely: that he had already obtained the king's consent for his son to become her husband, and that the justice of his pretensions had been acknowledged at the court of Brittany, by the marshal de Rieux, and the counts of Laval, whom the duke had entrusted with the sovereign authority: he summoned the municipal officers to contribute to the restoration of public tran-

quillity, by joining him in the pursuit of his plan, and by opening to him the gates of their towns.

These insidious professions of patriotism, calculated to conceal the most interested designs, were treated with the contempt they deserved ; but the viscount finding his rhetoric fruitless, had recourse to arms, and reduced many of the towns in Lower Brittany. Anne, meanwhile, perceiving that the king, regardless of his oaths and promises, was only studying how to despoil her of her inheritance, prudently determined to retain the foreign auxiliaries which had been sent to the assistance of her father, and even employed the most earnest solicitations with her allies to induce them to furnish her with fresh succours.

Maximilian had, by the assistance of his father, released himself from the hands of his rebellious subjects, who, nevertheless, still continued to make war on him : he was in Holland when he received the ambassadors from the young duchess of Brittany, who informed him of the deplorable situation of their mistress, and demanded a fresh supply of troops. Maximilian sent her all the forces he could spare, and informed the ambassadors, that having received a promise of effectual assistance from the princes of the empire, he fully intended to penetrate so far into France, that Charles would be compelled to evacuate Brittany, in order to protect his capital.

A. D. 1489.] Unfortunately the situation of the duchess was such as not to permit her to wait the effects of these promises. The viscount of Rohan, after reducing Brest and Concarneau, had extended his invasions to the gates of Rhedon, whither Anne had retired ; but as that place was, in a manner, defenceless, she formed a design of repairing to Nantes, which was one of the strongest towns in the duchy, and where she expected to find the jewels of the crown, which, in the present scarcity of money, would have been highly acceptable to her*. She accordingly sent for the mareschal de Rieux and the lord of Albret to escort her, but instead of obeying her orders, they hastened to Nantes themselves, placed a strong garrison in the city, and persuaded the citizens, that Dunois and Montauban, who accompanied the duchess, and who enjoyed a great share of her confidence, only wished to gain admission into the town, in order to watch for an opportunity of delivering it to the French. After they had taken these precautions, they sent word to their sovereign that she might come to Nantes, but with a retinue only of twelve persons. Being informed that she disregarded their threats, and was advancing towards the town, where they feared her presence would excite an insurrection of the citizens, they went to meet her at the head of a strong detachment, with the view to seize her person. As soon as Anne saw them approaching, she ordered her attendants to put themselves in a posture of defence, then placing herself behind the count of Dunois (on the same horse) she offered them battle. This unexpected display of resolution disconcerted the rebels ; and Rieux, ashamed of attacking a young princess, at once his ward and his sove-

*. Lobineau.

reign, immediately returned to Nantes. The next day, however, he reproached himself for having suffered so fair an opportunity to escape, and placing himself at the head of a stronger detachment, he again went forth to seize the princess.—Anne received him as before, but the count of Dunois, judging the party unequal, advanced before the ranks, and desired to speak with the marshal. He promised to conduct the duchess to Nantes, and delivered John de Louan, a captain in the guards of the duke of Orleans, as a hostage for the performance of his promise. The life of this brave man depended on the punctuality with which Dunois should fulfil his engagement, but his fidelity rose superior to the fear of death. Having gained information of the measures which had been concerted for securing the duchess, and compelling her to bestow her hand on the lord of Albret, he wrote to Dunois, whom he generously released from his promise, requesting he would leave him to his fate, and only think of consulting the safety of the duchess. Dunois availed himself, though with reluctance, of this permission, and conducted the princess to Vannes, whence she afterwards returned to Rhedon.

The king of England, urged by the clamours of his subjects, at length found himself obliged, much against his inclination, to adopt some more vigorous measures than he had hitherto pursued, for the relief of the Bretons. Rieux and Lescun, who were well aware of the importance of associating Henry in their designs, had caused it to be represented to him, by secret emissaries, that Dunois and Montauban, who had, they said, obtained an entire ascendancy over the mind of the young duchess, were paid by the French ministry; that, in order to effect her ruin with the greater certainty, they had led her to suspect the fidelity of her most faithful subjects, and had inspired her with disgust for the lord of Albret, who had sacrificed every thing to her interest: who had, moreover, well-founded claims to one third of Brittany; who had been accepted by the duke for his son-in-law: they represented that the marriage they proposed would be equally advantageous to England as to Brittany, since the lord of Albret, the most powerful nobleman in Gascony, father to the king of Navarre, allied to the king of Spain, might, when duke of Brittany, afford effectual assistance to the English in the recovery of Guienne: that he was, in all respects, the most suitable ally for them, being sufficiently powerful to render them important services, and yet too weak to separate his interest from theirs; whereas Maximilian, sole heir to the vast dominions of the house of Austria, vested with the imperial power, father-in-law to the king of France, and master of all the ports of Holland and Flanders, might, on the most trivial pretext, break with them, and attempt to deprive them of Calais. These reasons, it may be presumed, had but little effect with Henry. In the treaty which he concluded with the duchess, he had three objects in view: the first was to sell his troops as dearly as he could; the second, to exact large securities for the sums he might expend; and third, so to bind down his new ally, that he might become the arbiter of her fate, and obtain such power over her as to make her give her hand to the lord of Albret.

The following were the principal articles of the treaty. 1. "The king of England undertakes to send six thousand regular troops to the assistance of the duchess of Brittany, or even more, so that the number shall not exceed ten thousand, which troops shall be obliged to serve in Brittany from the sixth of January to the first of November. 2. The duchess engages to reimburse the king of England, according to estimation of commissioners chosen by the two powers, all the expences he shall incur for the embarkation, transport, and support of these troops, and to remit to England the sum stipulated for such reimbursement. 3. In order to ensure the validity of her engagement, the duchess will surrender to the English troops, two of the five followings towns, at the option of the king of England, viz. Concarneau, Hennebonne, Aurai, Vannes, and Guerrande; which two towns, with all their dependencies, shall remain in the power of the king of England, till such time as all his expences have been defrayed. Should the duchess succeed in retaking any of the places which are now in possession of the French, the king of England shall be at liberty to take them in exchange for those which he had before chosen, on condition, however, that the English shall not hold at the same time Brest and Concarneau. 4. The duchess, and four of the principal nobility, one of whom shall be the marshal de Rieux, shall swear, in the most solemn manner, that she will not enter into any treaty, nor form any engagement, with regard to her marriage with any sovereign prince, or nobleman without the knowledge and consent of the king of England; and that she will even inform him of the object of all other negotiations which she may open with foreign powers".

Hard as these conditions indisputably were, the duchess subscribed them without any restriction; but she found that most of them had been dictated by her guardian, and that her new protector was likely to become her principal persecutor. She, therefore, was in no haste to deliver up the two places she had agreed to surrender to the English, who landed, to the number of six thousand men, under the conduct of lord Willoughby of Broke. When they disembarked, they were received by some officers who had been sent by Anne to compliment them on their arrival, and to concert with them the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign; but neither quarters nor provisions had been provided for them, and they were reduced to the necessity of encamping on the shore. Disgusted with this reception, they dismissed the officers with contempt, and refused to hold any commerce with them. Anne hastened to send a new embassy to Henry to excuse the bad treatment which his troops had experienced; she represented to him, that she had no longer any authority over her subjects: that Rieux, under the name of her guardian, had become her tyrant, and set an example to the Bretons of disobedience and revolt, that he already boasted of having secured in his interest the principal leaders of the English forces, and that it would be impossible for his victim to escape him: and that she well knew, from the best authority, that that dangerous man suborned the English, by making them believe that if the lord of Albret were duke of Brittany, he might afford them effectual assistance in the recovery of Guienne: but, she observed, Henry

was too prudent to adopt such visionary plans, and to found any hopes on an adventurer, banished and disinherited, who did not then possess a single inch of land in the kingdom: and, lastly, she remarked that the lord of Albret had rendered himself so odious by his unjust persecution, that, rather than marry him, she would bury herself for ever in a cloister. Henry, in his reply, endeavoured to calm her mind, by exhorting her not to give credit to every report she should hear, and by treating her suspicions of the fidelity of her principal officers as the effects of a groundless terror; but he was totally silent with regard to the lord of Albret; he even sent secret orders to his generals not to treat with Anne's officers, but to induce her, if possible, to repair to their camp, herself, or, should they fail in that attempt, to lead their troops to Rennes, under pretence of shewing them to her, and to endeavour, at all events, to secure her person.* Anne would have been unable to resist the efforts of so many enemies who had conspired against her liberty, but for the arrival, at this critical conjuncture, of a considerable reinforcement of Spanish troops, under the conduct of don Diego Perez de Sarmiento, and don Pedro Carilla d'Albemos. These she ordered immediately to march to Rennes, and joining them to the Germans she had received from Maximilian, the French attached to the duke of Orleans and the count of Dunois, and such of the Bretons as the marshal de Rieux had not been able to seduce from their duty, she found herself in a situation to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the violent projects of her persecutors. Ferdinand, not content with having sent this body of troops to the assistance of the duchess, promised that he would, in the course of the summer, make a diversion on the side of the Pyrenees, which should compel the French to divide their forces.

The king, meanwhile, remained at Paris, pretending to be no wife concerned in the hostile attempts of the viscount de Rohan, and waiting, for the regulation of his future conduct, the issue of those intrigues by which Brittany was, at this time, convulsed†. When the French council found that the faction of the lord of Albret had acquired a superiority over the opposite party, that Henry the Seventh had joined it, and that Rieux and Albret, besides the national troops under their command, had at their disposal the six thousand English, they thought that by attacking the princes they would drive her into the snares which had been laid for her by the enemies of France; that the best way would be to remain on the defensive, to give time to the two factions to weaken each other, and then to make use of the weakest, to facilitate their triumph over the strongest.

For this purpose, Madame was careful to conciliate the favour of the Roman pontiff, to whom d'Albret had applied for a dispensation, by releasing two prelates—the bishops of Pui and Montauban—who had been thrown into prison, for maintaining a correspondence with the duke of Orleans. Some other per-

* Garnier, tom. xx p. 129.

† Jaligni.—Lobineau.

sons, who had suffered on the same account, were also released; but Philip de Commines was treated with greater severity. After having been confined eight months in an iron cage, he was delivered over to the parliament, who pronounced a sentence of banishment upon him—the place of his exile to be fixed on by the king—and confiscated one-fourth of his property; but Charles remitted his fine, and afterward took him into favour.

As the capture of the duke of Orleans was openly ascribed to the jealousy and manœuvres of the lord of Albret, the duke's partisans had become the most implacable enemies of that nobleman. The count of Dunois, in whom the duchess reposed an entire confidence, exerted the strong talents which he had received from nature, to counteract all the intrigues of Lescun and Rieux, and secretly rendered France all the service he could, without betraying the interests of Anne. Madame, to whom this conduct had fully reconciled him, determined to give him an associate, actuated by the same views, and she, accordingly, fixed her eyes on the prince of Orange, who was released from prison, and sent, on some frivolous pretext, into Brittany.

The king had now three armies on foot; one in Brittany, a second in Flanders, and a third—under the command of the count of Angoulême and the marshal de Gie—destined to cover Gascony and Languedoc, which were threatened with an invasion from Ferdinand*; and as the ordinary revenue of the state was insufficient to defray the additional expenses incurred thereby, the king determined to exact a tenth of the revenues of the clergy. This resolution was accordingly communicated to the parliament of Paris, who were ordered to support the commissioners appointed to collect the impost. That court, however, observed, that as they had been instituted for the administration of *justice*, it behoved them to inform his majesty that no such impost could be legally levied till the clergy had been assembled, and consulted thereon.

The king, displeased at their interference, sent them a second message, forbidding them to admit any appeals with regard to the impost, and to grant any delay to such as should refuse to pay. With this prohibition, however, the parliament positively refused to comply, and they sanctioned their refusal by the laws of the realm and the principles of the constitution. Charles, despairing to make the magistrates deviate from their duty, had recourse to the pope, who accordingly, in his own name, exacted a tenth from the clergy of France, on pretence of an expedition against the Infidels; two thirds of this impost were to be paid to the king, and the remaining third the sovereign pontiff reserved for himself. But the strenuous opposition of the parliament, seconded by the university of Paris, rendered the tax extremely unproductive.

Nothing of importance occurred in Brittany during the present campaign; the marshal de Rieux made an attempt to seize the chancellor de Montauban, but he was defeated by the count of Dunois, and the prince of Orange; while the English,

* MS. de Fontanieu.—Du Boulai, Hist. Univ. Paris.—Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane.

seeing the duchy thus rent by contending factions, became disgusted with the expedition, and hastened to return. They had already, of their own authority, concluded a truce with the commander of the French garison at Dinant, and had even opened conferences for a peace. Anne sent them what money she could collect, and did not fail to complain to Henry, whom she stiled *her good father*, of the conduct of his officers, who, she said, publicly conspired the ruin of Brittany, and had sold themselves to the mareschal de Rieux. Henry answered the complaints of *his good daughter* by other complaints of her neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and to provide necessaries for his troops, and of her unjust suspicions of his officers, who, he said, were men of the first families in England. He insinuated that some kind of reparation was due to them for this insult, and he required that she should either pay them a visit in their camp, or suffer them to go to Rennes, and review their troops in her presence*. Anne immediately replied, that the English officers, whose fidelity he boasted of, did not even take the trouble of concealing their commerce, as well with the rebels as with the French; that on the contrary they had repelled with contempt, and had almost insulted the officers whom she had sent to them: that the state of affairs did not permit her either to repair to the English camp, or to suffer the troops to absent themselves, even for a day, from Lower Brittany, which was exposed to the depredations of the French:—*“Should they dare”*—added the young heroine—*“to come to me, without having previously obtained my permission, I will receive them in such a manner that they will have little inclination to repeat their visit.”*

In the Netherlands, the arms of Maximilian proved every where successful, and the mareschal Desquerdes was foiled in every attempt. The diet of the empire, too, had been summoned to meet at Frankfort, and, from the present disposition of the German princes, there could be little doubt but that their united efforts would be exerted to humble the pride, and to thwart the treacherous projects, of France. To avert this storm, Madame sent ambassadors into Germany, and though they were treated with the utmost contempt by Maximilian himself, the terms they proposed appeared so moderate, that the princes of the empire compelled him to accept them. A treaty was accordingly signed at Frankfort, by which it was agreed that Maximilian and Charles should have an interview at Tournay, for the re-establishment of that harmony and confidence, which ought ever to subsist between a father and son-in-law; that Maximilian should have the guardianship of his son Philip, that his authority should be acknowledged by the Flemings, and, in case they should make any difficulty on that head, the king of France engaged to compel them to obey him; that, as neither the king of the Romans, nor his son Philip, had received the revenues of the county of Flanders, the inhabitants of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, should pay them an adequate sum, by way of indemnity. Charles engaged to restore without delay, to the dukes of Brittany, all the places he had reduced since the death of

* Garnier:

his father, provided she would dismiss the English troops, and promise never to recal them. The towns of Saint-Malo, Dinaut, Fougères, and Saint-Aubin, were to be sequestered in the hands of the lord of Beaujeu (now duke of Bourbon) and the prince of Orange, who should swear to deliver them up to whichever of the two parties they should be adjudged, by commissioners appointed for the purpose. But while France by this treaty, which she never intended to observe, endeavoured to deceive Maximilian, she was herself deceived by that prince, on an object of greater importance.

Anne, surrounded by traitors, was apprehensive that, in spite of all her precautions, she should at length fall into the power of the lord of Albret; and, therefore, in order to liberate herself from persecution to which she was daily exposed, she informed the king of the Romans, that she had chosen him for her husband, and placed her fate entirely in his hands. Maximilian accordingly sent the count of Nassau, Wolfgang Polheim, and his secretary, Gondebald, to celebrate the marriage by proxy. The ostensible object of their embassy was to enforce an observance of the treaty of Frankfort; and as the French ministry were unacquainted with their secret commission, Charles not only received them with distinction, but sent two of his heralds to conduct them to Rennes. In that city the ceremony was performed with such secrecy, that none of the duchess's attendants were apprised of it, and the precise date of the transaction has not yet been discovered.

A. D. 1490.] As soon as the news of the peace between France and Maximilian was received in Brittany, it occasioned the most violent commotions. The partisans of the lord of Albret, though ignorant of the terms of the treaty, did not doubt but as it had been dictated by Maximilian, and approved by the court of France, that it tended to ruin their hopes, and perhaps to promote their destruction. They remonstrated with Henry on the insult which he had sustained from the contracting powers, as well as from the duchess herself, in stipulating, without deigning to consult him, the expulsion of the English from Brittany; and they exerted themselves so successfully in exciting the resentment of the English officers, that they intercepted and cut to pieces a body of Germans, whom the duchess had sent to Guerrande.

Anne, meanwhile, had convened the states-general of the duchy at the town of Rhedon, to make them accept the treaty of Frankfort; and she even sent safe-conducts to the principal leaders of the rebels, that they might repair thither in safety. They accordingly came, but completely armed, and with the intention of murdering the chancellor, and dissolving the assembly. Unable to perpetrate the crime, or to impede the acceptance of the treaty, they resolved, at least, to oppose its execution. The English, at the instigation of the marshal de Rieux, committed the most destructive ravages in Brittany, while the marshal himself made excursions into Poitou and Touraine. The king—whose conduct to Anne was founded on a base dereliction of every principle of honour—was secretly pleased at being supplied with a pretext for refusing to

evacuate Brittany; and he sent a formal embassy to the duchess, to demand reparation for the hostilities which had—in contempt of the late treaty—been committed in the French territories; and to summon her to fulfil, without farther delay, the fundamental article of that treaty, by expelling the English from Brittany. The duchess was now in a most distressed situation, oppressed by her rebellious subjects, and harrassed by an unprincipled neighbour; while her husband, Maximilian, was at the farthest extremity of Europe, engaged in a fruitless attempt to recover the kingdom of Hungary. In this dilemma, she resolved, if possible, to regain the friendship of the English monarch; and, to interest him the more in her behalf, she renewed her promise never to marry without his consent. In this, indeed she deceived him; but the deceit was innocent and justifiable. The kind reception, however, which her ambassadors experienced from Henry, inspired her with a greater degree of confidence; and induced her to entrust him with the secret of her marriage; at least, on this supposition alone can the change which took place in the conduct of that monarch be accounted for. Henry displayed the utmost zeal in serving the king of the Romans, and evinced the most earnest desire to secure his friendship. After promoting a reconciliation between the duchess and the marshal de Rieux, he sent an embassy to Maximilian, who was then in Austria, to inform him that France was guilty of continual violations of the treaty of Frankfort, and to exhort him to return with expedition to the Netherlands, in order to concert with him the means of saving Brittany. Maximilian, who was detained in another quarter by a mad scheme of conquest, which he was unable to execute, contented himself with sending ambassadors to England, who signed a treaty offensive and defensive against France. Henry, at the same time, concluded a similar treaty with the king of Castile and Arragon, by which the contracting parties agreed to declare war against France, and not to lay down their arms till Charles had restored to Ferdinand the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, and to Henry the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. Henry, did not fail to publish these treaties, as well to intimidate, the French council, as to obtain subsidies from the English parliament.

It was about this time that the French ministry received intelligence of the marriage of the duchess of Brittany with Maximilian, from their emissaries, the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange. Madame apprehensive that she was on the point of losing a province, to secure which her utmost efforts had been exerted, assembled the council, who formally pronounced the marriage to be null and void; and had the vanity and arrogance to suppose that their decision would be final. After this preposterous ceremony, they proceeded to devise means for preventing the duchess from consummating a marriage she had contracted from inclination; they were acquainted with the firmness of her mind, and they knew that, from her earliest infancy, she could ill brook controul. By having recourse to violence they would only alienate the affection of the Bretons, and disgust the princess, who would, in that case, fly to England, and arm all the princes of Europe in her be-

half. It was, therefore, determined to secure the suffrages of the principal nobles of Brittany, and to bring the young duchess, partly by persuasion and partly by force, to renounce her first engagement, and to accept another husband of equal rank, who, his pretensions being favoured by the Bretons themselves, might restore peace and tranquillity to her distracted country. The only person possessed of all these advantages was Charles the Eighth, who had been contracted to Margaret, daughter to Maximilian; and that princess, though too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and now enjoyed the title of Queen of France. In a contest between interest and honour, princes are seldom at a loss how to decide: Charles determined to sacrifice his integrity to the gratification of his ambitious schemes: but, as such a step could not fail to give umbrage to every court in Europe, it was necessary to observe the most profound secrecy, that no discovery might be made till too late for prevention. The French ministry accordingly displayed their usual policy in the management of this delicate enterprise, marked by the most disgusting features of treachery, and calculated to violate every principle of good faith, decency and decorum.

The duchess, during the formation of this abominable plan, had sent frequent embassies to Charles, to request he would conform to the treaty of Frankfort; and that monarch having arranged his plan of proceedings, promised to give her ample satisfaction. After leaving strong garrisons in the few towns which he had reserved by the treaty, he caused all the others to be evacuated and ordered his troops to retire into Normandy, while he himself went to visit Dauphine. Before his departure, he fixed the time for opening the conferences between his ministers and those of Maximilian, at the city of Tournay, which were to precede his interview with that prince. He reproached the duchess with her neglect in not having appointed commissioners to attend these conferences; and he sent her safe-conducts for two hundred and forty persons, a much greater number than she intended to send, but the king wished those in whom she placed the greatest confidence to be absent from Brittany, at the time which he had fixed for the accomplishment of his project.

A. D. 1491.] The strong town of Nantes was still in possession of the lord of Albret, who, finding his situation desperate, resolved to employ it as the means of ingratiating himself with the king of France, and of procuring the restitution of his territories which that monarch had confiscated. Accordingly, having made his terms with the French ministry, he surrendered Nantes to the duke of Bourbon; and Charles, soon after, repaired thither in person, and exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

The loss of this important place spread a general consternation throughout the province, and the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange, who had received their secret instructions from the court of France, profited by this event to sound the disposition of the marshal de Rieux and the countess of Laval, with regard to Anne's marriage with the king, and they were easily induced to favour the scheme.

Dunois demanded, as the reward of his services, the release of the duke of Orleans; but Madame, who knew that prince to be her enemy, rejected the proposal with disdain. The count engaged Jane of France, the duke's unhappy wife, to exert her influence with her brother and sister, to procure her husband's liberty. Jane forgot every subject of complant which she had received from that inconstant prince, who had always treated her with contempt. Her prayer being rejected by her sister, she dressed herself in deep mourning, and, with dishevelled hair, threw herself at the feet of her brother, and pleaded with so much eloquence, the cause of her husband, that Charles pressed her in his arms, and exclaimed—“ *Be comforted, my sister, you shall obtain what you so ardently wish for, and heaven send you may never have occasion to repent it !*”

Notwithstanding this promise, the duke's release still suffered great difficulties. The king could not prevail on himself to mortify his governors and his sister. But two young noblemen of his household, Miolans and Cossé, encouraged him to shake off this humiliating restraint, and to convince the French that they had a king. He accordingly pretended to go out on a hunting-party, and having slept at Montrichard, he advanced as far as the bridge of Barangon, whence he dispatched d'Abigni to the prison where the duke of Orleans was confined, with orders to conduct that prince to him. The interview was truly affecting; the king, in his earliest years, had evinced a strong predilection for the duke of Orleans, who, notwithstanding the improper conduct into which his ambition and bad advice had betrayed him, had never ceased to esteem the king. Pleased at being indebted for his liberty solely to the friendship of his sovereign, he no sooner approached him than he alighted from his horse, and threw himself at his feet, while his feelings were too powerful for utterance. Charles repeatedly pressed him to this bosom, intreated him to forget what was past, and being unwilling to leave his company, ordered a bed to be prepared for him in his own apartment.

When Madame was informed of this event, she conceived her authority was at an end; she even suspected that her brother had been prejudiced against her, and that the loss of her influence would not be the only effect of his resentment. She hastened to write him a submissive letter, in which she reminded him of the care she had taken of his infancy, entreated him not to listen to the suggestions of her enemies, and asking permission to give a full account of her administration. Charles endeavoured to quiet his sister's apprehensions, by assuring her of the continuance of his friendship, and of his unwillingness to attend to any reports to her prejudice, which, however, he did not believe any one would be bold enough to hazard. As the king had insisted that the duke of Orleans should be reconciled to the duke of Bourbon, an interview took place between them, at which they not only promised to forget the past, but swore mutually to protect and defend each other in future, and to unite their forces for the support of the royal authority, and for the welfare of the people: they associated in this league the count of Dunois, the marshal de Baudricourt, the bishops of Albi and Montauban, and the lords of Miolans, Lisle, Bouchage and Gonnaut. The duke of Orleans

reaped the fruits of this reconciliation; the government of Normandy was conferred on him, and he received orders to repair to that province, to adopt such measures as prudence should suggest to him for defending it from a threatened invasion of the English.

The king of the Romans, on his return from Hungary, received an embassy from the duchess of Brittany, who apprised him of the loss of Nantes, and of the danger to which she was exposed at Rennes. Maximilian, hastened to his father, who, convening a diet of the empire at Nuremberg, obtained from the princes a supply of twelve thousand men; but the avaricious emperor positively refused to advance him sufficient money for the support of these troops; and as the insidious machinations of the French king had excited a fresh insurrection in Flanders, he was deprived of all hopes of obtaining a supply from his Flemish subjects.

While the court of France were studious to provide employment for Maximilian in his own dominions, they laid fresh snares for the duchess of Brittany, who was now surrounded by traitors. Her council was entirely composed of men in the interest of France; even her chancellor, Montauban, had withdrawn his opposition to the schemes of Charles. On the first mention of her marriage with the king, she broke out into such violent reproaches, she exhibited such strong symptoms of despair, that it was not deemed prudent to press it. She had imbibed a strong prepossession against the French nation, particularly against Charles, the author of all the calamities which had befallen her family: she was convinced, too, that her inheritance, rather than her person, was the object of his pursuits, and this idea increased her hatred and disgust. Besides she had fixed her affections on Maximilian and she could not, she thought, give her hand to another, without incurring the greatest guilt, and violating the most sacred engagements. The prince of Orange, who, as her cousin-german, had been entrusted with the negotiation, informed the king, that it would be necessary to support his remonstrances by the operation of terror, and particularly to take effectual measures for preventing the duchess from repairing to England, whither she was resolved to fly sooner than give her hand to his majesty. Charles, whom a just sense of honour and delicacy should have induced to give up all thoughts of a woman to whom he was odious, hastened to profit by this advice; the army under the viscount of Rohan seized upon Lower Brittany; while La Tremouille, with another, invested Rennes, then the residence of the duchess; and the king, with a third, entered Brittany on the side of Anjou. The consternation was now general: there was not a garrison in the duchy capable of withstanding such superior forces; no orders had been issued for levying troops, and there was no general to lead them, if any had been levied. The prince of Orange, Dunois, Rieux, and the other members of the council, were shut up with the duchess, and availing themselves of the distressed situation to which their treacherous

** Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne—Belcarious rerum Gallicarum—Godefroy, recueil sur Charles VIII.

machinations had reduced her, they told her that there was no time to be lost, and that the only alternative left her, was to become queen of France, or a disinherited princess, and they desired she would immediately take her choice.

The unfortunate duchess, assailed on all sides, and finding no one sufficiently honest to support her in the virtuous resolution she had adopted, was at length compelled to open the gates of the city, and consent to espouse the man she hated. She was accordingly taken to the castle of Langeais in Touraine, where the marriage was celebrated on the sixteenth of December, 1491; from thence she was conducted to Saint Denis, where the ceremony of her coronation was performed. She then made her entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people.

By the marriage contract, Anne, daughter and sole heiress to the duke of Brittany, since the death of her sister, which occurred the preceding year, ceded and transferred to the king, in case she died before him, and left no children, all her rights to the duchy of Brittany, the county of Nantes, and all her other estates and lordships whatsoever; and Charles, king of France, on the other part, in case he died first and left no children, ceded and transferred to the princess all his rights and pretensions to the said duchy, county and lordship, on condition that she should marry no other than the king of France, his successor, if that monarch should consent to espouse her; and in case he were already married, that she should give her hand to the next heir to the crown, who should be bound to do homage for the duchy, and not alienate nor transfer any part of her territories, except to the king.

A. D. 1492.] Maximilian had lost a considerable territory which he thought he had acquired; and an accomplished princess whom he had espoused. He was insulted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him, after she had been treated, during some years, as queen of France. These considerations threw him into a most violent rage, and he endeavoured, by the most bitter invectives, to promote a general confederacy of the European powers, for an invasion of France. He represented the king as a ravisher, a monster of perfidy, who had wantonly violated the rights of nations, and the most sacred oaths. He maintained that the marriage which that monarch had contracted with a princess already married, was contrary to all laws, and that the offspring of such a connection must be considered as bastards, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. How far he was authorized to make the last assertion, the Roman canonists, who, in such cases, generally allowed themselves a latitude of interpretation forbidden to the historian, were alone competent to decide; but all the other accusations were certainly well-founded.

Charles, who had been unfortunately trained in a school for perfidy and falsehood, now sent ambassadors to the archduke Philip, sovereign of the Low Countries, who declared that the king their master, justly offended with the king of the Romans and the emperor Frederic, for having accused him of taking away the princess Margaret in a violent manner, thought his *honour* was interested in

removing the subject of this reproach: for which reason he had chosen another wife, and was ready to send back Margaret in an honourable manner to the Netherlands, after having given her an education suitable to her rank: that his majesty being aware that this new arrangement would render a modification of some of the articles of the treaty of Arras necessary, would consent to submit that matter to commissioners appointed by either party, provided that the king of the Romans and the archduke would previously renounce their alliance with England and Spain, on which condition he made them an offer of his friendship.

To this curious declaration, the chancellor Corondelet replied, in the name of Maximilian and his son, that the king of France, in this transaction, had neither consulted what he owed to himself, nor what he owed to the princess Margaret, to the archduke, to the king of the Romans, and to the emperor. That the house of Austria would resent his conduct at a proper time: that, with regard to the treaty of Arras, it would have become those who had dictated the terms of that treaty, to have been more punctual in fulfilling them: that the king of the Romans and the archduke best knew what alliances they ought to preserve, and what to renounce, and that they had not been accustomed to take the advice of the king of France on that head: that, after what had passed, they cared as little for his friendship as his hatred.

This proper and spirited reply—which has been stigmatised by the French historians as *offensive* and *misplaced*—was followed by the immediate dismissal of the ambassadors; and the count of Nassau was, soon after, sent to Paris, in the name of the archduke, to demand his sister, and the two provinces which had been given as her dower. Charles replied that *he would think of it at his leisure*, though common justice should have dictated an instant compliance with such a demand. The Flemings, and particularly the citizens of Ghent, feeling the greatest indignation at the affront offered to their princess, and enraged with France for breaking a match which they regarded as their own work, massacred Coppenole, one of the demagogues in the interest of the French, and several of his partisans, and then submitted to a reconciliation with Maximilian, on terms much more severe than those which they had rejected the year before.

The attention of Charles was now called to the conduct of Henry the Seventh, who, as well as Maximilian, had just grounds for self-reproach, in the late important transaction: for, though it was not possible he should have foreseen that the affair would have terminated as it did, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the attacks of a superior power, must appear the result of timid caution and narrow politics. But he was farther actuated by avarice—and he sought the gratification of this ruling passion. On the pretence of a French war, he issued a commission, for levying on his people that odious species of taxation, called a *Benevolence*; and the produce of this tax not proving sufficient for his purpose, he summoned a parliament, in the hope of enriching himself still farther by the prejudices and passions of the members, and, having expatiated

on these persuasive topics, he concluded by demanding a supply adequate to the magnitude of the enterprise.

The parliament fell into the snare prepared for them by the king, and granted him two fifteenths; and an act was passed, empowering them to sell their estates, without paying the usual fines for alienations. The English nobility were now seized with a violent thirst for military glory: they hoped to behold their triumphant banners displayed on the walls of Paris; and to place the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Many of them mortgaged their estates for large sums, or sold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater splendour.

The news of these preparations was soon received in France; and as the regular companies were insufficient to protect the coasts from insult, the king convoked the *ban* and *arriere ban*. In the midst of these alarms, the queen gave birth to a dauphin, who was baptized by the name of *Charles Orlando*; this event was celebrated with great rejoicings by the Bretons, and afforded the king an opportunity for assembling the states of that province, from whom he exacted a considerable contribution; in return for which, he confirmed and extended the privileges of the principal towns in Brittany; and, three years after, in 1495, he exempted the Bretons from the jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris, and established a sovereign court within the duchy, consisting of two presidents, and eighteen inferior judges, ten of whom were laymen, and the rest ecclesiastics.

Notwithstanding the threats of Henry, the council deemed it expedient to send a fresh embassy to the court of England. The ambassadors were received by the English ministry, with the utmost complacency, and if the treaty was not absolutely concluded, it was, at least, far advanced, since, on their return, and before Henry had completed his preparations, the king gave full powers to the marshal Desquerdes and the president La Vaequerie, to treat, in his name, with the English plenipotentiaries*. All the towns, in the vicinity of Calais, were strongly fortified, and the young adventurer, Perkin Warbec, so celebrated in the English history, was allured to the court of France. Charles sent ambassadors to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, promising to restore to that monarch the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, on condition that he should forego his alliance with Henry and Maximilian. Ferdinand accepted the proposal, and appointed commissioners to regulate the terms of the treaty.

The English monarch embarked with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, and landed at Calais, on the sixth of October, 1492. Some imagining, from the late period at which the campaign commenced, that peace would soon be concluded, Henry said—"He had come over to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was, therefore, of no consequence at what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters." He instantly marched into the

* Godefroi, recueil de pieces—Garnier.

enemy's country, and laid siege to Boulogne. But, notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, it soon appeared that he was serious in the secret advances which he had made towards a peace above three months before. In order to reconcile the minds of his subjects to this unexpected event, it was contrived that ambassadors should arrive in the English camp from the Low Countries, with intelligence that Maximilian was wholly unable to fulfil his engagements, and that no assistance must be expected from him. These were soon followed by messengers from Spain, who brought advice that a peace was concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had ceded the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand: but Henry privately prevailed on the marquis of Dorset, and twenty-three other persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late season of the year, the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during the winter, the obstacles which daily occurred to the siege of Boulogne, and the desertion of those allies, whose assistance had been relied on.

These preparatory steps being previously taken, the English monarch appointed the bishop of Exeter, and lord Daubeney, governor of Calais, to confer at Estaple's with the French plenipotentiaries. Charles agreed to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns—nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling of our present money—partly as a reimbursement of the expences he had incurred in behalf of the duchess of Brittany, and partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward the fourth; and he farther stipulated a yearly pension to Henry, and his heirs, of twenty-five thousand crowns.

A. D. 1493.] Maximilian had the option of being comprehended in the treaty, but, disdaining to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he had just grounds for complaint, he rejected the proposal with sovereign contempt. About this time, the citizens of Arras, disgusted with the conduct of the French, took an opportunity of delivering that town to the Austrians. The marshal Desquerdes, who was a most detestable politician, advised the king to punish his rebellious vassal by annexing the counties of Artois and Flanders to the crown; thus he wished to deprive the archduke of his lawful inheritance, for having defended his father against his rebellious subjects, and for having resisted an insult offered to his sister. Charles rejected the treacherous advice of Desquerdes, and even concluded a treaty with Maximilian and his son, by which he agreed to restore Artois and Franche-Comté; reserving only the three towns of Hesdin, Aire and Bethune, which were to be sequestered in the hands of Desquerdes, till the archduke should come of age, and Tournay, Mortagne, and Saint Amand, which had formerly belonged to France.

This peace was concluded very opportunely for Maximilian; whose father, the emperor Frederick, having died at Lintz, in the seventy-third year of his age, the Turks profited by the occasion to make incursions into Croatia and Austria.

In the treaty Charles concluded with Ferdinand, he had exacted a promise, in return for the cession of Roussillon and Cerdagne, that the king of Arragon should

oppose no obstacle to his projected attempts upon Italy; that he should not marry his children, either to those of the king of the Romans, or to the children of Henry; and that he should form no kind of connexion, by marriage, with either of those princes. But Ferdinand was no sooner in possession of Roussillon, than he married one of his daughters, the Infanta Catharine, to Arthur, prince of Wales; and, on the death of that prince, contracted her to his brother Henry; another of his daughters he married to the archduke Philip, only son to Maximilian; and his son espoused the princess Margaret, whom Charles had sent back to her father*.

It will be necessary to take a short review of the motives and origin of a war which forms an epoch in the history of France, and occupies the greater part of three successive reigns.

Charles was born with a delicate constitution and a feeble frame; his father had strictly forbidden his application to any serious study; and had contented himself with reciting to him the achievements of those monarchs who had acquired the greatest glory in the government of France, and with attempting to make the seeds of emulation shoot forth in his infant mind. As he advanced in years, he became eager for instruction, and having perused with avidity the Commentaries of Cæsar, and the life of Charlemagne, he became enamoured of those warriors, and chose them for his heroes. Led away by a martial ardour, and seduced by a blind presumption, he thought, that in order to equal his models, he had only to form an enterprize, in boldness and extent surpassing their own. With this view, he resolved on forming the siege of Constantinople, and on completing the conquest of the eastern empire. Having adopted this resolution, the next object of consideration was to find the means of transporting an army to the gates of that capital: France, at this period, had but a small number of trading vessels, which, in time of war, were equipped for hostile purposes: to have recourse, as in the times of the former crusades, to the Venetians or other Italian states, was deemed dangerous, as the king's person, and the safety of the state, must, in that case, have been trusted to the discretion of foreigners; besides, it was necessary to secure a place of retreat in case of misfortune. The possession of the kingdom of Naples would, from its situation and flourishing towns, have procured him all the advantages he could desire; he therefore resolved, previous to his grand expedition, to enforce his claims to that part of Italy.

The kingdom of Naples, as well as Sicily, which was annexed to it, had been enjoyed, for the best part of two centuries, by the princes of the two royal houses of Anjou. Alphonso, king of Arragon, whose ancestors had taken Sicily from

* It is said that this princess, on her voyage to Spain, whither she was going to celebrate her marriage, had nearly perished in a storm; and expecting the vessel to sink every moment, she took out a pencil, and wrote the following epitaph on herself—

“Ci git Margot, la gente demoiselle,

“Qui eut deux maris, & si mourut pucelle.”

Which may be thus translated—

Beneath this tomb, the gentle Margaret's laid,
Who had two husbands, and yet dy'd a maid.

the Anjevin princes, availing himself of the troubles which prevailed in France, despoiled them also of the kingdom of Naples, where he established his residence. This prince, at his death, left the kingdom of Arragon, and the island of Sicily, which he had inherited from his ancestors, to his brother don Juan, father to Ferdinand of Arragon; but, with the consent of the pope, who was considered as lord paramount of Naples, he bequeathed his conquest to a natural son, named Ferdinand, who resisted all the efforts made to dispossess him of that kingdom by René of Anjou, titular king of Naples and Sicily, and his son John, commonly called the duke of Calabria. The failure of these princes to recover the dominions of their ancestors, had proceeded from the disinclination of Lewis the Eleventh to promote the elevation of any part of his family, which had led him to frustrate all their plans. King René, having survived his son and grandson, left all his claims to the kingdom of Naples, and the county of Provence, to his nephew, the count of Maine, in preference to René, duke of Lorraine, son to Yoland, his eldest daughter. The count, dying soon after without heirs, bequeathed all his rights and pretensions to Lewis the Eleventh; and after him, to the dauphin Charles, and all his successors on the throne of France. To this second will no opposition could be formed, but the validity of the first was strongly contested by the duke of Lorraine, who maintained that Provence and the kingdom of Naples, not being subject to the Salic law, and having been frequently governed by females, belonged of right to his mother; and that his grandfather had no power to annihilate the rights of nature, by a deed which had been extorted from him at an age when his faculties were impaired. The king of France produced a *family compact*, and the wills of the two princes of the house of Anjou, who had appointed their male heirs to succeed them, to the prejudice of females, who were more nearly related to them.

The duke of Lorraine was unable to cope with the king, who resolved to enforce his pretensions on the first favourable opportunity, which speedily occurred. The Neapolitans, disgusted with the oppressive and tyrannical conduct of Ferdinand the First, and his son Alphonso, had resolved to depose the former, and disinherir the latter; the nobility had taken up arms to effect this purpose, but, through the mediation of the king of Spain, and pope Innocent the Eighth, a treaty was concluded, and tranquillity restored. But, in violation of this treaty, which they had ratified by the most solemn oaths, Ferdinand and his son invited the nobility (under pretence of attending the celebration of a marriage) to the palace, where they were seized and massacred. Three only escaped, viz. the prince of Salerno, and two of his nephews, sons to the prince of Bisignano. These left the kingdom in disguise, and hastening to Venice, consulted the senate, as to what monarch they should apply for assistance. Three princes had claims to the kingdom of Naples; Ferdinand, the Catholic; the duke of Lorraine, and Charles the Eighth. The senate excluded the first, because, being already master of Sicily, he would, by the conquest of Naples, become a too formidable neighbour to the other Italian states. The duke of Lorraine, they observed, had outlived

his reputation, and it would be absurd to lose time in attempting to raise the dead. To the king of France neither of these objections could be opposed, and the Neapolitan refugees accordingly resolved to apply to Charles.

The solicitations of the prince of Salerno and his nephews were strongly seconded by ambassadors from Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who governed Milan in the name of his nephew, John Galeazzo, the lawful sovereign of that duchy; and from pope Alexander the Sixth, a man of infamous character, who was raised to the papacy, notwithstanding he had five natural children, whom he publicly acknowledged, by Vanessa, a lady of Rome. The object of these princes was to check the overgrown power of the Neapolitan monarch, and of Pietro de Medicis, duke of Florence, who had evinced a disposition to oppose the designs of the usurper (who meant to dethrone his unsuspecting kinsman, and seat himself on the ducal throne) and of the sovereign pontiff.

The ambassadors were admitted to an audience, where, by an artful harangue, they influenced the military ardour of Charles, though the arguments made a very different impression on the members of his council. Admiral de Graville represented, that a war, in such a distant country, where no communication could be preserved with France, would be attended with immense expence, without much probability of a happy issue: that the enemies whom they proposed to attack, were by no means so contemptible as the ambassadors had represented them; that every body did justice to the penetration, knowledge, and prudence of Ferdinand, who was supposed to have amassed immense treasures during a reign of thirty-five years; that his son Alphonso enjoyed the reputation of the bravest warrior and the best general in Italy; that these princes were allied to the king of Spain, who would never tamely acquiesce in the deposition of his nearest relations, nor suffer the French to establish themselves in the vicinity of Sicily; that professions of the Italians were not to be trusted; nor was it to be supposed that they would behold the crown of Naples on the head of a French king; that Lewis the Eleventh, whose political knowledge no one would dispute, had constantly rejected the invitations of the popes to carry his arms into Italy; and that, before any engagement were contracted, it would be necessary to send some prudent persons into Italy, to sound the dispositions of the different courts.

Graville's opinion was adopted by the whole council; even the king himself appeared to concur in it, and he accordingly appointed Peron de Baschi, and some other persons distinguished for their merit, his ambassadors to the Italian courts; but he was secretly determined not to wait their return before he settled his plan of operations. Led away by the warmth of his imagination, Charles privately signed a treaty, by which he engaged to conduct an army into Italy, sufficiently powerful to ensure the conquest of Naples. Ludovico, on his side, promised to give his troops a free passage through the duchy of Milan; to reinforce them with a body of five hundred men at arms; to lend the king two hundred thousand ducats to defray the expence of the war; and to give him permission to equip, in the port of Genoa, as many vessels as he should want for the expedition.

A. D. 1494.] On the first report of the hostile designs of Charles, the king of Naples sent an embassy to France, offering to pay homage, and an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns. These conditions, so advantageous to France, were rejected by the king, ambitious of the fame of a conqueror; Ferdinand, doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, oppressed by years, and sensible of the calamities which impended over his country, was seized with an apoplexy, which terminated his existence, and his crown devolved on his son, Alphonso the Second.—That prince immediately prepared to detach the sovereign pontiff from the interest of the French; and, by procuring splendid establishments for his sons, he not only succeeded in that attempt, but engaged Alexander to join him in an application to the sultan Bajazet, requesting his assistance in opposing the projected invasion of Charles.

Charles had sent the lord d'Urfé to Genoa, to make the necessary preparations for the equipment of a fleet. The troops were already in motion, though Charles had not yet made known his designs to the nation. The resistance he had experienced from the council had made him dread a still greater opposition from the parliaments, and principal towns. He was persuaded by those who favoured his passions, to take the nation, as it were, by surprise, that the advice of the more prudent part of his council might not have time to operate. He accordingly appointed a day for holding a grand tournament at Lyons, to which all the nobility of the kingdom repaired, and, in the midst of their festivity, he proposed to them an immediate expedition to Italy, the glory and dangers whereof he expressed his resolution to share. Most of the nobles eagerly embraced a plan, which, in their cooler moments, they would have rejected; and, that their ardour might not be suffered to cool, he gave orders for the troops to advance without delay. *republic*

But Charles's inattention to business and want of foresight were never more strongly displayed than on this occasion, for when the army began their march, it appeared that no money had been provided for their subsistence*. The king was obliged to borrow, of a banker at Genoa, one hundred thousand ducats, at the enormous interest of fourteen thousand ducats for four months; and a banker at Milan advanced fifty thousand more. These sums proving insufficient, even for the equipment of the fleet, recourse was had to extraordinary measures; and by anticipations of the revenue, and other expedients, he raised sufficient to begin his enterprise.

The duke of Orleans was appointed to command the fleet; and the duke of Bourbon was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the absence of Charles. The count of Angoulême was made governor of Guienne; Normandy and Picardy were entrusted to the care of admiral Graville: Burgundy to the

* Commynes.—Godefroi:—Belcarius.

mareschal de Baudricourt; Champagne to the lord d'Orval, and Brittany to the baron d'Avagour, and the viscount de Rohan.*

After taking every necessary precaution for the safety of the kingdom, the king left Lyons, and repaired to Grenoble, where he appointed commissioners for providing the troops with provisions; and appointed the officers who were to command under him. The death of the mareschal Desquerdes, which occurred at this period, proved a great loss to Charles; for though he had many other experienced commanders, such as the count de Montpensier; la Trémouille; d'Aubigni; and mareschals de Gié and de Rieux, yet had he none to whose advice he paid such implicit respect.

Charles continued his march through Dauphiné to Savoy, where he experienced a magnificent reception from the duchess-dowager, who, being informed that he was in want of money, and having none to advance him, lent him her jewels, which she requested he would pledge for twelve thousand ducats. When he came to Casal, the marchioness of Montferrat was equally generous, and lent him her jewels also, towards defraying the necessary expences of the enterprize.

The king arrived at Ast, in Piedmont, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of his army, on the ninth of September: he was here seized with the small pox, from which he recovered, after the most imminent danger of his life. The joy occasioned by the return of his health, was farther encreased by the news that the duke of Orleans had obtained a victory over the fleet of Naples, commanded by don Frederic, brother to Alphonso: the duke himself was the bearer of this intelligence.

Charles left Ast on the sixth of October, and pursued his victorious career towards Naples. Previous to his departure from Piedmont, he had an interview with Ludovico Sforza, who left him, in a few days, to take possession of Milan, which he seized, on the death of John Galleazzo, his nephew, though that prince had left an infant son. The pope, apprised of the approach of the French, sent a nuncio to the king, to forbid him under pain of excommunication, to set foot on the territories of the church; but Charles replied, that he had made a vow to visit the tomb of Saint-Peter, and was resolved to fulfil it.

The army prepared to pass the Appenines. It consisted of the king's household troops, composed of one hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers; sixteen hundred lances, each lance having six horses; twelve thousand infantry, half Swiss, half Gascons, and a numerous body of volunteers:—the train of artillery consisted of one hundred and forty pieces†.

Charles's cavalry was entirely composed of those companies of Gendarmes, embodied by Charles the Seventh, and continued by Lewis the Eleventh; and his infantry, as we have before observed, consisted partly of Swiss, hired of the Cantons, and partly of Gascons, who were armed and disciplined after the Swiss model.

* *Chronique d'Aquitaine*.—Fontanien, rec. des pieces. † Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. i. p. 84.

The arms and discipline of the Swiss were different from those of other European nations. During their long and violent struggles in defence of their liberties against the house of Austria, whose armies, like those of other considerable princes, consisted chiefly of heavy-armed cavalry, the Swiss found that their poverty, and the small number of gentlemen residing in their country, at that time barren and ill-cultivated, put it out of their power to bring into the field any body of horse capable of facing the enemy. Necessity compelled them to place all their confidence in infantry; and, in order to render it capable of withstanding the shock of cavalry, they gave the soldiers breast-plates and helmets as defensive armour; together with long spears, halberts, and heavy swords, as weapons of offence. They formed them into large battalions, ranged in deep and close array, so that they could present, on every side, a formidable front to the enemy*.

After the army had passed the Appenines, Montpensier, who commanded the vanguard, invested Fivizzano, the first fortress in the Florentine dominions; the place being carried by assault, the whole garrison and most of the inhabitants, were put to the sword; the Italians, who had been wholly unused to such treatment, were thrown into the utmost consternation by this cruel mode of waging war. The French next approached the small town of Serezana, and the strong fortress of Serezanello, which, from their situation, on the summit of lofty rocks, and in the centre of a dry and barren country, might long have resisted their utmost efforts; but the arrival of Pietro de Medicis in their camp, soon removed this difficulty.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of the French arms, Pietro was induced to sign a treaty with Charles, by which he engaged immediately to deliver up to the French the fortresses of Serezanello, with the towns of Serezana, Pietra-Santa, Pifa, and Leghorn; and to make the Florentines advance him, by way of loan, the sum of two hundred thousand ducats. The king, on his part, promised to restore the towns, as soon as he should have completed the reduction of Naples. The Florentines were so incensed with Pietro, for having signed such a dishonourable treaty, that they declared him a traitor to the state, and compelled him to take refuge in Venice. Charles passed through Pifa, whose inhabitants desired to be taken under his immediate protection, and to be considered, thenceforth, as subjects of France, and continued his route to Florence; into which city, after some hesitation on the part of the inhabitants, he obtained admission, and renewed, with the Florentines themselves, the very treaty which had induced them to expel Pietro de Medicis. From Florence Charles marched to Sienna, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, who had levelled their walls, and pulled down their gates, to facilitate the entrance of his troops. The pope received the intelligence of his success with terror; he hastily retired into the castle of Saint Angelo, and commanded the gates to be thrown open to the victor, who

* Machiavel's Art of war, b. ii. c. ii. p. 451.

took possession of the city without striking a blow, and disposed of his troops in the different quarters of it. But Charles resisted the importunities of those cardinals, who advised him to depose the profligate and turbulent Alexander, and fill the apostolic chair with a more holy successor. The king rejected their counsels, and concluded a treaty with the Roman pontiff, who solemnly granted him the investiture of Naples, and delivered to him the towns of Viterbo, Terracina, Spoleto and Civita-Vecchia, with his son, Cesar Borgia, cardinal of Valenza, as a pledge of the sincerity of his intentions.

A. D. 1495.] Alphonso the Second, king of Naples, at this critical conjuncture, abdicated the throne; and resigned his sceptre to his son Ferdinand the Second, and retired to the town of Mazara, at the farthest extremity of Sicily, where he passed the remainder of his days in a convent: Alphonso had received intelligence that a powerful confederacy was forming at Venice, for the expulsion of the French from Italy, and that Ludovico Sforza was the principal promoter of it; and he was afraid, that the personal hatred which subsisted between him and Ludovico might prevent that nobleman from bringing matters to a conclusion, till such time as he could be certain he had nothing to apprehend from him.

Charles was at Rome when he received the news of this strange revolution; aware how essential it was to the success of his enterprise, not to allow young Ferdinand time to ingratiate himself with the Neapolitan nobility, he began his march on the twenty-eighth of January, after he had remained near a month at Rome, he arrived the next day at Veletri.

From Veletri, the army proceeded to invest the small town of Monte Fortino, which was taken by assault, and abandoned to the rage of the foldiers. Monte di San Giovanni was next reduced, and experienced a similar fate; and this severity, to which the Italians were wholly unaccustomed, spread such a general consternation, that not another town durst refuse to open its gates.

Ferdinand, having assembled an army of fifty squadrons, and six thousand infantry, took possession of the strong post of San-Germano, resolved to dispute with the French the entrance into his dominions. He could not have chosen a more proper place for making a stand; he was protected on one side by a steep and rugged mountain, on the other by impassible marshes; and his front was defended by the river Garigliano. Ferdinand had also rendered the approach to it more difficult by cutting down a great quantity of trees, and by erecting batteries which commanded the road. The attempt to force this pass would have been extremely dangerous, but the terror which preceded the French had unmanned the enemy. They no sooner perceived Lewis d'Armagnac, count of Guise, son to the unfortunate duke of Nemours, advance towards them with three hundred lances, and two thousand infantry, than, forgetting the strength of their post, they fled with the utmost precipitation. Ferdinand, in vain, attempted to rally his troops, he was compelled to yield to the torrent, and to shut himself up, with his cowardly followers, in the town of Capua. Here

he hoped to resist the attacks of the enemy, till the arrival of foreign succours; but fortune continued her persecution, and soon deprived him of this last resource: the news of an insurrection at Naples, compelled him to fly to that capital, promising, however, to return to Capua the next day; but after his departure, Gianiacopo da Triulzi, to whom he had entrusted the command of the town during his absence, surrendered it to the king. The town of Aversa, situated mid-way between Capua and Naples, also sent a deputation to Charles. The capital itself was in commotion.

Having discovered, by certain symptoms, the intention of the garrison, which consisted of five hundred Germans, to seize his person, and deliver him to the French, he gave up to them all the furniture and effects which the castle contained; and while they were employed in dividing the spoil, he escaped by a private door, and embarked for the Isle of Ischia, about thirty miles from Naples. On his arrival at that place, the governor refused to admit him into the citadel, unless he came unattended; a proposal which the unhappy monarch thought it advisable to accept; but as soon as he entered the citadel, he seized the governor, and threw him to the ground, to the great astonishment of the garrison, who, awed by this act of resolution, submitted to their lawful sovereign.

Charles, meanwhile, advanced to Aversa, where he received a deputation from the citizens of Naples, who sent him the keys of the town: and, on the twenty-first of February, he made his triumphant entry into that capital, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Thus, in the depth of winter, without money, and without magazines, did Charles march through Italy, and complete the reduction of that fertile country. From Lyons to Naples, not a town resisted his arms for more than one day, and the troops did not sleep in tents a single night. The whole expedition rather resembled the peaceable progress of a monarch through his own dominions, than the hostile march of a conqueror.

But Charles wanted prudence to secure this conquest; his ministers and favourites were suffered to act as they pleased: and their rapaciousness and oppressions soon disgusted the Neapolitans; even such of the native nobility as had been forward in assisting the progress of the French arms, were treated with neglect, and many others were despoiled of their estates and reduced to poverty. These injuries, sharpened by repeated insults, the subject of which was the impotent effeminacy of the Italian troops, produced a prompt revolution in the sentiments of the Neapolitans, who now conceived a violent hatred to the French, while their aversion for the house of Arragon was converted into pity and remorse.—Charles, however, who, wholly absorbed in pleasure, was ignorant of this change, and, by a considerable diminution of the usual imposts, had even been led to believe he had secured the affections of his new subjects, appointed the twelfth of May for his coronation: and that ceremony was accordingly performed, with the utmost magnificence.

Dazzled with so extraordinary a blaze of glory, Charles already meditated the attack of Constantinople, and the subversion of the Ottoman Empire; but while he inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples, in festivals and triumphs, on account

of his past successes, or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the East, a powerful combination was formed against him. The first news he received of this confederacy, came from Philip de Commines, whom he had sent as ambassador to the republic of Venice, to require their assistance in his projected expedition against the Turks. Commines soon had occasion to perceive that the rapid progress of the French arms was highly displeasing to the Venetians, and that they began to repent the encouragement they had given to Charles; for which reason he had advised his master to accept an offer made him by Ferdinand, to hold the kingdom of Naples as a fief of the crown of France, and to pay tribute for the same. But the king, intoxicated with success, rejected the advice of his ambassador. The more fortune seemed to favour an enterprise which prudence disavowed, the more did Commines tremble for the consequences. Apprised of the designs of the confederates—the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Naples, the emperor Maximilian, and the duke of Milan—and finding all his remonstrances lost upon Charles, he wrote to the duke of Orleans to fortify the town of Aft, where he had been detained by a violent fever; to the duke of Bourbon, lieutenant-général of the kingdom, to send, with all possible expedition, a strong reinforcement of troops to Aft, which was on the point of being besieged; and to the marchioness of Montferrat, desiring her to supply the duke of Orleans with all her Gendarmes, to enable him to defend himself until the arrival of the expected succours from France.

Ferdinand of Arragon engaged to send an army into the kingdom of Naples, commanded by one of his most experienced generals, and to make such a powerful diversion on the side of the Pyrenees, that the duke of Bourbon should not be able to send a reinforcement of troops into Italy. The emperor agreed to supply the confederates with a body of the best troops in Germany, and to enter Champagne with another army, provided they would furnish him with money for the expedition. The duke of Milan undertook to reduce the town of Aft, and to secure the passage of the Alps; and, lastly, the Venetians engaged to equip a fleet, and to pay, in conjunction with the pope and the duke of Milan, an army of forty thousand men, which should wait for the French at the foot of the Appenines. “The league,” says Commines, “was concluded late at night, and the next morning the senate sent for me at an earlier hour than usual.”

Although Commines was prepared for this news, yet still he was so thunder-stricken when he heard it, that, for a moment, he lost the power of utterance; but when he had recovered his surprise, he replied, with apparent tranquillity, That he knew before what they had just told him, and many more particulars which they had not thought proper to notice; that he had not only apprised the king of these circumstances, but the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon also, in order that they might have time to provide for the safety of the town of Aft, which they had already done. The Venetians, who pique themselves on the secrecy of their deliberations, were extremely mortified at hearing this; and in order to excite mistrust among the confederates, Commines added, That he had not even had

the merit of being the first to inform the king of this league, since Charles had already received certain advice of it both from Rome and Milan. The doge was now disconcerted in his turn, and wishing to engage the ambassador in a conversation, he began by representing to him that a league, the only object whereof was to secure the dominions of the powers who had joined it, could not possibly injure the king, unless he had a design to attempt the conquest of Italy; he then asked him, whether he had no new proposal to make; but Commynes replied, that it was too late to negotiate, when war was already declared.

Commynes was so stricken with what he had heard, and was so buried in reflection, that, turning to the secretary, whom the senate had appointed to conduct him to his residence, he said to him—"Pray, friend, repeat what the prince said to me, for I have forgotten every word of it: I don't know what has become of my memory and my reason!"

Charles, though less alarmed than his ambassador, at length became sensible of his danger. In this critical situation there was not a moment to lose. If he gave time to the confederates to bring a strong body of disciplined veterans into Switzerland and Germany, and intrench them in the defiles of the Appenines, all was lost, and the laurels he had already reaped would only tend to augment the humiliation of his defeat. The only mode of escaping was to cut his way through the Italian states, while they had none but their own national troops to defend them. This, indeed, appeared no easy matter, for as he could not prevail on himself to evacuate Naples, and lose all the fruits of his labours, he was obliged to leave a part of his army behind him, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpensier, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general in the kingdom of Naples. The character of this nobleman is given by Philip de Commynes in a very few words:—*He was brave, but possessed of little prudence; he never rose till noon!*"

The king left Naples on the twentieth of May, 1495, with an army consisting of nine hundred lances, two thousand five hundred Swiss, and fifteen hundred household troops, amounting, in the whole, to nine thousand four hundred men*. The first enemy, through whose dominions he had to pass, was the pope, who, conscious that he deserved no mercy from the French, withdrew from Rome, and wrote to Charles, informing him, that having taken care that the army should want for nothing in its passage through the ecclesiastical territories, he had retired to Orvieto, whence he would not fail to visit the king, as soon as he should be apprised of his arrival at Viterbo. Charles passed through Rome, but refused to alight at the Vatican, where apartments had been prepared for his reception. When he came to Viterbo, the pope fled to Perugia; but the king, notwithstanding the just grounds for complaint which he had against the treacherous pontiff, restored to him the towns of Civita-Vecchia, Terracina, Spoleto, and Viterbo, reserving only Ostia, which he afterwards resigned to the cardinal di San Pietro, in Vincola.

* Commynes.—Guicciardini.—Giovio.

All the places in the pope's dominions opened their gates to the French, except the small town of Toscanella, which refused them admission. It was, in consequence, taken by assault, and abandoned to pillage: among the prisoners, who had escaped the sword, was a young girl of extraordinary beauty, who was reserved for the king. Notwithstanding the horror and despair which were strongly depicted on her countenance, and notwithstanding the tears which streamed from her eyes, Charles seized her in his arms, and was proceeding to commit violence on her person, when, as she struggled to get loose from him, she perceived the picture of the Virgin hanging in the room:—"In the name of her," exclaimed the virtuous maid, "*who, by her purity deserved the honour of becoming mother to the Son of God, O king, spare my honour!*"—Charles, casting his eyes on the picture, restrained his desires; and being informed that the maid was betrothed to a young man of a decent family, who, with her father and mother, had also escaped the fury of the troops, and were then prisoners in the town, he released them all, and gave the fair captive a marriage-portion of five hundred crowns of gold.

On the arrival of Charles at Sienna, he was met by Commynes, of whom he enquired, with a smile, whether the proud republicans whom he had just left, meant to send any body to meet him? "Sire," replied Commynes, "they assured me, when I took leave of them, that it was their intention to send forty thousand men to meet your majesty." The young courtiers, who held the Italians in contempt, and were persuaded that France was the only country for soldiers, were highly diverted with the ambassador's serious looks, and the king himself partook of their amusement. In vain did Commynes expatiate on the number and quality of the enemy's troops, and the skill of their leaders; in vain did he conjure Charles not to wait the arrival of the Germans, whom the emperor had promised to send into Italy; nothing he could say had any effect on the king, or could induce him to hasten his march.

Already were the combined forces of the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, on their march to the foot of the Appenines, where they intended to wait for the French. Besides this army, which consisted of between thirty and forty thousand men, Ludovico had raised a second, composed of seven hundred lances, and three thousand foot, which he destined for the siege of Asti, which he now summoned to surrender. But before he was in a condition to act, the duke of Orleans had received a reinforcement from France; and thus finding himself at the head of a little army of three hundred lances, and two thousand Swiss, besides a body of provincial troops from Dauphiné, he forgot the purpose for which these forces had been entrusted to his conduct: two Milanese gentlemen, having offered to procure him admission into the town of Novara, where they had formed a conspiracy, he accepted their proposal, and made himself master of the place without the loss of a man.

Charles was at Sienna, when he received intelligence of the first exploits of the duke of Orleans; he immediately left that city and proceeded to Poggibonzi, a place belonging to the Florentines, where he received ambassadors from that

republic, who urged him to fulfil his engagements, by restoring the towns which had been delivered to him on his march to Naples. The king promised to comply with their request on his arrival at Pisa, whither he was followed by the ambassadors; but the Pisans, shocked at the idea, of again submitting to a power, from whom they had experienced nothing but tyranny and oppression, found means to interest the Swiss in their behalf; and the whole army rising, insisted that the inhabitants should be suffered to remain under the protection of the French.

Charles, deeming it prudent to suffer the zeal of his soldiers, in defence of the Pisans, to evaporate, feigned a compliance with their request, and secretly promised the Florentines to give them full satisfaction on his arrival at the town of Ast. Though highly displeased at this fresh delay, they, nevertheless, permitted two of their generals, Francisco Seceo, and Camillo Vitelli, with three hundred lances, and two thousand infantry, to accompany the king, and to serve with the French army, as long as they should remain in Italy.

But this reinforcement was trifling, when compared with the magnitude of the danger, though so far were the king, and the young warriors of France, from considering that danger, in a proper light, that the cardinal San Pietro di Vincola, having promised, if they would give him a detachment of the French army, to excite an insurrection in Genoa, obtained, against the advice of the more prudent part of the council, all the troops he required—viz. one hundred and twenty French lances, some companies of Italians, and five hundred cross-bowmen, under the command of Philip of Savoy, count of Bresse: John de Polignac, count of Beaumont; and Hugh d'Amboise. This little army advanced to the suburbs of Genoa, where they waited the arrival of the French fleet, commanded by Miolens, which, since the defection of Ludovico Sforza, was reduced to seven galleys, and four vessels of inferior size. These were overtaken by the Genoese fleet, reinforced by the pope's gallies, near Repallo, and, after a short contest, were all captured. The troops, after this misfortune, found it necessary to retire, by private roads, to the town of Ast, where they waited the issue of the king's expedition.

Charles, after staying six days at Pisa, passed through Lucca, Pietra-Santa, and Serezana, and proceeded to Pontremoli, the first place in the duchy of Milan. The inhabitants, having dismissed the garrison, opened their gates to the French, on condition that their lives and property should be safe. In violation of this agreement, the Swiss, forty of whose comrades had been killed the year before, in a fray with the inhabitants, drew their swords, and, without communicating their intentions to the French, massacred the defenceless citizens, pillaged their houses, and set fire to the town.

A mode was pointed out to them of expiating their fault. The army being now arrived at the foot of the Appenines, the council were employed in deliberating on the best means of transporting the heavy artillery over those steep and rugged mountains, and by roads that appeared impassable. As no means

could be devised which appeared feasible, it was proposed to leave the guns behind, after rendering them unfit for use; though, at the same time, they were aware, that by so doing they would deprive the army of its principal strength, and perhaps of its only resource. In this emergency the Swiss offered, on condition that the king should grant them a pardon for their late offences, to drag the artillery themselves over such places as were inaccessible to horses. Charles not only consented to pardon them, but promised never to forget so signal a service. Accordingly, the martial band prepared for the laborious task, which La Trémouille was appointed to superintend. He was careful to place, at certain distances, refreshments for the men, and to station relays of horses and mules wherever those animals could be employed: companies of pioneers preceded the Swiss to break off the rugged points of the rocks, and to fill up the ravines; other companies of carpenters, smiths, and wheelwrights, accompanied the carriages, to repair, without loss of time, any damage they might sustain on the road. La Trémouille was present every where, animating the workmen by his words and gestures. Convinced, too, that example is more persuasive than exhortation, he carried two cannon-balls himself. After sustaining incredible fatigue, the army at length reached the summit of the mountain. But the greatest difficulty yet remained to be surmounted; it now became necessary to support, with cables from behind, those enormous masses which they had so much trouble to drag up, in order to prevent them from crushing the men who were before them. The fatigue of this laborious operation was greatly increased by the extreme heat of the sun, which darting its rays from a cloudless sky, proved almost insupportable. When La Trémouille went to salute the king after the business was completed, some time passed before Charles could recollect him, his face was so much burned.

Meanwhile, the confederate army, under the conduct of Francesco de Gonzago, marquis of Mantua, had assembled in the plain beneath, to the number of five-and-thirty thousand men. Had their only object been to cut off the king's retreat to his own dominions, they would certainly have entrenched themselves in the narrow passes of the Appenines, whence it would have been impossible to dislodge them: but their superiority over the French army, which consisted of between seven and eight thousand men, harassed by a long and toilsome march, and destitute of provisions and of money, led the confederates to conceive more lofty designs:—they proposed to take the king prisoner, so completely to surround the French, that not a man might escape, and to strike such a terror into the nation, that they should lose all desire of re-visiting Italy. Their first design had been to fix their camp at Fornuovo, a village situate at the foot of the Appenines; but considering that the place would be too confined for an army so numerous, composed almost wholly of cavalry, to act in; afraid too, that if the king should perceive them from the summit of the mountain, he might be tempted to return to Pisa, and some other towns in Tuscany, where he had left garrisons; they abandoned this post, and pitched their camp near the abbey

of Ghiaruola, three miles from Fornuovo, in a specious plain, intersected by the river Taro, which, rushing down the mountains, empties itself into the Po. The position of their camp was such, that the French could not pursue their march without being exposed to the fire of their artillery, nor attack it without crossing the Taro, the banks of which being steep, and full of willows, would have thrown their squadrons into disorder. The plain was so spacious, that the whole army could, with ease, be drawn up in order of battle; they had laid in a sufficient stock of provisions to supply them for several months; and, in short, all their measures appeared to be so well planned, that had the courage of the Italian troops proved equal to the skill and prudence of the generals, death or captivity must have been the inevitable fate of the French.

The marshal de Gie, who commanded the van of the French, had crossed the Appenines several days before the rest of the army, in order to secure the defiles. On his arrival at the village of Fornuovo, he perceived the enemy's camp, which covered a vast extent of ground; and after he had dispatched a party to reconnoitre it, he sent a herald to the general to demand a free passage for his troops, who only wished to return in a peaceable manner to France, and who would pay for all the provisions they wanted. The arrival of this herald threw the whole camp of the confederates into confusion; they had hitherto persuaded themselves, that the report of their preparations, and the superiority of their forces, would deter the king from attempting to cross the Appenines. While he remained at Pisa, they believed that he would distribute the greater part of his troops in the different towns in Tuscany, and would embark with the rest at Leghorn, in order to return to France by sea, in which case there was a fleet stationed to intercept him; when they received intelligence that he was marching towards the Appenines, they imagined that as soon as he reached the foot of the mountain, he would abandon his artillery and baggage, and endeavour to reach Montferrat by private roads, rather as a fugitive than a king; but when they found that a part of the army had already established their quarters at Fornuovo, the consternation became general: the resistless impetuosity of the French troops, the steady firmness of the Swiss battalions, the dreadful fire of the artillery, all tended to strike a panic into the Italians; but nothing tended to discourage them more than the resolution of a small body of determined men, who came to meet them from the farthest extremity of Italy, and who seemed to take a pleasure in braving dangers and death. Even the leaders themselves were not exempt from the terror which pervaded the troops: when they came to deliberate on the answer to be given to the herald, the two *Provveditori*, whom the senate of Venice had appointed to assist the marquis of Mantua with their advice, were of opinion, that since the French only asked permission to retire, in a peaceable manner, to their own country, they ought to be allowed a free passage.

After much discussion, it was at length agreed to inform the Venetian senate of the demand of the French, and to wait for their orders; but as it could not be expected they would arrive in time, the herald was dismissed without an an-

swer, and some companies of stradiotti were sent to scour the country, and to drive in the enemy's out-posts. These stradiotti were a kind of light-horse, composed entirely of Greeks, levied by the Venetians in the Peloponnesus, in Italy, and Epirus, and by them successfully employed in their wars with the Turks; Commynes tells us, they were very hardy, and that both men and horses were accustomed to sleep in the open air throughout the year. They had a barbarous mode of waging war, by cutting off the heads of their enemies; which they fastened to the pommel of their saddle, and carried to the Venetian Provvéditori, who gave them a ducat for every head.

The mareschal de Gié was fully aware of the danger of his situation; and after having, in vain, urged the king to hasten his march, he evacuated the village, and retired nearer to the mountains. It was determined, that the army should march the next morning; that, on their arrival at the plain where the enemy were encamped, they should fire a few pieces of cannon, and if the confederates did not leave their lines to attack them, they should pursue their road.

Accordingly, on the sixth of July, (1495) the king, clad in complete armour, drew up his troops in order of battle*. The van was composed of the flower of the army, and consisted of three hundred French lances, one hundred Italian lances, three thousand Swiss or Gascons, and three hundred archers of the king's guard. The centre was entrusted to the conduct of the lord of Trémouille; and there the king fought in person, accompanied by his nine *preux*—viz. Mathew, bastard of Bourbon; Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni; Lewis d'Armagnac, count of Guise; Hallewin, lord of Piennes; Bonneval; d'Archiac; Galliot de Genouillac; Fraxinelles; and Barafe: the rear was commanded by the viscount of Narbonne, of the house of Foix. The centre and the rear being too weak to support separately, any formidable attack, marched so near each other as to be ready to afford reciprocal assistance. As no regular troops could be spared to guard the baggage, this care was entrusted to the workmen and followers of the army, who armed themselves with axes and long swords, and composed a body of about two thousand men. When the troops began to march, the king sent for Commynes, and ordered him to renew the negociation: "Sire," said Commynes; "I will do it most willingly, but I never saw too such large companies so near to each other, who parted without coming to blows." A herald was accordingly sent to the Provvéditori, and Commynes repaired, not without great danger, to the place appointed for the conference. The confederates were already drawn up within their lines, in order of battle, and had dispatched some companies of stradiotti, to harass the French army. While the Provvéditori were considering what answer they should give Commynes, the French fired upon the stradiotti, who had advanced too near their ranks; upon which the French herald was immediately dismissed, accompanied by another from the Marquis of Mantua, who informed the king that a conference would be opened, provided he would cease to fire.—This was a stratagem adopted by the confederates merely for the purpose of reconnoitring the French, that they might know where to direct their principal

attack; and might likewise discover where the king himself was stationed, and what distinctive marks he bore, by which he might be known in the heat of the action. The French, not suspecting this treachery, admitted the herald into the ranks, and did not discover their error till they observed that he examined the king's person with peculiar attention. To avert the ill effects of this imprudence, the nine *proux* put on armour exactly similar to that which the king wore. As soon as the enemy had obtained all the information they desired, they left their camp, and advanced with confidence towards the French; their troops were so disposed, that if they succeeded in breaking the first ranks, it would be impossible for a man to escape them. The marquis of Mantua, commander in chief, who was assisted by his uncle, Rodolfo Gonzaga, detached a company of stradiotti, supported by a body of cross-bowmen, and a company of men at arms, to attack the baggage, and take possession of the village of Fornuovo. The marquis himself, with six hundred men at arms, and their archers, five thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred stradiotti, crossed the Taro behind the army, with the view to attack the rear, and then fall upon the centre. He left a considerable body of troops on the opposite banks of the river, under the command of Antonio da Montefeltro, natural son to the duke d'Urbino, who had orders to cross the stream, and take the enemy in flank, as soon he should receive a courier from Rodolfo Gonzaga. At the same time, the count of Gaiazzo, general of the Milanese forces, crossed the Taro in front of the French army, with four thousand men at arms, and two thousand infantry, leaving, on the opposite side, Annibale di Bentivoglis, with two hundred men at arms, who were to join him as soon as they should see him engaged with the van of the French, commanded by the marechal de Gié. Two companies of men at arms, and one thousand foot, were left to guard the camp, under the conduct of the Venetian Provveditori.

The marquis of Mantua displayed great courage in his attack on the rear of the French; which was no sooner engaged than the bastard of Bourbon galloped to the centre, and called to the king to advance. Charles accordingly hastened to his assistance with the centre-division: the first shock was dreadful: in an instant the ground was covered with broken lances, and knights unhorsed. Charles fought in the foremost ranks with such little precaution, that the enemy seized his horse's bridle, and the bastard of Bourbon was made prisoner at his side. In the heat of the action, the French perceived that body of stradiotti which had been sent to pillage the baggage, and seize the village of Fornuovo, returning to camp with their booty; and fifteen hundred of their comrades, whom the Marquis of Mantua had taken with him to attack the enemy with their sabres, as soon as their ranks should be broken by the men at arms, allured by the prospect of plunder, hastened to join them. Another accident, equally fortunate for the French, also occurred; Rodolfo Gonzaga, who was to have sent orders to Montefeltro to advance with his corps-de-reserve, was thrown from his horse,

and crushed to death. The Italian men at arms who accompanied the marquis, after they had broken their lances, and defended themselves for a short time with their sabres, finding themselves unsupported, fled with precipitation, and were pursued by the French, who put all they could overtake to the sword. The king ought either to have restrained the ardour of his troops, or else to have followed them; but neglecting to adopt either of these precautions, he was left on the field of battle, accompanied only by his valet-de-chambre, where he remained about a quarter of an hour at a considerable distance from the van of his army. While his troops were intent on pursuing the fugitives, he had nearly been taken by a company of Italian men at arms, who, having been routed at the beginning of the action, had retreated to the banks of the river, whence, seeing the field clear, they now ventured to return. Charles defended himself, for a long time, with extreme valour, but he must inevitably have fallen into the power of the enemy, but for the timely return of a part of his troops.

While the rear was engaged, the count di Gaiazso attacked the van, but less from the hope of defeating it than with the view to prevent it from affording any assistance to the centre, against which the principal attack was to be directed. His men at arms, unable to withstand the impetuous courage of the French, and alarmed at the loss of Giovanni Piccinino and Galeazzo da Coreggio, two of their most celebrated captains, took to flight; and if the marshal de Gié had pursued them, the victory would have been complete; but perceiving a corps-de-reserve on the opposite side of the river, and ignorant as yet of what had passed in the centre and rear, he prudently checked the zeal of his troops, and remained where he was.

The action did not last more than an hour. The confederates lost three thousand five hundred men, among whom were many persons of distinction, while the loss of the French did not amount to two hundred, and the bastard of Bourbon, and Julian de Bourgneuf, captain of the king's guards, were the only officers missing.

Charles, afraid that the enemy might be tempted to avail themselves of the scarcity of provisions which prevailed in his camp, to prevent his departure, thought it prudent to decamp in the night. The confederates were not apprised of his departure till the next day at noon; and when they attempted to pursue him, they found the river Taro so swelled with the rain which had fallen the two preceding days, that it was not possible to ford it in any part. Fortune, however, furnished them with a fine opportunity of revenge, if they had had but courage to seize it: the king, after crossing the river Trebia, left, on the opposite side, two hundred lances, a part of the Swiss, and all his artillery; as the river was shallow, it was not supposed there could be any danger in thus dividing the army for the greater convenience of lodging. But the same accident which had swollen the waters of the Taro, occasioned a flood at the Trebia; and, had the enemy appeared, one part of the army must have seen the other part massacred without the ability to assist them. They fortunately escaped for the fright, and after a toilsome

march of five days, entered the Tortonese, when the enemy left them, and went to join the army which was employed in the siege of Novara.

The army crossed Montferrat, and, after sustaining incredible fatigue, reached in safety the town of Asti, where they found the body of troops which had been sent against Genoa, and some fresh reinforcements from France, under the command of the prince of Orange.

Of seven thousand men, whom he had taken with him to Novara, two thousand had perished with hunger, and the rest were reduced to the last extremity.—It was necessary, therefore, to wait for a reinforcement, before any attempt could be made with the least prospect of success. Charles accordingly sent the bailiff of Dijon to the Swiss, while he advanced with his troops to Trino, as well for the greater convenience of sending convoys to Novara, as for the purpose of visiting a beautiful young woman, named Anna Solara, at whose father's house he had lodged on his road to Naples; and whose affections he had then found means to engage.

During his stay at Trino, an officer arrived from the pope, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to leave Italy in ten days; and to withdraw, within a given term, which he specified, all the troops which he had left in the kingdom of Naples, or else to repair to Rome in person, in order to give an account of his conduct. "I am much surprised," replied the king, "that the holy father, not having condescended to wait for me at Rome, when I went thither for the purpose of devoutly kissing his feet, should now express such impatience to see me there! You will tell him, that I think of opening myself a passage to him once more, and that I most urgently intreat him to have the complaisance to wait for me this time, that I may not perform the journey for nothing." The officer, who had been extremely averse from taking charge of such a commission, was very happy to find that the king made it a subject for laughter. The pope's desire, however, to witness the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French troops, was soon accomplished. Ferdinand the Second, emerging from his retreat, assisted by the Spanish troops, under Gonsalvo Hernandez, surnamed *The Great Captain*, returned again in triumph to his capital. The French, indeed, under the conduct of the constable d'Aubigny, gained an useless victory, and maintained their reputation for national valour; the count of Montpensier, surrendered Naples after an obstinate defence; and Capua, Aversa, and Otranto, returned to their allegiance.

Charles received this intelligence at Trino, and though to relieve the duke of Orleans, was the first object to be accomplished, still he did not neglect to take some steps for the recovery of Naples: unable at this period, to spare any troops for that purpose, he concluded a treaty with the republic of Florence, which, had it been duly observed, might have been productive of the greatest advantage. The Florentine ministers had persisted in following the king, notwithstanding the mortifications to which they were continually exposed; Charles, however, now determined to give them full satisfaction, and a treaty was concluded.

The king, on his part, dispatched the most positive orders to the governors, whom he had left in the different towns in Tuscany, to restore those towns, without delay, to the commissioners appointed by the republic to take possession of them. These first orders never reached the place of their destination: the florentine ambassador to whom they were entrusted, thought he might cross the duchy of Milan in safety, as the republic were not at war with Ludovico; but that usurper, in violation of the law of nations, stopped him, seized his papers, and informed the inhabitants of Pisa of the danger to which they were about to be exposed, unless they would consent to receive assistance from him. The Florentines were reduced to the necessity of applying for fresh orders, which were sent, but badly executed. The count of Ligni secretly advised the governors to find some pretext for evading them, promising to justify their conduct to the king. Saillant was the only officer who refused to be concerned in this infamous manœuvre; he restored the port and citadel of Leghorn, where he commanded, to the Florentine commissioners. Charles, apprised of these infamous proceedings, ordered, as a mark of his displeasure, the count of Ligni's bed to be removed from his chamber, and he passed a sentence of banishment upon Entragues. His resentment, however, soon subsided; unable to support the absence of his favourite, he recalled him in a short time, and the first use which Ligni made of the influence he had recovered over his master, was to procure a pardon for Entragues, and all his accomplices. The unhappy Florentines, who were despoiled of their towns, and the thousands of brave men who had been left in the kingdom of Naples, were the only people who suffered for the king's weakness.

From Trino the army advanced to Vercelli, a town which had long been annexed to the duchy of Milan; Philip Maria Visconte had ceded it to the duke of Savoy, in order to detach him from a powerful league which had been formed against him; but he had expressly stipulated that it should observe a strict neutrality in all the wars which should be undertaken against the duchy of Milan. As soon as he was in possession of the town, he established posts within a mile of Novara. He had not been long there, before a few companies of Swiss arrived with intelligence, that a large army of their countrymen might be expected in a short time. The king, hitherto victorious, and commanding his army in person, deemed it derogatory to his dignity to sue for an accommodation; while the confederates, who acted in the name of the pope and of the emperor, and who, moreover, were afraid, by betraying their inquietude, of rendering the French more difficult in their terms, wished not to treat till famine and despair had delivered the first prince of the blood into their hands. Chance, however, resolved the difficulty. After the death of the marchioness of Montferrat, some disputes arose relative to the guardianship of her son, who was then a minor; and the states of the country, dreading the consequences of this division, obliged the competitors to chuse the king for their umpire. Charles being unable to take the commission upon himself, sent Commynes to provide for the safety of the young prince, and to promote the establishment of concord.

This able minister, finding at the court of Montferrat a gentleman in the service of the Marquis of Mantua, entered into conversation with him, and expressed his astonishment at the infatuation of his master, in not perceiving that by contributing to the elevation of the Venetians, he was promoting his own ruin. As he found from the gentleman's answer, that the marquis himself was aware of this circumstance, and that notwithstanding his title of *generalissimo*, he would willingly accede to any proposal for an accommodation; Commynes took upon himself to write to the Venetian *Provveditori*, offering to renew the conferences which had been opened on the banks of the *Taro*. His proposal was accepted, and a place appointed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries; but the person employed, by these artful politicians, who were sincerely desirous of peace, to make the first overtures, was the most improper man for the purpose they could possibly have chosen: this was the count Albertino Boschetto, a subject and intimate friend of the duke of Ferrara, who, having been despoiled of a part of his dominions, by the Venetians, was anxious to promote their humiliation, as the only means of repairing the losses he had sustained.

Albertino, after he had delivered his commission at a public audience, had a private interview with the king, in which he exhorted him not to grant any of the articles he had been sent to demand; declaring, that the confederates trembled in their camp, and that, on the first motion of the French army to attack them, they would fly with precipitation. Commynes, la Trémouille, and the prince of Orange, opposed it with such warmth, that the king determined to send safe-conducts for the plenipotentiaries, who, on the part of the confederates, were the marquis of Mantua, Bernardo Contarini, and Francesco Bernardino Visconte: and, on the part of the French, the prince of Orange, marshal de Gié, the lord of Piennes, and Philip de Commynes. The fear that the Swiss might arrive, and induce the king to change his mind, engaged the plenipotentiaries to accelerate their proceedings. In the very first conference, a truce for ten days was agreed on, and permission given to the duke of Orleans to leave Novara, but wholly unaccompanied, and on condition that if no treaty should be concluded, he should return in the same manner*. As the duke was to pass through the camp of the confederates, the marquis of Mantua offered himself as a hostage for his safety, and accordingly repaired to the French camp. The principal nobility consisted in persuading the garrison of Novara to consent to this arrangement; reduced to the most wretched situation, and exposed to all the horrors of famine, they were afraid, that after the departure of the first prince of the blood, they should be totally neglected and forgotten. In vain did the duke promise, either to effect their relief in the course of three days, or return to share in their fate; they would not consent to his departure, until marshal de Gié sent his nephew, the marquis of Rochefort, as a hostage for his return. Three days after, it was agreed that the French should march out of the place with their arms and baggage; that the defence of the

* Commynes.—Giovio.—Benedetti.—Coroi.—Guicciaradini.

town should be left to the citizens; and that only thirty French troops should remain in the citadel, which they were to hold in the name of the duke of Orleans. The wretched remains of the garrison of Novara, exhausted with sickness, famine, and fatigue, accordingly retired from the scene of their misery, and joined their countrymen.

During these transactions the Swiss arrived, under the conduct of the bailiff of Dijon, but, instead of eight or ten thousand men which the king expected, he was much surprised at finding, that he had now under his command, including the Swiss whom he had brought with him from Naples, and those which he had just received from Novara, no less than two-and-twenty thousand troops of that nation. Their attachment to the French, and more than that, the hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of Lombardy, had made them flock to the army in crowds. The king, and the chief nobility of France, were now left at the discretion of these mercenary troops; the only precaution that could be adopted was to station them at different posts, at a distance from each other, and the exertion of great prudence was requisite to prevent them from perceiving the motive of such precaution.

The duke of Orleans was the only person who exulted in the cause of this alarm; and his exultation proceeded from the conviction that the ducal crown of Milan could not escape him, if his attempts for defeating the negotiations for peace should be crowned with success. Charles, in consideration of the danger to which the duke of Orleans was exposed, had had the generosity to forget the just grounds for complaint which the duke had afforded him; but he had no inclination to expose his life, and the safety of his army, in pursuit of a conquest of which that prince would reap all the advantages, and which might, perhaps, only serve to render him more untractable. The duke, perceiving that he could not succeed by this means, had recourse to the Swiss, whom he exhorted to insist on coming to action, assuring them that the king would not dare to reject their demand. This seditious measure came to the knowledge of the prince of Orange, who, foreseeing the fatal consequences to which it might lead, thought it his duty to inform the king of it. A council was accordingly assembled, where disputes ran so high, that the leaders of the different parties had nearly proceeded to blows. The duke of Orleans, enraged at the prince of Orange, forgot himself so far as publicly to give him the lie. Charles, however, interposed his authority, and put a stop to the quarrel. The negotiations were carried on with great eagerness on both sides. So long as the evacuation of Novara had been the only object of discussion, the duke of Milan had entrusted every thing to his ministers; but as soon as the conclusion of a treaty of peace became the subject for debate, he attended the conferences in person, accompanied by his duchess, in whom he placed great confidence, and whose advice he followed on most occasions.

With regard to the town of Novara, no difficulty occurred; the French agreed to give it up, but they demanded, in return, the absolute sovereignty of the city of Genoa, which had formerly belonged to France, and the government whereof

Lewis the Eleventh had ceded to the dukes of Milan, on condition of paying homage to the crown of France. It was maintained that Ludovico, by waging war against his lord paramount, had forfeited his fief; but that prince, who was endeavouring to extend his domains, and who had just sent a body of auxiliaries to Pisa, in order to obtain possession of that town under pretence of defending it, peremptorily refused to give up his claims to Genoa. He endeavoured to excuse his late conduct, by the necessity to which he was reduced of securing himself against the threats and intrigues of the duke of Orleans. Finding the French extremely impatient to return to their own country, this treacherous prince at length consented to make all the *promises* required of him; and so far imposed on the credulity of the plenipotentiaries, as to induce them to accept such slender security.

The treaty was signed by the king and the duke of Milan, on the tenth of October, the very day on which the conditions were settled by the plenipotentiaries. The reason of this haste soon appeared; for the Swiss, enraged at being disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and secretly instigated by the partisans of the duke of Orleans, assembled in a tumultuous manner; when some of the most violent among them proposed to seize the king, and all the principal nobility, carry them to Switzerland, and keep them there till they should consent to procure their liberty by the payment of such ransoms as the Swiss might think proper to exact. Others, rejecting this perfidious advice, proposed only to insist on receiving three months' pay, in conformity to a treaty by which Lewis the Eleventh had engaged to allow them so much whenever he should require them to march out of the limits of their own country. They began by seizing the bailiff of Dijon and Lornai, and by entering, in great numbers, the town of Vercelli. The king, apprised of their conduct, fled with precipitation to Trino; but as he could not with the same facility take off his artillery and baggage, he was reduced to the necessity of compounding with the Swiss, and of giving them security for the payment of the sum they demanded. Harmony was then re-established, and all the treaties that subsisted between the two powers were renewed; after which the king took the road to France.

A. D. 1496.] Ferdinand of Arragon, profiting by the absence of the French troops, had assembled all his forces in the province of Roussillon. He first attempted to surprize the castle of Son, which commands an entrance into the kingdom of Navarre; and had he succeeded in this attempt, it is highly probable he would have immediately taken that kingdom from Catharine of Foix, and her husband, John d'Albret. Being compelled to desist from his enterprize, he made an incursion into Languedoc, and laid waste the environs of Carcassonne and Narbonne. The duke of Bourbon sent to its defence all the regular troops which he had at his disposal, under the command of Guichard d'Albon, lord of Sainte-André, and la Roche-Aimon, his lieutenants, with orders to remain on the defensive, and to strengthen the fortifications of Narbonne, which he was fearful the Spaniards would attempt to secure. Alain d'Albret, father to the king of Navarre, was ordered to convoke the ban and arriere-ban of Gascony, and to cover

that frontier : things were in this situation when the king returned from Italy.— Saint-André having then received a considerable reinforcement which made his army amount to eighteen thousand men, advanced into Rouffillon, took by assault, and reduced to ashes, the town of Salces (which Ferdinand had converted into an arsenal) almost in sight of the Spanish army, which, though more numerous than the French, did not dare to venture on action. Ferdinand, astonished at the rapid progress of the French arms, and afraid of losing the province of Rouffillon, feigned an extreme anxiety for the conclusion of a peace, and sent to demand a truce, that the plenipotentiaries might assemble for the purpose of bringing the treaty to a speedy termination. Charles, who daily received bad accounts of his troops in Italy, willingly acceded to the proposition.

Since his return to France, the only forces he had been able to send to the relief of Naples were eight hundred lansquenets, which had been leaved in the dominions of the duke of Gueldres. The vessels appointed to convey them to the place of destination had formed a junction with a French fleet that lay in the harbour of Leghorn ; but before they arrived at Naples, they received intelligence that the castles had surrendered to Ferdinand. The fleet then proceeded to Gaïetta, where three thousand men disembarked, with plenty of ammunition, and joined the count of Montpensier, who now wanted nothing but money. This, however, he was unable to procure, and Ferdinand having received considerable reinforcements from the Venetians, followed him from place to place, and at length compelled him to capitulate at Aella, on condition that he supplied him with vessels to transport his troops to France. A neglect, however, on the part of the governors of the different towns, to comply with the orders of Montpensier, who had consented to a total evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, furnished Ferdinand with a pretext for refusing to fulfil, on his part, the conditions of the capitulation ; the troops were, therefore, sent to the small island of Procioa, where most of them died of a contagious disorder.

While these things were passing in the kingdom of Naples, Stephen de Vesc, who had, some time before, been dispatched to France by Montpensier, exhorted the king to send, without delay, a strong reinforcement of troops to the assistance of that nobleman. Charles was anxious to comply with his request ; the council evinced a similar disposition ; and even those who had been most strenuous in their opposition to the former expedition, were of opinion that a new armament should be immediately equipped. But though France did not want soldiers, she had neither ships nor money. To obviate this last inconvenience, the king suspended the payment of all pensions, and even the salaries of his officers, till after his return from Italy : he had then recourse to the usual expedients for raising money, by encreasing the taxes, by opening loans, and by anticipations on the revenue ; and lastly he demanded from the principal towns the necessary contributions for the equipment of a fleet.

The city of Paris had been rated at a hundred thousand crowns. The municipal officers desired, that if the tax took place, it should be equally levied on every class of citizens ; and they entreated the parliament to send a certain number of

deputies to the municipal assembly at the town-house. The court replied, that they should not send any body, and only promised to assist the municipal officers with their advice, in case they came to consult them; and the magistrates availed themselves of this refusal of the parliament to offer the king only fifty thousand livres. Charles, who, in his present situation, could not consent to so material a diminution, sent Philip of Luxembourg, cardinal of Mons; the lord of Albret; admiral de Graville; and William of Poitiers, lord of Clérieux, to the parliament. These ministers declared to the court it was the king's pleasure, that the members of the parliament should, for this time only, contribute with the rest of the citizens; but the parliament persisted in their opposition, and many other towns in the kingdom followed their example.

The duke of Orleans, who was to have commanded the main body of the army, being discontented with the last treaty with the duke of Milan, and knowing that France was still negotiating with the usurper, exerted all his influence and credit to put a stop to the expedition. Thus, though he expressed his readiness to obey the king's orders, he gave rise to numerous difficulties, and betrayed a strong repugnance to undertake the commission with which he was charged.

The king himself, at the very moment when every body expected him to begin his march to Italy, suddenly took the road to Tours, in order to visit, before his departure, the tombs of Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis. It was suspected, however, that love rather than devotion was the object of this pilgrimage; and a report was propagated, that during his residence at Lyons, where he had passed a year on his return from Italy, having become desperately enamoured of a maid of quality, attached to the queen, he would not quit the kingdom without bidding her adieu. Be that as it may, Charles, after passing some days at the castle of Plessis-les-Tours, repaired to Saint-Denis, and the Parisians, expecting a visit from him, prepared to receive him with the greatest magnificence; but displeased with their late refusal to supply him with money, he refused to honour the town with his presence. He even intended to carry his vengeance still farther: as he imputed to the parliament the resistance he had experienced from the municipal officers, he formed a plan for instituting a new parliament at Poitiers, and to extend its jurisdiction over the provinces of Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, La Marche, Aunis, and Angoumois. The Poitevins, apprised of his intentions, were extremely earnest in their solicitations to the king to put them in execution; but Robert Briffonet, the chancellor, who, through the credit of his brother, had succeeded the celebrated William de Rochfort, eluded their demand, and at length induced the king to give up the design.

The report of the preparations making by the French excited a general fermentation in Italy. The Venetians and the duke of Milan, who had joined in deceiving the king, began to harbour suspicions of each other; but the expected arrival of the French induced them to suspend their mutual jealousy, and an union, cemented by fear, rather tended to confirm than diminish their mutual hatred. Ludovico, whose territories was destined to become the theatre of war,

represented to the Venetians that the presence of the emperor would be absolutely necessary, to save them from the fury of the French; and he offered to defray one half of his expences. The Venetians considered Maximilian as a dangerous protector, on account of the pretensions of the empire, and of the house of Austria, to part of their dominions.—They appointed ambassadors to accompany Ludovico's to the Imperial court, and promised the emperor sixty thousand ducats, for levying an army, and for supporting it during three months. Maximilian, after receiving a part of this money, evinced no disposition to fulfil his engagements, and, in a short time, demanded an addition of thirty thousand ducats to the stipulated sum. The Venetians, who had been led against their will, to contract the first engagement, openly rejected this new demand. Ludovico, however, undertook to pay the additional sum himself, in the hope of facilitating, by that means, the acquisition of the sovereignty of Pisa.

The emperor, at length, made his appearance, but with an army that neither corresponded to his engagements, nor to his dignity. Persuaded that he had only to issue his orders to ensure instant obedience from all the Italian states, he summoned the duke of Savoy and the marquis of Montferrat to attend him, but though those princes held fiefs of the empire, they, nevertheless, refused to obey the citation: the duke of Ferrara, himself, though father-in-law to Ludovico, refused to hold any commerce with the emperor, under pretext that being appointed a kind of umpire between the French and the Milanese, he ought not to take any step that might render him an object of suspicion to either party. Lastly, the Venetians, far from affording that assistance which he had expected to receive from them, endeavoured to frustrate all his undertakings: compelled to renounce the flattering hopes which he had built on a sandy foundation, Maximilian began to perceive that he was exposing himself to the ridicule and derision of the neighbouring powers. Ludovico proposed to him, as the last resource, to offer himself as an umpire between the Pisans and Florentines; he represented to him that the Venetians, having no claim to the city of Pisa, could not possibly refuse to surrender that place into his hands; and, that the Florentines, too weak to resist, of themselves, the forces of the empire, and those of the confederates, would be compelled to submit to his arbitration. Ludovico flattered himself, that if Pisa were once delivered to the emperor, he should find it an easy matter, either by money or intrigues, to obtain possession of it himself. The Venetians, aware of his designs, accepted the proffered mediation of Maximilian, but, at the same time, took care to preserve a superiority, in point of forces, in Pisa; and they hoped that, if the emperor should succeed in procuring, as he had promised, for the Pisans, the restitution of Leghorn, both that place, and Pisa itself, would, after his departure, fall into their hands, and render their power as much respected on those coasts, as it already was on their own gulph.—They strengthened the fortifications of Leghorn, and applied to the French for assistance. The event proved the wisdom of their precautions: the emperor, repairing to Genoa, there embarked a part of his army, on board a fleet that was

destined to attack Leghorn by sea, while he himself, with the remainder of his troops, made an assault on the town by land. But the arrival of a little squadron of the French ships, under the command of Hugh d'Amboise, baron d'Aubijoux, enabled the Florentines to repel his attacks. The emperor was compelled to raise the siege, and, filled with indignation against the Venetians, to whom he ascribed the failure of his enterprise, he retired, with precipitation, into Germany, leaving a part of his troops with the duke of Milan.

Since the capitulation of Atella, and the death of Montpensier, the French had been unable to resist the successful exertions of Ferdinand. The governors of the few places in the kingdom of Naples, which still remained in possession of the French, being deprived of all communication with each other, and surrounded on every side by a superior force, only fought, by resistance, to retard their defeat for a few days, and to deserve the sterile honour of being the last to surrender*. But before Ferdinand could behold the complete reduction of his dominions, he himself, expired, crowned with glory. The desire of cementing his alliance with the court of Spain, had led him to contract a marriage with his aunt, Jane of Arragon, daughter to his grandfather, Ferdinand, by a sister of Ferdinand the Catholic. He was succeeded in his dominions by his uncle, Frederic, who, in a tide of uninterrupted success, swept away the few remaining garrisons of France which had escaped the arms of Ferdinand.

A. D. 1497.] So long as any of his subjects remained in the kingdom of Naples, Charles, by nature magnanimous, had thought his honour interested in their defence; even after that conquest had escaped him, he formed a project for recovering it, by making himself master of such places as might enable him to establish a communication between Naples and France. Having dismissed a great part of the army he had assembled the preceeding year, he sent the remainder into Lombardy, under the command of Triulzi. His choice of a general, who was highly respected in the Milanese, and the excellence of his troops, made Ludovico tremble for his safety; and it is probable that this little army would have sufficed to punish him for his past treachery, had Triulzi been at liberty to direct its operations as he pleased; but Charles, knowing that all the conquests he might make in the Milanese would prove advantageous to the duke of Orleans, whom he had just disgraced, had rendered him, in a manner, subservient to the cardinal San Pietro di Vincola, and Batistino Fregoso, who promised to introduce the French into the city of Genoa; the possession of which, the king considered as an object of greater importance. Triulzi, therefore, was compelled to divide his army into three bodies: the first, reduced the town of Novi, by which means the communication was stopped between Genoa and Milan: the second division, took possession of Ventimiglia; while Triulzi reduced the important fortress of Bosco, and kept all the forces of the duchy of Milan in awe: each of the three

* Belcarins.—Guicciardini.

divisions, acting separately, was too weak to attempt any enterprise of importance.

During these transactions in Italy, Charles continued to negotiate with the Spanish monarch, in order to detach him from the confederacy of the Italian states. Ferdinand the Catholic now employed against France the same insidious policy which Lewis the Eleventh had exerted against Don Juan of Arragon. Without making any direct opposition to the king's projects, he kept him in suspense, and sought to amuse him till such times as all his Italian conquests should be taken from him. In a conference which Ferdinand had with William of Poitiers, lord of Clérieux, he proposed a means of effecting a pacification between the two crowns; by joining their arms to reduce the kingdom of Naples, and then to divide the conquest between them; Ferdinand said, that he would be contented with Calabria for his share. This proposal appeared too advantageous to be sincere; and as the French court were of opinion, that the king of Spain had imposed on the credulity of De Clérieux, they sent Du Bouchage to discover his real intentions. Ferdinand, when pressed for an explanation, by this new ambassador, did not deny that he had mentioned the subject, but, on reflection, he had found that the plan he proposed would be attended with so many obstacles, that it would not be prudent to attempt its execution.

Now that Charles had secured himself from the dread of interruption from the neighbouring powers, he again turned his thoughts to Italy. The ambition of the Venetians, and the rapid encrease of their power, had inspired all the states in their vicinity with alarm. The Florentines, despairing to regain possession of Pisa, without the assistance of the French, were urgent in their solicitations to Charles to repass the Alps; and promised to equip an army of eight hundred men at arms, and five thousand infantry, which they desired the constable, d'Aubigny, might be sent to command*. The marquis of Mantua, who had commanded the Venetian forces, and rendered them such essential service in the conquest of Naples, disgusted with their ingratitude, and trembling for the safety of his own territories, offered to supply the king with three hundred men at arms: the duke of Ferrara promised him five hundred men at arms, and two thousand infantry; and several other petty princes engaged to join the confederacy. The pope himself—though little reliance could be placed on his word—affirmed that he only waited for the king's arrival to declare in his favour. Thus, in Italy alone, a force might have been levied, at a trifling expence, to counterbalance that of the league; and if the French had appeared in Italy at this period, nothing could have impeded their progress. The king, flattered by these appearances, felt his first ardour revive; he openly confessed the faults he had committed in his last expedition; and he employed himself in the formation of new plans, but the deposition of Ludovico should have formed the basis of all his projects, and he was unwilling to render such an essential service to the

* Commynes.—Guicciardini.—Belcarinus.

duke of Orleans : besides, it was impossible to succeed without money, and the debts he had already contracted rendered it difficult to procure any. Cardinal Brissonet, general of the finances, purposely enhanced these difficulties, in order to deter him from the enterprise. Charles, in this emergency, applied to the Florentines for a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and experienced a refusal. This imprudent step destroyed his credit in Italy ; the duke of Ferrara, notwithstanding his attachment to the French, was fearful of trusting to them for protection, and therefore delivered the citadel of Genoa to the duke of Milan ; while the king, passing at once from the extreme of enthusiasm to perfect indifference, laid aside all thoughts of Italy for the present, and applied himself entirely to the regulation of the internal government of the kingdom.

Charles the Seventh had, by an ordonnance, appointed customary laws in every province in France to be collected and arranged : Lewis the Eleventh renewed the injunction ; but this salutary undertaking not having been executed by either of these monarchs, Charles the Eighth now determined to complete it ; for which purpose, he issued orders to the different bailiwicks, to chuse a certain number of persons, most distinguished for their knowledge and abilities in the three orders of the state, who were to extract, from memorials supplied by the mayors and aldermen of the different towns, the customs and privileges which prevailed in each district ; he appointed commissioners to superintend this work, and when it was far advanced, he addressed letters-patent to Thibaut Baillet, president of the parliament of Paris, and some other magistrates, enjoining them to enforce the publication in every bailliwick and sénéchaussée, of the laws appointed to prevail there ; in case of dispute, appeal was to be made to such commission, unless the object of dispute was of such importance as to render it difficult to be decided, in which case the parties were to be referred to the parliament. Charles the Eighth, however, had not time to finish this work, which, though continued by his successors, was not entirely completed till the reign of Charles the Ninth.

The states of Tours had entreated the king to ensure a fixed and permanent form to the great council, at which the chancellor had hitherto been accustomed to preside, assisted only by a few masters of requests, bailiffs, seneschals, and other officers of the crown, who happened to be at court. It often happened that there were not counsellors sufficient to proceed to business ; at other times the same cause was tried before different judges, and those who heard only the latter part of it were called upon to decide, without being competent to the task.—Notwithstanding the remonstrances and solicitations of the states, this abuse was suffered to subsist till the present period, when Charles attempted a remedy by the creation of seventeen counsellors, who, together with the chancellor and masters of requests, composed the great council, and decided in all causes that were brought before that tribunal. These counsellors had stated salaries assigned them, and were only obliged to reside at court six months in the year.

A. D. 1498.] A total revolution appears to have taken place in the manners and disposition of Charles ; who, quitting those scenes of dissipation which he had

long been accustomed to frequent, and foregoing his taste for illicit enjoyments, now applied himself, exclusively, to the cares of government. He resolved, in imitation of some of his ancestors, to administer justice to his subjects in person; and having received, from the chamber of accounts, the necessary informations with regard to the forms observed, on these occasions, by his subjects, he granted audiences to every person requiring it, listened to all complaints, and gave immediate answers to all petitions that were presented to him. By this means he discovered a variety of abuses, and acts of oppression, committed by his officers in the provinces; and the punishments he inflicted on the culprits tended greatly to the relief of the people.

The next object which attracted the attention of the king, was the extreme ignorance of the clergy, and the inattention of the bishops to the duties of their office; more intent on obtaining a plurality of benefices than improving the morals of their flocks, or enforcing a propriety of conduct in the inferior ecclesiastics entrusted to their care, they seldom resided in their dioceses: hence the lower clergy had become indolent, and were infected with those vices which indolence too often engenders, thereby rendering their profession contemptible, and exposing religion itself to the derision of the vulgar.—Anxious to reform this abuse, the king consulted the Parisian doctors on the extent of his power, with regard to the alterations in ecclesiastical discipline; but he did not live to execute either this salutary project, or the scheme he had formed for reducing the taxes—after the payment of his debts—to the sum of twelve hundred thousand livres, stipulated by the states of Tours; which he meant to appropriate solely to the defence of the kingdom, reserving only for his own use the revenues of the domain, and the produce of the Gabelles. The taxes, at this time, amounted to two millions, five hundred thousand livres*.

In the midst of these occupations, the most glorious that can engage the attention of a monarch, an accident occurred which terminated the existence of this youthful prince. During his stay in Italy, Charles had contracted a taste for architecture; and, on his return, he gave orders for the construction at Amboise, the place of his birth, of a more magnificent edifice than any which had yet been seen in France. He meant to adorn this palace with a variety of costly furniture, statues and pictures, which he had brought from Italy; and that the building might correspond with the richness of the embellishments, he had had the precaution to attach to his service the most skilful architects, and the most celebrated painters he could meet with on his expedition. From a gallery in this castle, he was engaged in observing a game of tennis that was played in the ditch below; desirous that the queen might partake of the amusement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but, in passing through a door, he struck his head with violence against the top, which was very low. He felt, however, no immediate bad consequence from the accident; but, after remaining some time in the gallery, as he was returning with the queen, he suddenly fell, senseless, to

* Commives.—Belcarius.

the ground: the attendants, alarmed at his danger, laid him on a wretched couch which stood in a corner of the gallery; thrice he recovered his voice, and as quickly lost it again; his expressions were solely those of devotion; and, notwithstanding every effort of medicine, he expired at eleven o'clock the same night, on the seventeenth of April, 1498, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth of his age.

The amiable qualities of Charles had acquired him the surname of *The Affable* and *The Courteous*; and his loss was deeply regretted by all ranks of people. His talents were not above mediocrity, and all his endowments were rather calculated to conciliate affection than to excite admiration. Of a rash and enterprising spirit, his ability in the execution greatly exceeded his wisdom in the formation of plans. His facility of disposition frequently rendered him a dupe to his ministers and favourites, whose dangerous influence was farther extended by his aversion from business: but towards the conclusion of his reign he remedied these defects, and deserved and obtained the grateful esteem of his subjects.

His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence: two of his domestics are said to have died of grief for the loss of their beloved master; and Anne of Brittany, his widow, abandoned herself to all the distraction of sorrow. During three days she never undressed, but secluded herself in her chamber, overwhelmed with despair, deaf to the friendly importunities of her attendants, and pertinaciously refusing to accept the nourishment that was repeatedly proffered to her.

At the commencement of this reign, the roads and bridges were so bad in many parts of France, though contributions were levied on the passengers for keeping them in repair, that the states of Tours complained that many men and beasts of burden, had lost their lives in attempting to pass them; and that several villages were totally deserted from the difficulty of approaching them.

Each deputy of the states of Tours received a stated salary for his services, equal to four livers one sol of the present money, per diem.

The venereal disease was introduced into France, during the reign of Charles, by the troops who had accompanied that monarch on his expedition to Naples. It is said that the French soldiers had contracted that dreadful disorder from the Neapolitans, and that on their return to France, they diffused it throughout Italy: certain it is, that it was called by the French, *The Neapolitan disease*, and by the Italians, *The French disease*.* The Neapolitans are supposed to have received it from Spain, where it had been imported by some of the sailors who had attended Christopher Columbus, in his expedition to the *New World*.

* Guicciaradini, tom. i. p. 210, 211.—Giovio.—Bembo.—Fracastore.

LEWIS THE TWELFTH.

A. D. 1498.] IN Charles the Eighth, ended the direct line of Valois; and the sceptre passed to Lewis, duke of Orleans, his cousin, in the third or fourth degree, and grandson to that duke of Orleans who was assassinated at the instigation of John, duke of Burgundy. The new monarch was in his thirty-sixth year, and had, consequently, attained to a maturity of vigour both in body and mind; he had, moreover, received some salutary lessons in the severe school of adversity; and his misfortunes, with the reflections they occasioned, had produced a wholesome change in his disposition, by tempering the fire of youth, by teaching him to restrain the sallies of passion, and to submit the suggestions of enthusiasm to the dictates of reason.

Lewis the Twelfth was anointed at Rheims, on the twenty-seventh of May; on the first of July the ceremony of his coronation was performed at Saint-Denis; and on the following day he made his public entry into Paris. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he rewarded the zeal and fidelity of George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, who had alike shared with him the smiles and the frowns of fortune, by raising him to the dignity of prime minister; and never did a favourite better deserve the confidence of his sovereign.

This prince had been compelled at an early age, and much against his will, to marry Jane; the youngest daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, a princess of an amiable disposition, but deformed in her person: on the oath of the king of France that he had never consummated the marriage, pope Alexander the Sixth was prevailed on to pronounce it null and invalid; Jane submitted with decent resignation to a sentence which deprived her of a crown, and only expressed her wish to be enabled to reward her domestics, and to relieve the poor. The king accordingly assigned her the revenues of the province of Berry for her support, and retiring to a nunnery which she founded at Bourges, the capital of that province, she there took the veil, and closed a life of humble virtue.

A. D. 1499.] On the decease of Charles the Eighth, Anne of Brittany, retired into her own hereditary dominions, and maintained the rights of an independent sovereign. The articles of her marriage with the late king precluded her from disposing of her hand, in case of his death without male issue, to the prejudice of the state; but a stipulation, in which state policy was opposed to

natural rights, was deemed equivocal, and prudence warned Lewis to secure the important acquisition of Brittany, by measures the most effectual.

She refused, however, to accede to the proposals of Lewis, till that monarch had consented, that in case she should die without children, her duchy should revert to the heirs of her house; and that her marriage should be celebrated at the city of Nantz. The ceremony was accordingly performed in that city, on the eighteenth of January, 1499, whence the king conducted her to Paris.

The king now determined to enforce the claims of his house on the duchy of Milan; but, that his kingdom might not be exposed to insult in the absence of his troops, he confirmed the treaties with all the neighbouring powers. Those which had been concluded with the republics of Venice and Florence were renewed; the pope was secured in the interest of France; the peace with England was confirmed; Ferdinand and Isabella withdrew their troops from Italy, the archduke Philip did homage to the king at Arras: but, his father, Maximilian, was more difficult to treat with. The king had no sooner ascended the throne, than the emperor, at the instigation of Ludovico Sforza, made an incursion into Burgundy; but being repulsed by the count of Foix, he consented to a truce for a few months.

The king, meanwhile, repaired to Lyons, in the month of July, whence he sent his army into Italy, under the command of Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni, who had under him Triulzi and d'Aubigny: the Venetians, at the same time, made their troops advance to the banks of the Adda, and took possession of all the territory which the king had ceded to them between the rivers Adda and Serio.

The French entered the Milanese, and reduced and sacked, after a vigorous resistance, the towns of Alessandria and Novara; Mortara and Pavia capitulated; Valenza was betrayed into the hands of the French, by the treachery of the governor, Donata-Raffamino*. The inhabitants of Milan exhibited symptoms of revolt, and Ludovico, uncertain in whom he should confide, and incapable of resisting the storm, retired with his treasures to Inspruck, after providing the castle of Milan with every requisite for a long and obstinate defence, and entrusting the care of it to Bernardino da Corte, a man on whose fidelity he placed the firmest reliance. But he was deceived in his choice, and the governor, after a siege of twelve days, was induced, by a bribe, to surrender the fortresses to the French; who, in less than a month, became masters of the duchy.

Lewis, who had remained at Lyons, was no sooner informed of the success of his troops, than he hastened across the Alps, entered the capital of his new dominions, clad in the ducal robes; and, during the three months that he remained there, by the advice of cardinal d'Amboise, he employed himself in recalling those that had been banished by Sforza, in remitting a fourth of the

* Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iv. p. 367.

imposts, in establishing a court of justice, and in affiduous endeavours to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of Milan.

The government of Genoa, which had voluntarily submitted to his power, was conferred by Lewis, on the lord of Ravestain; the Milanese were subjected to the authority of Triulzi, to whom, as well as to Ligni and d'Aubigny, considerable estates were assigned. But this alienation of the ducal domain displeased the people, while Triulzi, by his severity and pride, disgusted the nobles; a misunderstanding, also, prevailed between the generals and Ligni, and d'Aubigny refused obedience to the governor of the duchy.

A. D. 1500.] Ludovico, informed of the disposition of the people, who now began to pity the prince they had so lately detested, ventured to quit his retreat in Germany, and to re-enter the Milanese. The gates of the different cities were opened on the approach of Sforza, with the same facility as they had been unbarred to his enemies. The town of Commo expelled the French, and obliged Ligni to leave the place. Milan revolted, and Triulzi, after placing a strong garrison in the castle, was compelled to retire. Tortona, Vigevne, and several other places, submitted to the conqueror. The king, who had returned to France, to be present at the delivery of the queen, who had just given birth to a prince; received with grief the account of this revolution.

Ludovico, meanwhile, having obtained possession of Milan, left his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, to conduct the siege of the citadel, and proceeded himself to invest Novara. That town soon surrendered, but the famous Bayard, who was then a very young man, threw himself into the citadel, and refused to be included in the capitulation: Ludovico, by persisting in his determination to reduce Bayard, gave time to the French army to form a junction with the troops in Italy. Cardinal d'Amboise prudently forbore to censure the conduct of Triulzi, and promoted a reconciliation between that nobleman and the French generals; after which, la Trémouille marched to Novara, where he succeeded in his attempt to seduce the Swiss from the service of Ludovico. The want of pay furnished these mercenary troops with a pretext for refusing to fight; and the Germans, alarmed at their defection, fled with precipitation, so that the duke, betrayed on all sides, was reduced to the necessity of applying to the Swiss for permission to disguise himself as a private soldier, that he might escape in their ranks. The permission was granted, but either through treachery or accident, Ludovico was discovered, and conducted to the king, who then resided at Lyons. The temper of Lewis, naturally mild and humane, was steeled against Sforza by his repeated treachery and enormous crimes. He sentenced him to a rigorous confinement in the castle of Loches, where he remained till released by death from a captivity of ten years, during which, according to Mezerai, he experienced the most severe and cruel treatment.

Cardinal Ascanio, informed of his brother's misfortune, left Milan, with an escort of six hundred horse, in order to seek a refuge in Germany; but he was

betrayed, by the treachery of Currado Lando*, into the hands of the Venetians, who were induced, partly by persuasion, and partly by threats, to deliver him to the king. He was conveyed to France, and confined in the tower of Bourges, whence, at the solicitation of Maximilian, he was very soon released.

The inhabitants of Milan being deprived, by the retreat of the cardinal Ascanio, of all means of defence, and dreading the resentment of the king, hastened to carry the keys of their city to the cardinal d'Amboise, who entered the capital of the duchy on the seventeenth of April, 1500. He reproached the citizens with their late seditious conduct, put some of the leaders of the insurrection to death, exacted from the city a contribution of two hundred thousand crowns, and then pronounced a general amnesty in the king's name.

The cardinal d'Amboise, after he had settled the affairs of the duchy, and supplied the Florentines with a body of troops for the recovery of Pisa returned to France, in order to concert with the king the plan of operations for the projected conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

A. D. 1501.] Frederic, king of Naples, informed of the preparations of the French, applied for assistance to the Venetians, who renewed the proposal which had been made to Charles the Eighth, for rendering the kingdom of Naples a fief of the crown of France, and for the cession of the principality of Tarento to the French; but this proposal, though acceded to by Frederic, was rejected with disdain by Lewis. Frederic then applied to Maximilian, who promised all he desired, and a treaty was accordingly signed between them; but the cardinal d'Amboise soon broke the alliance, and made the emperor consent to a prolongation of the truce with France.

Frederic next addressed himself to Ferdinand of Arragon, who engaged to afford him protection, but, by a signal instance of perfidy, that monarch treated at the same time with Lewis, and agreed to divide the kingdom he had promised to protect. The French army, in the mean time, under the command of Nemours and d'Aubigny, had already entered the Florentine territories; and Frederick, having strengthened the fortifications of his frontier towns, hastened to their defence.—At this period the Spaniards threw off the mask; the ambassadors of France and Spain procured from the pope the investiture of their respective portions of the kingdom of Naples; the capital, and the northern parts of the kingdom, were assigned to Lewis, while the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were allotted to Ferdinand. It excited universal astonishment to see Lewis associate the king of Spain with him in this conquest; it was impossible that the division they had agreed upon could long subsist, and it was generally foreseen that these princes must finally be compelled to yield to the other. The union between them was the work of the cardinal, who was greatly blamed for it; the treaty, ill-planned and worse executed, proved highly prejudicial to the French.

Frederic, discouraged by this unexpected event, and surrounded by enemies on all sides, quitted the frontiers, and returned to Naples, in the determination to confine his efforts to the defence of that capital, of Capua and Averfa. Gonsal-

* Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 496.

vy sent to demand the two queens-dowager of Naples to convey them to Spain ; Prospero Colonna advised Frederick to reject the demand, to seize the gallies which had been sent to receive them, to collect his forces, and immediately march against the enemy. " If we conquer one of them," said he, the other will soon be destroyed ; if we be conquered, a monarch cannot die more gloriously than in defending his kingdom ;" but his advice was not followed, and the two princesses were delivered to the Spaniards. The French meanwhile, continued their progress. Cupua was taken by assault, and the inhabitants were exposed to the fury of an enraged and licentious soldiery ; many females of quality, it is said, preferring death to dishonour, threw themselves into the river ; while others, who fell into the hands of the conquerors, were carried to Rome, and there exposed to sale. Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, (son to the sovereign pontiff) who accompanied the French army, entered a tower whither a considerable number of these unhappy victims had retired for security and after examining them all with the eye of a sensuallist, selected forty of the most beautiful for his own use*. Though Frederick was at Naples himself, the citizens sent a deputation to the French, and surrendered the capital. The king retired into the castle, but, destitute of all means of defence, and dreading to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, he demanded a safe conduct into France, and threw himself on the well-known lenity of Lewis, from whose liberality he obtained an asylum in the duchy of Anjou, with an annual pension of thirty thousand crowns.

A. D. 1502.] Lewis and Ferdinand had acted with perfect cordiality in the reduction of Naples ; but scarce had they completed that conquest before they turned their victorious arms against each other. The treaty of division was couched in such ambiguous terms, that both nations laid claim to a tract of country called Il Capatinato, which was separated from Apulia by the river Lofanto : the French affirmed that it belonged to the province of Abruzzi ; while the Spaniards maintained that it formed a part of Apulia. In consequence of this difference, hostilities commenced between the two armies ; the French seized on Tripalda ; and Gonfhalvo and d'Aubigny meeting, a conference ensued, in which a truce was agreed on that was soon broken.

The progress of the French was so rapid that the Spaniards were soon expelled from almost every place in Apulia, Calabria and Il Capatinato, and Gonfhalvo was reduced to retire to the city of Barletta ; but as d'Aubigny neglected to push the siege with sufficient vigour, the Venetians had time to supply him with ammunition and provision. The duke of Valentinois, who had conceived a disgust against Lewis, for having opposed his attempts to reduce the republic of Florence, sent a body of troops to the assistance of the Spaniards ; and the duke of Nemours having been imprudently led to a division of his forces, the affairs of Lewis in the kingdom of Naples soon took a different turn.

The succours supplied by the duke of Valentinois enabled the Spaniards to surprise the small town of Callimera, but the booty they made there was taken from

* Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. v. p. 434, 435.

them by d'Aubigny. Meanwhile the blockade of Barletta was continued. At the same time he entered into a negociation with Maximilian, whom he urged to break the truce which he had recently concluded with France, and pressed Ferdinand to supply him with adequate succours. The archduke of Austria, and his wife, were at the court of Spain, where Isabella lay dangerously ill; her daughter, Joanna, wife to Philip, who was heiress of the kingdom of Castile, having thought it necessary to exact an oath of allegiance from her future subjects, during the life, and with the approbation of her mother. Ferdinand, in whom the prospect of soon losing the crown of Castile created a dislike to the presumptive heir, hurried the archduke out of his dominions, and sent him to France, to negotiate a peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1503.] Philip, flattered by this mark of confidence, demanded a safe-conduct to repair to Lyons, where he was received with great cordiality by Lewis. Neither the king nor the archduke were aware that Ferdinand was deceiving them; and that his only object in proposing a treaty was to gain time. They therefore proceeded to business, and the cardinal d'Amboise, and the bishop of Albi, were appointed to confer with the Spanish plenipotentiaries, whom Ferdinand had sent to accompany and assist his son-in-law. After much delay, the treaty was signed, and the contract of marriage of the princess Claude, the king's daughter, with Charles, son to the archduke, was received; and the two monarchs agreed to cede to Charles their respective claims on the kingdom of Naples, instead of the duchy of Milan, which had been promised before. The queen of France, who was extremely anxious to promote the union of her daughter with the duke of Luxembourg, expressed the greatest satisfaction at the treaty; but before the rejoicings, on account of the peace, were finished, the king received intelligence that a Spanish fleet had sailed for Naples, and that the Germans had embarked for Barletta. Lewis reproached the archduke with his perfidy, but that prince took such pains to justify his conduct that the king was fully convinced of his innocence, and renewed his safe-conduct, by which Philip profited to return to his own dominions.

The chevalier Préjan, who had sailed from the port of Genoa, with four vessels, fell in with the Spanish fleet, which compelled him to take refuge in the harbour of Otranto, where he burned his ships, and then hastened to join the duke of Nemours. That prince finding his forces not sufficient to enable him to keep the field, had sent orders to d'Aubigny to join him; but d'Aubigny himself was in still greater embarrassment, being surrounded on all sides by a superior force; and he was at length compelled to engage the Spaniards on unequal terms near Seminara in Calabria, where the French were completely routed, and d'Aubigny with difficulty escaped the general massacre: he retired to Anigola, where he was invested by the enemy, and being destitute of provisions was in a few days obliged to surrender. The duke of Nemours took every precaution to prevent Gonzalvo, who was still shut up in Barletta, from receiving information of the victory of Seminara; and the Spanish general, compelled at length to evacuate a town

where he had suffered the extremes of pestilence and famine, marched towards Cirignuola, and having chosen an advantageous post, fortified his camp, and fought, by surrounding it with deep ditches, to secure it from insult. He was pursued by the duke of Nemours, who was persuaded by his officers, much against his inclination, to attack the Spanish camp late in the evening of the twenty-eighth of April, 1503. The French, though at first successful, sustained a total defeat, and the duke of Nemours fell in the action. D'Alegre, who had been chiefly instrumental in persuading the duke to engage, and the prince of Salerno, displayed their valour in a most signal manner, and made astonishing efforts to rally their troops; but neither their example nor exhortations could prevail; all the artillery, provision and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy: d'Alegre, with the scattered remains of the army, retired to Gaeta.

In less than a fortnight after the battle of Cirignuola, Gonfalvo reduced the cities of Naples, Capua and Averfa, so that, in the whole kingdom, the French only retained a few places of little importance.

During these transactions pope Alexander the Sixth died by that poison which he had destined for another: his son, the duke of Valentinois, had partaken of the fatal dose, but the strength of his constitution subdued its malignant influence, and that prince, anxious to secure the protection of France, promised to promote the election of the cardinal d'Amboise to the papacy.

The archduke Philip, enraged at the perfidy of his father-in-law, and jealous of his own reputation, had returned to France, and again put himself in the power of Lewis. At the same time he dispatched messengers to Ferdinand, to remonstrate on the indelible infamy which must forever stain his character, if he countenanced the treachery of Gonfalvo. But the king of Arragon, with his usual duplicity, at one moment disowned his ambassadors, at another his general; while he secretly sent orders to push the war in Naples to the absolute expulsion of the French.

Lewis, whose magnanimous mind was superior to the dark artifices of his profligate rival, commanded the ministers of the king of Arragon to quit his dominions. Though he had severely suffered from the treachery of Ferdinand, he scorned to avail himself of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. While he dismissed the archduke with every mark of respect to pursue his route to Flanders, he addressed him at parting in these memorable words: "If your father-in-law has been guilty of perfidy, I will not resemble him; and I am infinitely happier in the loss of a kingdom, which I know how to re-conquer, than to have stained my honour, which I could never retrieve."

War was now declared against Spain, and the preparations of Lewis were proportioned to the injuries he had sustained from the conduct of his unprincipled enemy; three armies were assembled to invade on every side, the dominions of the king of Arragon. The first, commanded by la Trémouille, was destined to the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; the second, under the lord of Albret, and the marshal de Gié, was directed to penetrate into the province of Fontara-

bia. The third was entrusted to the marechal de Rieux, and was to invade the county of Rouffillon; at the same time a considerable fleet was fitted out to insult the coasts of Catalonia and Valentia, and to intercept any communication at sea between Spain and Naples.

When the French troops arrived in the kingdom of Naples, the season was far advanced, and the roads were so bad, that it was with the utmost difficulty the artillery could be transported from one place to another. Gonfalso had expelled the French garrison from the town of San Germano, which commanded the entrance into the kingdom, and strengthening the fortifications, had advanced, with his army, to the banks of the Garigliano. In order to pass the river, the marquis of Mantua caused a bridge of boats to be prepared, and a fort to be constructed for its defence; as the workmen, employed in these operations, were only attended by a slight escort, the Spaniards resolved to profit by the neglect, and a detachment of a hundred men at arms was ordered to ford the river, while another party was sent to secure the bridge. The chevalier Bayard, ever eager to fly where glory was to be acquired, hastened to the assistance of Cocles, who commanded the escort appointed to guard the workmen; by uncommon exertions of intrepid valour, he checked the progress of two hundred Spanish horse that were preparing to pass the bridge, and maintained the unequal contest till the arrival of succours enabled him to put the enemy to flight, and to pursue them with considerable slaughter: the fugitives, however, being reinforced by a strong detachment from the Spanish camp, Bayard was compelled to retreat, and his horse, overcome with fatigue, fell with him into a ditch, where he was secured by the Spaniards. The French, meanwhile, by whom this circumstance was unperceived, had passed the bridge: Guiffrey, a man at arms in Bayard's own company, was the first who missed his captain; alarmed at the loss, this brave and generous soldier harangued his comrades, and exhorted them to return to the charge; the acclamation of "*France! France! turn Spaniards, you shall not thus take off the flower of chivalry!*" resounded through the ranks; the attack was instantly renewed with redoubled vigour; Bayard, mounting the first horse he could find, rushed into the midst of the enemy, and, with his brave companions, regained the bridge. But these heroic achievements, though productive of glory to those who performed them, were attended with little advantage to the army.

Through the infamous conduct of the treasurers and commissaries of the army, the troops were neither supplied with money nor provisions; the marquis of Saluzzo reported this circumstance to the king, who having been careful to provide against every inconvenience of the kind, determined to punish the criminal neglect of his officers with exemplary rigour, and he accordingly sentenced John Heroef, the intendant of his finances, to lose his head. Meanwhile the marquis had been obliged to divide his troops into different bodies to facilitate the means of subsistence, and this division occasioned, in the sequel, the destruction of his whole army.

The prodigious efforts of France, during this campaign, proved every where unsuccessful. The army destined for the attack of Fontarabia was divided by the

diffentions of its generals ; the lord of Albret, either from a principle of revenge on account of the rivalry which had formerly subsisted between him and Lewis, or from his total ignorance of the art of war, led his troops, in opposition to the advice of the marechal de Gié, who commanded under him, into a sterile part of the province of Biscaye, where a want of provisions soon led them to disband : those who were under the immediate command of Albret retired in safety, while the rest perished, almost to a man, on their return to Guienne. The marechal de Rieux formed the siege of Salses, but after the French had battered the town during forty days, they were compelled to raise the siege, on the approach of Ferdinand himself, with an army of thirty thousand men. The fleet also, after alarming the coasts of Valentia and Catalonia, was overtaken by a storm, and reduced to the necessity of returning to the port of Marseilles.

In Italy, Gonsalvo had made a fruitless attempt to burn the bridge over the river Garigliano ; being repulsed with loss he retired to his camp, and the inclemency of the weather kept both armies in a state of inactivity for near two months.

A. D. 1504.] On the first day of the year 1504, Gaeta was invested by the Spaniards; and though the garrison were provided with every necessary for a long defence, such was the terror with which the recent successes of the enemy had impressed the minds of the French, that in a council of war, it was determined to capitulate, and d'Alegre was appointed to make the proposal to Gonsalvo. That general cheerfully accepted the terms, and a treaty was immediately signed, of which the surrender of Gaeta, and the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, constituted the principal articles : the French only obtained the liberty of retiring to France, either by land or sea, and the release of the prisoners ; but Gonsalvo violated the conditions of the treaty, and shamefully detained in captivity all those who were natives of Naples.

The chevalier Bayard, and Lewis d'Ars, received with indignation the messenger sent by Gonsalvo to inform them of the treaty of Gaeta ; they refused to sign it, protesting that they would rather lose their lives in Italy, than suffer the Italians to believe that all Frenchmen were cowards.

The anxiety which Lewis had experienced from the ill-success of his arms, and from the distress under which his subjects laboured from the united attacks of pestilence and famine, brought on a fever, which raged with such violence as to baffle the skill of his physicians, and to threaten his dissolution. Anne, daily apprehensive of the death of her royal consort, determined to provide for her own security, embarked her most precious effects, and meditated a retreat into her native dominions of Brittany. The vessels which she had laden were stopped by the forward and imprudent zeal of the marechal de Gié ; an offence, which Anne could never forgive in a man who had been born her subject. She refused to listen to the marechal's excuses, and, on her husband's recovery she obtained an order for his trial by the parliament of Toulouse. Every circumstance of his life was investigated, in order to find matter for an accusation ; and it having been

proved that he had once received pay for fifteen dead men, supposed to be on duty in his castle of Fronfac, he was deprived of his places and pensions, prohibited from exercising the functions of a marshal for five years, and forbidden to approach within ten leagues of the court.

On the king's recovery, the negotiations for peace were renewed ; a treaty was concluded, by cardinal d'Amboise, with the emperor, who, in consideration of being allowed to assert his claims to certain towns belonging to the republic of Venice, and on condition of receiving twelve hundred thousand florins, to be paid by instalments, a pair of golden-spurs, every Christmas-day, and a body of five hundred lances, whenever he should chuse to go to Rome, consented to bestow the investiture of the duchy of Milan on Lewis and his male *descendants*, or, in default of males, on his daughters. This treaty had been preceded by another with the archduke Philip, which occasioned great uneasiness to Ferdinand, who was afraid of his son-in-law, and therefore endeavoured to create fresh disturbances. He sent ambassadors to France with proposals that he never wished to be accepted; offering to place the crown of Naples on the head of the prince of Tarento, son to Frederic, the deposed monarch, on condition that he should marry his niece. Frederic accepted the proposal, but Lewis being informed of the circumstance, ordered the Spanish ambassador to quit his dominions.

Frederic died soon after, as did also Isabella of Castile, wife to Ferdinand of Arragon. The archduke Philip, in right of his wife Joanna, on the death of Isabella, claimed the inheritance of her dominions, and changed the system of European politics.

A. D. 1505.] Hitherto Lewis had considered the archduke as a vassal, and as a vassal whom he loved and esteemed ; but his late acquisition rendered him a formidable neighbour. The county of Flanders, the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, the empire of the kingdom of Castile, were now likely to center in one prince, whose son, too, was to augment these extensive possessions, by his marriage with the princess Claude, with the duchies of Brittany and Milan. This vast combination of power might, in the sequel, prove destructive to France, and measures, therefore, were immediately though secretly, taken to counteract its effects. The ambassadors sent by the king of Arragon to notify the death of his wife to the French court, experienced a gracious reception ; and as Ferdinand was still young, Lewis engaged him to marry his niece Germana, daughter to the count of Foix ; the king gave up his part of the kingdom of Naples, as a marriage-portion for the young princess, on condition that, if Ferdinand should die before her, and without children, the whole of that kingdom should revert to France ; if, on the contrary, Ferdinand should survive his wife, and have no child, he was to keep possession of Naples.

A. D. 1506.] The queen was extremely anxious that the projected alliance between her daughter Claude, and Charles of Luxemburgh, should take place, but the nation entertained very different sentiments, they besought his majesty to

bestow the hand of his daughter on Francis, duke of Valois, a prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown.

Lewis, astonished at this proposal, or, at least, feigning to be so—for it is uncertain whether or not the plan originated with himself—promised to give his answer in a few days. After conferring with the princes of the blood, and finding that the sentiments of the council coincided with those of the states, he cheerfully assented to the proposed alliance. The queen however opposed it to the utmost of her power. But however great the ascendancy which she had acquired over the mind of Lewis, she could not, in this instance, prevail on him to change the resolution he had taken to satisfy the states. The king exacted from the states a promise, confirmed by an oath, that, in case he should die without male heirs, they would enforce the consummation of the marriage, and acknowledge the duke of Valois for their lawful sovereign.

Lewis sent an ambassador to Valladolid to inform the king of Castile of this event, and of the reasons which had induced him to violate the marriage-treaties which had been concluded between their children. Philip received the intelligence without betraying any symptoms of resentment, and expressed an earnest wish that this circumstance might not be suffered to interrupt the harmony which subsisted between the two crowns. Maximilian, however, shewed his discontent, by immediately calling on the king to fulfil the terms of the last treaty, by supplying him with five hundred lances to escort him to Rome. His demand was complied with, but Lewis took care to prevent his journey, by exciting the apprehensions of the pope and the Venetians, who refused him a passage through their dominions, unless he chose to come with no other attendants than his usual retinue. Meanwhile, a dispute having occurred between the king of Castile and the duke of Gueldres, the latter applied for assistance to Lewis, his kinsman and ally, who immediately sent him four hundred lances, under the command of Robert de la Marche. Philip, complained, and not without reason, of this proceeding, as an infraction of the treaty; he protested it was his wish to live at peace with the king, but threatened, at the same time, to defend himself with vigour if he perceived any intention of attacking him. Henry, king of England, as an ally both of Philip and of Lewis, employed his mediation on this occasion, and sent an ambassador to France, who represented to the king, that as the duke of Gueldres had been the aggressor, to afford him assistance was to violate the treaties which subsisted between him and the king of Castile; that if he continued to send troops into the duchy of Gueldres, and should be led to invade the county of Flanders, the king of England would be obliged to assist his ally the king of Castile; but if, on the contrary, Lewis would recall his forces, Henry would persuade Philip to accommodate matters with the duke of Guelders. Lewis consented to the proposal; but the death of the king of Castile, which occurred on the twenty-fifth of September, 1506, changed the face of affairs. This prince, who lost his life by drinking cold water when he was hot, left two sons, Charles and Ferdi-

nand; and, by his will, he appointed Lewis to be guardian to Charles, who was the eldest.

A. D. 1507.] The attention of Lewis was now called to the affairs of Italy, where he was so impolitic as to enforce the pretensions of the pope to the sovereignty of Bologna. He had soon, however, occasion to repent this condescension, for Julius the Sixth, who since his accession to the papal throne had displayed a disposition better suited to the camp than the conclave, forgetful of the protection he had received, exerted his genius in exciting the enemies of France, and nourishing the discontents of the Genoese. These at last broke out into open revolt, expelled the French, and declared Paul Nuova, a silk-dyer, their doge. They were privately encouraged by Julius and the emperor Maximilian, and were openly reinforced by the troops of Pisa.

Lewis, sensible how much his reputation depended on immediately crushing the insurgents, assembled an army of twenty thousand men, and marched towards Genoa, notwithstanding the opposition of the queen, who exerted all her influence to prevent him from engaging in an expedition, the consequences whereof she dreaded. Lewis, however, forced the passes which the rebels had occupied, and, in person, stormed their entrenchments. The Genoese, disconcerted by his rapid approach, endeavoured to disarm his resentment by submission.

A. D. 1508.] The formidable preparations made by the king for the conquest of Genoa, had spread an alarm over a great part of Europe; his intention, it was generally believed, was to subdue Italy, to recover the kingdom of Naples, to assemble a council, depose the pope, and procure the election of the cardinal d'Amboise to the chair of Saint Peter; in consequence of this supposed design, Julius endeavoured to form a confederacy against Lewis. Maximilian was the first to promote this plan; he assembled a diet at Constance, where he expatiated, with great energy, on the boundless ambition of the king of France, which urged him to the violation of all treaties; he represented to the princes of the empire, that it was their interest to oppose the conquest of Italy by Lewis, which would deprive the empire of its rights to that country; and his eloquence prevailed so far as to extort from the princes a promise to supply their quota of troops, for opposing this imaginary expedition. By the time Maximilian had assembled his army and entered Italy, the king of France had completed the reduction of Genoa, and dismissed his troops.

The Germans, finding no enemy to encounter, refused to proceed; and the apprehensions of Julius with regard to the French being dispelled, he now began to read the designs of the emperor, and accordingly engaged the Venetians and the Swiss to refuse his troops a passage through their territories. The emperor advanced as far as Trent, with five or six thousand men, who were defeated by the Venetian general, Alviano. The Venetians, however, notwithstanding this victory, applied for assistance to the king, who sent them a body of troops, under the command of Triulzi; that general again defeated the Germans, who persuaded the Venetians to sign a truce for a year, without consulting the king, and with-

out including the duke of Gueldres, as they had promised. It was by such mistaken policy that the Venetians afforded subjects for complaint to all the different powers, and engaged them to enter into that famous league, which was formed the following year, and which had their destruction for its object.

The king was the more irritated at the exclusion of the duke of Gueldres from the treaty, as the territories of that prince were in a state of revolt, and the rebels were assisted by the Imperialists; while the forces which Lewis had sent to the relief of the duchy, under the orders of the count of Rethel, were too inconsiderable to reduce the rebels to obedience, and were, moreover, destitute of money.

Maximilian was glad to bring his affairs in Italy to a conclusion, in order to attend to the state of his grandson's dominions in Flanders; he made every effort to procure from the Flemings the appointment of guardian to Charles, but, averse from his power, they refused to admit his pretensions, and, in compliance with the will of their late sovereign, placed themselves under the protection of Lewis, whom they desired to chuse a governor for their youthful prince*. Lewis accordingly appointed Philip de Croy, lord of Chievres, to that important office. Maximilian, determined to have some influence on the affairs of Flanders, persuaded his daughter Margaret—now a widow—to repair thither, in the hope that the Flemings would entrust her with the administration: nor was he disappointed in his hopes; that event took place, and de Chievres only retained the title of governor to Charles. It does not appear that Lewis made any opposition to this change, with which indeed, he had every reason to be satisfied; for Margaret, a princess of uncommon merit, was studious to ensure the continuance of peace in the dominions of her nephew, and to promote a reconciliation between the emperor and the king of France; she at length concluded, with the cardinal d'Amboise, in the names of Maximilian and Lewis, the famous league of Cambray, formed against the Venetians.

To humble the republic of Venice, and to divide its territories, was the avowed object of all the princes who united in this confederacy. The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; during which the senate conducted its affairs by maxims of policy, no less prudent than vigorous, and adhered to these with an uniform spirit of consistency, which gave that commonwealth great advantage over other states, whose views and measures changed as often as the form of their government, or the person who administered it. By these uninterrupted exertions of wisdom and valour, the Venetians enlarged the dominions of their commonwealth, until it became the most considerable power in Italy; while their extensive commerce, the useful and curious manufactures which they carried on, together with their monopoly of the precious commodities of the East, rendered Venice the most opulent state in Europe.

* This opinion has been adopted by all the French historians, from Varillas to Garnier; but the Spanish, German, and Flemish writers, concur in contradicting their assertions; and maintain that Lewis had lost the confidence of Philip, by consenting, to the marriage of Germaine de Foix with Ferdinand.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Arragon, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almost all the princes of Italy acceded; the least considerable of them hoping for some share in the spoils of a state, which they already deemed to be devoted to destruction. The Venetians might have diverted this storm, or have broken its force; but with a presumptuous rashness, to which there is nothing similar in the course of their history, they waited its approach*.

A. D. 1509.] They raised an army of six thousand lances, four thousand light horse, and three-and-thirty-thousand foot; these troops, who were chiefly mercenaries, were put under the command of the count of Petigliano and Alviano.—Andrew Gritti and George Cornaro, noble Venetians, and men of established reputation, were appointed *Provveditori*† to the army. When they had thus provided for their defence, they exerted all the arts of policy to promote a dissolution of the confederacy, but in vain; their offers were rejected by the different powers, and their destruction seemed inevitable—even the elements appeared to conspire against them—A vessel, sent with money for the troops in garrison, at Ravenna, was lost in a storm; the castle of Breno, in which the archives of the republic, and other papers of the highest import, were deposited, was destroyed by lightning; the arsenal of Venice took fire, and, with all it contained, was reduced to ashes. But the greatest misfortune which the republic experienced at this period, was the division that took place between their generals. Pitigliano insisted on the propriety of abandoning the towns on the Adda, and of encamping in the country that lies between the rivers Olio and Serio. Alviano, on the contrary, proposed to pass the Adda, and, by invading the Milanese, make that duchy the seat of war. Both these projects, however, were rejected by the senate, who ordered their generals to prevent the French from passing the Adda, and to avoid a general action, unless they could engage with an apparent certainty of success. These orders, however, it was found impossible to execute.

The French army was divided into different bodies, which invaded the territories of the republic in five different parts. The garrison of Leco extended their depredations to the gates of Bergamo; those of Lodi and Piacenza invaded the Cremonese on either side; the marquis of Mantua reduced the town of Casale Maggioné, while Chaumont passed the Adda, and invested Trévi. The garrison of Trévi made a vigorous sally, but they were successfully repulsed by the French, who pursued them so closely, that they entered the town with them. Morosini, the governor, was taken prisoner, together with the garrison, consisting of four hundred light horse, and twelve hundred infantry. Chaumont, after he had exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and appointed Fontrailles to command in the place, repassed the Adda, and hastened to join the king, who

* Robertson.

† The *Provveditori* of the Venetians, like the Field deputies of the Dutch republic in latter times, observed all the motions of the general, and checked and controuled him in all his operations.

had, by this time, reached Milan. The Venetians ordered their generals to profit by the absence of Chaumont, to recover the town of Trévi. Petigliano and Alviano did not approve of this plan, and proposed another, which, in the opinion of most men, was much more advantageous; but the senate, unused to contradiction, enforced their orders, and Trévi was accordingly besieged at the beginning of May, 1509.

Fontrailles, who had only fifty men at arms, and one thousand Gascons, under his command, plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him long to resist the attacks of the Venetian army. He immediately apprised the king of his situation, observing that the walls of the town were in such a bad state, that the enemy's artillery must speedily destroy them; assuring him, however, that he would not fail to hold out to the last extremity. The council, who had been assembled on the reception of this news, were divided in their sentiments: Triulzi maintained that it was too late to think of marching to the relief of Fontrailles; that all the Venetian forces being united on the banks of the Adda, would prevent the troops from passing that river, and that the attempt would only occasion a great loss of time, that might be usefully devoted to other purposes: but Chabaron de la Palisse was of a different opinion, and insisted on the necessity of setting out immediately for Trévi; this advice coinciding with the sentiments of Lewis, the army was put in motion without farther delay: it consisted of six thousand Swiss, twelve thousand French and Italian infantry, and two thousand Gendarmes. Lewis reached the banks of the Adda on the ninth of May*, at the very moment that Fontrailles, after defending the town of Trévi as long as possible, surrendered it to the enemy. Lewis, though apprised of this disaster, pursued his design, and marched along the banks of the river till he came opposite to Casciano, where he passed the Adda, with his whole army, without receiving the smallest molestation from the Venetians, who were employed in plundering the town of Trévi, and refused to obey the commands of their officers, and, according to others, from the division which prevailed between the generals†.

Lewis finding it impossible to force the Venetian camp, moved towards Rivolta, which lay to the left of the enemy, to try whether the desire of saving that place would not induce them to come forth, and risk an action. Rivolta, however, was taken by assault in sight of the Venetian army; and the king having passed a night in the town, marched the next morning, with his whole army, with the view to secure either Valia or Pandino, by which means he would be enabled to cut off the communication with Cremona or Crema, whence the Venetians drew their provisions. There were two roads to these places; that which the king took was the longest, and lay along the side of the Adda; the other was much shorter, and ran in a straight line, and this induced the Venetians to quit their post, in the hope of arriving at Valia before the French. They formed their army in two divisions, the strongest of which was entrusted to Al-

* Guicciardini, tom. ii. lib. 8. p. 199.

† Mocenigo.

viano, and the other to Pitigliano. The latter marched first, and had nearly reached Vaila, when the former was overtaken, and attacked by the van of the French army, under Chaumont and Triulzi. Alviano immediately sent a messenger to Pitigliano, to apprise him of the circumstance, and posted his infantry in some neighbouring vineyards, where he converted the vine-props into palisades; he erected some batteries with great expedition, and drew up his cavalry in a plain behind the ground occupied by the infantry. Chaumont was repulsed with loss in his first attack; the Swiss, whose heavy-armed infantry could not make their way through the rows of long pikes that were stuck in the ground, met with no better success; and the van was in danger of sustaining a defeat, when the king came to their assistance with the rest of the army. Some of his officers, it is said, endeavoured to deter him from pursuing his march, by observing that the Venetians were already in possession of Vaila; but Lewis replied, "We shall then have the additional trouble of dislodging them," and pressed onward. He rallied the Swiss, made the Gascons advance, and supported them with the troops from Trévi, who were anxious to revenge the affront they had recently sustained. Animated by the presence of their sovereign, and the exhortations and example of the gallant veteran La Trémouille, the troops despised all danger, and rushing forward with irresistible impetuosity, bore down all before them. Lewis exposed his person in the thickest of the fight, and vied with his men in exertions of personal valour. The Venetians, after an obstinate contest, yielded up the palm of victory, and left eight thousand of their best troops on the field of battle.

From the height of presumption the Venetians now sunk to the depth of despair; they no longer sought to resist the confederates, but endeavoured to soothe by submission where they could not repel by arms; all the places claimed by the Spaniards and the emperor were surrendered without hesitation or delay.

The king having secured his conquests, and concluded a new treaty, offensive and defensive, with the pope, returned to France, leaving the chief command of his forces to Chaumont. The cardinal d'Amboise had advised Lewis to remain longer in Italy, from the dread that the number of nobility who must necessarily accompany him would greatly diminish the army, and encourage the Venetians to profit by his absence. This proved to be the case; their courage revived, and they made some spirited attempts to recover their lost territories. Padua again fell into their hands; and although the emperor, with an immense army, entered Italy, for the purpose of retaking it, they baffled all his efforts, and compelled him to retire with disgrace. They also made an attempt on Verona, but the timely arrival of Chabannes and Bayard, who had been detached by Chaumont, with a body of French troops, saved the town, and obliged the Venetians to retreat to Vicenza, which they evacuated on the approach of the French.

A. D. 1510.] During the winter the king made the most formidable preparations for opening the ensuing campaign with vigour and effect; but he could not persuade his allies to make equal exertions. As he was preparing to pass into

Italy he had the misfortune to lose his friend and favourite the cardinal d'Amboise, who expired on the twenty-fifth of February, 1510, universally regretted by the nation. The virtue and disinterested spirit of this statesman, have been justly celebrated by contemporary historians. His memory is still holden in veneration at Rouen, to the cathedral of which city he gave the famous bell which bears his name*.

Julius, notwithstanding his late treaty with the king, had lent a favourable ear to the overtures made him by the Venetians, and had promised to take off the censures which he had pronounced against them.

This was the first step towards the execution of that plan which the enterprising spirit of Julius formed for the expulsion of every foreign potentate from Italy. He now exerted his skill and address in persuading the Swiss to renounce their alliance with France, and even to declare war against that power. On the expiration of the treaty between France and the Swiss, the latter assembled at Baden, and made a demand of twenty thousand livres, in addition to their former pension, from the persuasion that the French could not do without them. The matter, however, was submitted to the council, who being of the same opinion with the king, the demand of the Swiss was rejected with contempt, their alliance renounced, and some observations were made on their conduct, which offended them highly, and led them to seek for revenge. Lewis accepted the offer of the Grisons, who agreed to serve him at a more moderate price; and the Swiss immediately formed an alliance with the pope.

Julius, encouraged by this accession of strength, now ventured to declare war against the duke of Ferrara, whom the king had taken under his immediate protection: Chaumont was sent to his assistance, and both he and the duke were excommunicated by the vindictive pontiff. The papal army was commanded by the duke di Urbino, nephew to the pope, and cardinal of Pavia. The duke reduced several places of little importance, made a fruitless attempt on Lunigiana, and retired in disorder on the news that the French had joined the duke of Ferrara; Julius, however, soon repaired this disgrace by the reduction of Modena. The duke, intimidated by the loss of that city, retired to his capital, which he resolved to defend to the last extremity. His ally, the king of France, to whom he applied for assistance, was now engaged in repelling an attack of the Swiss, who, in the month of September, had made an irruption into the duchy of Milan. They had already taken Como, and Lewis was fearful that they would soon penetrate farther into the Milanese; but he was released from his apprehensions at a time when he had least reason to expect it. The Swiss soldiers having applied to their officers to advance them some pay, experienced a refusal, which enraged them so much that they immediately mutinied, and returned to Bellinzone.

* This bell, known by the name of George d'Amboise, was founded in 1501. It measures thirty feet in circumference, and ten in diameter: the clapper weighs seven hundred and ten pounds; and the bell itself, forty thousand.

The king, who had with difficulty prevailed on himself to bear arms against the successor of St. Peter, and who incessantly tormented by the complaints and scruples of the queen, convoked, at Tours, in the month of September, 1510, an assembly of the Gallican church, to which he explained the motives of his conduct; and desired to know whether he could in conscience wage war against the pope. The assembly replied, that his motives were just, and those of his adversary unjust, and that it was his duty not only to act on the defensive, but to carry the war into the enemy's country. After this decision, the king forbade his subjects to hold any commerce with the court of Rome.

A. D. 1511.] Ferdinand of Arragon had, at last, thrown off the mask, in consequence of having received from the pope the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, on condition that he should every year present a white palfrey to the sovereign pontiff, and supply him with a body of three hundred lances whenever he should be engaged in a war. Ferdinand, not content with entering into a league with Julius against France, endeavoured to make the emperor follow his example; but failing in this point, he offered himself a mediator between the pope and the confederates. Some fruitless negotiations were the consequence of this offer, which only served to shew the aversion of the pontiff from all pacific measures. After attempting, in vain, to corrupt the ambassadors of Lewis and Maximilian, and to promote dissensions in Genoa and Florence, he intrigued with the court of England which was now ruled by Henry the Eighth, to whom Margaret of Austria—apprised of the pope's machinations—wrote on the occasion to deter him from engaging in schemes that were hostile to the interests of his kingdom. Julius created eight new cardinals, in order to oppose a part of the Holy College who had declared for France, and retiring to Milan, had just summoned, with the approbation of the emperor and the king, a general council to meet at Pisa, on the first of September.

Chaumont dying after the reduction of Mirandola, the command of the French forces devolved on the marshal Triulzi, who opened the campaign by the siege of Concordia, which he took, and then marched against Bologna. On the approach of the French the pope retired to Ravenna, and the inhabitants of Bologna, attached to their old masters, the Bentivoglios, compelled the garrison to lay down their arms, and received the French into the city; Lewis, actuated by the same ridiculous scruples as his wife, had given the most positive orders not to push matters to extremities. This ill-timed moderation revived the arrogance and vindictive spirit of the Roman pontiff, who now repaired to Rome, where he had the mortification to find himself cited to attend the council of Pisa, under the simple denomination of cardinal San Pietro di Vincola. Julius was tried and deposed by his council, but no one was appointed to succeed him in the papal throne; in revenge, that pontiff laid the whole kingdom of France, and the city of Lyons in particular, under an interdict.

Gaston de Foix, nephew to the king, who had lately been created duke of Nemours, was now appointed governor of the Milanese; and Chabannes, lord of la

Palisse, was, at the same time, sent into Italy, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, and with orders to be guided in his operations by the commands of Maximilian. The emperor, whose army was not yet prepared to take the field, ordered la Palisse to dislodge the Venetians from a strong post which they occupied not far from Vicenza; having performed this task, and taken the Venetian general prisoner, he reduced Suana, at the beginning of August; then pursuing his march to Padua, he undertook to turn the stream which supplied that city with water, but as he was preparing to put this plan in execution, he received orders from the emperor to enter the province of Friuli, where, in a short time, he dispossessed the Venetians of almost every town and fortress in that country, and these republicans once more retired to their capital, having lost all their places on the continent, except Padua and Trévigi.

On the twentieth of October, 1511, according to Mezerai, Julius concluded a league with the Venetians, and the king of Arragon, against France. Some efforts were made to induce Henry the Eighth and Maximilian to join the confederacy; but those monarchs rejected, for the present, the solicitations of the pope, though they already evinced a disposition hostile to Lewis.

A. D. 1512.] The army of the Holy League entered Romagna in the month of November, and after reducing all the places belonging to the duke of Ferrara, beyond the Po, laid siege to Bastia. The governor signified his courage in defence of the town, but he was unfortunately killed in the breach with a great part of his garrison; and the Spaniards, in revenge for the loss they had sustained in the attack, put the rest to the sword, together with numbers of the inhabitants. The duke of Ferrara did not give them time to repair the fortification, but attacking the Spaniards on every side, he obtained a complete victory, and recovered Bastia the same day on which it was taken. This check, however, did not prevent the Spaniards from laying siege to Bologna, to the assistance of which Gaston had already detached two thousand Germans and two hundred Gendarmes, under the command of Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, a young warrior of twenty; Yves d'Alegre, and some other experienced captains; but this succour was insufficient for the defence of the city, which must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if a difference of opinion among the Spanish generals had not occasioned a considerable loss of time. Peter Navarre, the second in command, promised to take the town by springing a mine; and while he was making the necessary preparations, the besieged received a fresh reinforcement, and adopted a resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity; the failure of the mine only tended to encrease the courage of the garrison. Gaston profited by these delays, and collecting his troops, marched to Bologna, and entered the city, under cover of a prodigious fall of snow, unperceived by the assailants, who instantly retired from before the place.

The Venetians, meanwhile, had obtained possession of Brescia, through the treachery of count Lewis Avogaro, who resided in that city. Gaston no sooner received the news of this event than he determined to recover the place; he ac-

cordingly left a garrison in Bologna, sent succours to Ferrara, and, after marching forty leagues in the depth of winter, arrived in the night of the fourteenth of February, before the town of Brescia. Bayard and Teligni, who had preceded the army, attacked and defeated a body of Venetians, and made a great number of prisoners; an abbey, near one of the gates of the city, was invested by d'Alegre, who forced an entrance, and put the troops stationed to defend it to the sword.

The day after his arrival, Gaston, and his army, entered the citadel, which still held out for the French. A council of war being called, a general assault was determined on; Gonet, governor of the citadel, marched at the head of the Gascons; and Bayard followed on foot, with his men at arms. The contest was long and bloody; but the superior courage and discipline of the French at length prevailed, and the Venetians were every where routed; d'Alegre being stationed at the gate of Saint John, the only gate that was open, to intercept them in their flight, a dreadful carnage ensued; Mezerai* says they lost eight thousand men; other writers have encreased this number to twelve thousand, but Guicciardini†, who lived at the time, reduces their loss to eight hundred; according to his account, indeed, all the Venetian forces then in Brescia did not amount to twelve thousand men.

At this period, Gaston received orders from the king to hazard a decisive action, since the situation of his affairs rendered it absolutely necessary to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. The emperor's conduct gave reason to apprehend that he would soon be induced to yield to the sollicitations of the sovereign pontiff; the king of England evinced a similar disposition.

In consequence of these orders, Gaston entered Romagna with an army composed of eighteen thousand foot, besides a numerous cavalry, but as Ferdinand had expressly ordered his generals to avoid an action. He took, in sight of the Spanish army, the towns of Castel di Solarolo, Cotignolo and Grannarolo; and, at length, laid siege to Ravenna. The Spaniards had pledged themselves to Mark Anthony Colonna, who commanded the town, to march to his relief in case the French should attack him; they accordingly advanced to within two miles of Ravenna, where they fixed their camp; Gaston, having in vain endeavoured to allure them into the plain, at length came to a resolution of attacking their camp, he stationed himself in no particular place, that he might be at liberty to repair wherever his presence might be required. The enemy, meanwhile, had strongly fortified their camp, and appeared determined not to leave it, though the French artillery made considerable havock among their troops. But Fabrizio Colonna, enraged at seeing his cavalry destroyed without fighting, disobeyed the orders of the viceroy, and advanced towards the French; the Spaniards being obliged to follow them, the action became general. Colonna, who had pierced the ranks of the French, was attacked in his turn, and with such

* Tom. vii. p. 201.

† Tom. ii. lib. x. p. 445.

resistless impetuosity, that he was compelled to leave the field; and the viceroy, Cordonna, soon became the companion of his flight. Navarre, who commanded the infantry, still kept his ground: twelve hundred of his men defeated a detachment of Gascons, and endeavoured to throw themselves into Ravenna; but being attacked by a body of cavalry, under the bastard du Fay, they were compelled to give up this attempt, and join their leader, who defended himself, with extraordinary courage and presence of mind, against the attacks of the whole French army: at length the Germans, animated by the spirit of revenge for the loss of their leader, rushed on the enemy with incredible fury; one of them a man of uncommon strength, cut his way through their ranks, and opened, at the expense of his life, a road for his comrades: the opportunity was eagerly seized, and successfully improved: Navarre being wounded in several places, was taken prisoner, and his troops, pressed on all sides, were soon dispersed with great slaughter.

In this celebrated battle, Gaston displayed the qualities of a consummate and experienced leader: hitherto he had escaped unhurt, but perceiving a body of Spaniards, who were retiring in good order, he imprudently rushed forward to attack them, accompanied only by about twenty gentlemen. The consequence was such as might have been expected; his cousin, Lautrec, was wounded at his side; Gaston's horse was killed under him, and he himself, after having fought with the most heroic courage, fell, pierced with fourteen wounds. In vain did Lautrec exclaim—" 'Tis Gaston, 'tis the brother of your queen, do not kill him."—The Spaniards, deaf to his cries, and bent on revenge, vented their cowardly rage on the unarmed and defenceless hero.

Never was any commander more deeply regretted; and never was any one more deserving of regret. His body was carried to his tent by his gentlemen, amidst the lamentations of the army, whose grief for the loss of their leader greatly exceeded their joy for the victory they had gained. The French called on la Palisse to put himself at their head, and conjured him to lead them, without delay to the attack of Ravenna. That city was taken by assault, Calorina surrendered the citadel, and Vitelli, having withdrawn the garrison from Città de Castello, that town opened its gates to the French.

Meanwhile, the cardinals, alarmed at the rapid progress of the French, and shocked, we must hope, at the vast effusion of blood occasioned by these destructive wars, on their knees conjured the pope to give peace to Europe: but the profligate pontiff delighted in blood, and cared not how many of his fellow-creatures were sacrificed to the gratification of his own boundless ambition. He feigned, however, a compliance with their wishes, and once more imposed on the candour and consideration of Lewis, by talking of a peace which he had resolved not to conclude. The cardinal de Medicis, though a prisoner, confirmed him in this resolution: having found means to ingratiate himself with the cardinals of the council of Pisa, he obtained permission to send a messenger to Rome, under pretext of arranging some domestic concerns, but in fact, to inform the pontiff of the situa-

tion to which the French were reduced: It was such, that their army appeared rather to have suffered a defeat, than to have obtained a victory; it was considerably diminished by sickness and desertion; and Maximilian, in consequence of a truce which he had concluded with the Venetians, sent orders to the Germans to quit the French camp without delay.

Thus la Palisse was left alone to oppose the Swiss, who had rushed, like a torrent, into the Milanese. In vain did he write to the General of Normandy (that was the title which the king's commissary bore) to levy fresh recruits; his letter, in which he expatiated on the dreadful situation to which he was reduced, fell into the hands of the Swiss, whose courage it served to inflame. They immediately joined the Venetians, the Grisons having granted them a free passage through their territories, under a pretence of being compelled thereto by ancient treaties.

The revolution soon became general: Milan, Lodi, and several other towns, preserved themselves from pillage by the payment of considerable sums, which were given to the Swiss. Bologna implored the clemency of Julius, who was, with difficulty, prevailed on to pardon the inhabitants; it is even pretended, that but for his death, which fortunately occurred soon after, that beautiful city would have been consigned to destruction. Florence again submitted to the authority of the Medici. The French had evacuated the duchy of Milan, excepting some few places, which soon surrendered. Genoa once more revolted, revived the ancient form of government, and raised James Fregoso to the dignity of doge. Maximilian Sforza was acknowledged as duke of Milan, and the Swiss still continued to ravage that beautiful country. The cardinal de Medicis escaped from the French, and repaired to Rome; while the cardinals of the council of Pisa, who had retired to Lyons, were condemned by the council of Lateran, opened by the pope on the sixteenth of November, when the interdict which had been imposed on the kingdom of France was renewed: Julius even wished to transfer the title of Most Christian King from Lewis to Henry the Eighth, that is, from one of the most virtuous to one of the most vicious monarchs that ever existed.

Lewis, meanwhile, after seeing all his Italian conquests wrested from him, found his kingdom threatened by an invasion of the English. Henry the Eighth had sent a herald to Paris, to exhort the king not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces of the English crown, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy: this message was understood to be a declaration of war, and Lewis accordingly prepared for the consequences. Henry was advised, by Ferdinand the Catholic, not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him, but exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. Ferdinand promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army.

But the secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this affectation of concern for the interests of the English monarch, was to secure for himself the kingdom of Na-

warre, the conquest whereof he had long meditated; and as John d'Albret, the sovereign, was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favourable to the king of Arragon, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions.—No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipuscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make, with united arms, an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne*: but he remarked to the English general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies.

Dorset began to suspect the insidious designs of Ferdinand, and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, he refused to take any part in the enterprise, and therefore remained in his quarters at Fontarabia. But so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France, whither his consort, queen Catherine, had retired before him. That spirited princess, mortified at the loss of her crown, could not refrain from exclaiming to her husband—“*Had I been John, and you Catherine, we should never have lost our kingdom.*”

Dorset, by this time, convinced of Ferdinand's perfidy, insisted on being supplied with vessels to return to England.

The English acquired little honour from this ill-conducted enterprise, and an action at sea, which occurred soon after, produced nothing more decisive. An English fleet of forty-five sail, under the command of Sir Thomas Knevet, was sent to insult the coasts of Brittany; after they had committed some depredations, they were met and attacked by a French fleet of thirty-nine sail, under the conduct of Primauger. Primauger's ship took fire, and that officer, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and, grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last the French ship blew up, and, at the same time, destroyed the English†. The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

Lewis, meanwhile, anxious to enforce the restoration of John d'Albret, sent an army into Navarre, under the command of the duke of Valois. John accom-

* Herbert.—Hollinshed, p. 813.—Hume.

† Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii.—Stowe, p. 490.—Languet's Epitome of Chronicles, fol. 273.

panied the duke, and, at his approach, many of the towns voluntarily rose in his favour, while some others were reduced by arms. But when the French formed the siege of Pampeluna, they were opposed by the whole force of Spain; and being destitute of provision, and moreover unable to cope with such a powerful army, they raised the siege and returned to France: their retreat was followed by a total subjection of Navarre to the power of Spain.

Ferdinand, anxious to secure his new conquest, and interested in preventing a farther extension of the Papal or Venetian power in Italy, consented to a truce with France for one year.

A. D. 1513.] Lewis was, by this time, fully convinced of the consequence of detaching the Swiss from their alliance with the pope; la Trémouille, therefore, for whom they had always evinced a marked predilection, was sent to Switzerland, in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary; but they refused to hold a commerce with him. Triulzi, who held a considerable rank among this mercenary people, also exerted his influence in favour of France; but he met with no better success, and la Trémouille was obliged to return without fulfilling the object of his embassy. The emperor proposed to sign a treaty with Lewis, on condition that the princess Remée, the king's youngest daughter, should marry one of his grandsons, and immediately be sent to the Imperial court; but the tender years and delicate constitution of that princess exciting apprehensions for her life, in case she married too soon, the queen opposed her departure, and Maximilian immediately put a stop to all farther negotiation.

The Venetians still continued to solicit the friendship of a prince, who having proved his ability to destroy, might, they conceived, be able to restore them to their pristine splendour, or, at least, to preserve them from the dangerous encroachments of their powerful neighbours. The matter was debated in council, and more inconveniences than advantages were deemed likely to spring from the projected alliance; but the influence of Triulzi, who was extremely anxious to promote it, prevailed; and Andrew Gritti, then a prisoner to Lewis, being released, received ample powers from the republic of Venice, and appeared as their ambassador at the court of France. Julius did not live to be informed of this treaty, which was concluded but a few days before his death: he died as he had lived, a stranger to the principles of christianity; instead of expressing his remorse for the numerous sins of his life, his last moments were only embittered by regret at not having lived to fulfil his projects of ambition, and to complete his schemes of vengeance. What Guicciardini has said of the cardinal San Severino, may, with greater justice, be applied to Julius—"He was more disposed to martial achievements, and to feats of arms, than to acts of devotion and pious meditations." As a man, he was treacherous, faithless, and vindictive; as a minister of religion his conduct was still more detestable; and his memory must ever be holden in abhorrence by all who are not inclined to think that splendid talents afford an adequate compensation for the absence of every virtue.

The cardinal de Medicis, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Raven-

na, was appointed to succeed him in the papal throne. The new pontiff, who assumed the appellation of Leo the Tenth, prosecuted with diligence and ability the plans of his predecessor.

The king of England had obtained a supply from the parliament for the prosecution of the war with France, and the most formidable preparations were now making for that purpose. The dread of an invasion deterred Lewis from passing into Italy as he had intended, and la Trémouille was appointed commander of the troops destined for that expedition, who were to be joined by the Venetians. On the appointed day, the army of the republic took the field under the conduct of Alviano, who had been released by the French. La Trémouille, on his arrival in Italy, recovered, in one-and-twenty days, the whole duchy of Milan, except the towns of Como and Novara. Sforza had retired to Novara, where he was invested by the French; but on the news that ten thousand Swiss, followed by a second army of five thousand, were advancing to the relief of the place; which it was found impossible to take by assault; the breach being not yet practicable, la Trémouille determined to suspend the operations of the siege, and march to attack the Swiss before their two armies should have effected a junction. Triulzi received orders to proceed, without stopping, as far as Trecario; but under pretence that his troops were fatigued, he pitched his camp on the road in a marshy place, where the different corps of the army were so divided that it was impossible for them, in case of attack, to afford timely assistance to each other. La Trémouille, on his arrival with the rear of the army, immediately reproached Triulzi with the fault he had committed, which he would fain have repaired by continuing his march, but it was too late, and he was compelled to pass the night on the spot. The next morning (June the sixth) before day-break he was attacked by the Swiss, whose forces were superior to his own, as a part of his troops were still in Savoy: la Trémouille drew up his army in order of battle, while his artillery made considerable havock among the enemy; but, after an obstinate resistance, the French and Lansquenets were routed, and seven thousand of them left dead on the field. La Trémouille, who was wounded in the action, effected his retreat with the remainder of his troops to Vercelli, whence he proceeded to Susa. The French lost on this occasion seven-and-twenty pieces of cannon.

Lewis was wholly unable to afford his allies that effectual relief which their distressed situation required; his dominions were threatened with attacks on every side, and his troops barely sufficient to defend his kingdom against the numerous enemies with which it was surrounded. Picardy and Burgundy were exposed to imminent danger, but the misconduct of the English saved the one, and the prudence of la Trémouille preserved the other.

Five-and-twenty thousand Swiss made an irruption into Franche-Comté, where they were joined by a body of Imperialists, and after laying waste the country, they laid siege to Dijon. That place was not in a state of defence; yet la Trémouille, who was governor of Burgundy, threw himself into it, with the resolution to hold out to the last extremity; and when the town should be no longer tena-

ble, to repair to some other, so as to prevent the enemy from penetrating to the capital. The magistrates and people of Dijon were in the greatest consternation; the Gendarmes had entered the city, and were distributed in different parts, with orders to encourage the citizens; the infantry were posted on the ramparts, the cannon pointed, and the gates blocked up except two—that which led to Paris, left open for the convenience of receiving succours, and facilitating a retreat, in case of necessity; and that which faced the enemy's camp. The governor sent an officer to the king to demand succours, while Mouffii had orders—which he could not execute—to open a negociation with the Swiss. The people, in alarm, followed the magistrates to the palace, whither la Trémouille had summoned them to attend: he there reproached them with their want of spirit: “If we cannot conquer”—said he—“we can at least hold out till the arrival of succours, which are not far off. Observe our preparations; look on that formidable train of artillery; the very sight of it has already stricken the Swiss with terror; what, then, will be the case, when it shall begin to play upon them?” But the eloquence of la Trémouille was insufficient to revive the drooping spirits of the inhabitants. La Trémouille, immediately took his resolution, and repaired to the enemy's camp, where, without betraying any symptoms of fear, or assuming a misplaced confidence, he offered them peace. “*On two conditions*”—replied the Swiss—“*we will accept it;—Money for ourselves, and Burgundy for the emperor.*” This proposal was rejected with disdain by la Trémouille, who harangued the Swiss with so much energy, that those who had at first been most violent against him, now listened to him with patience; meanwhile his secret partisans exerted their influence; and the Swiss, by degrees, began to relax: he seized, with judicious eagerness, the favourable moment, and instantaneously concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to pay them six hundred thousand crowns, part of which was immediately advanced; and for the payment of the remainder he gave them his nephew and some other persons as hostages: he assured the Swiss that the king should be reconciled to them, should renounce the council of Pisa, and cede to them several places in the Milanese. The inhabitants of Dijon were transported with joy at the news of this treaty: they cheerfully contributed to supply a part of the promised sum.

While the Swiss were in Burgundy, Henry, king of England, had landed at Calais, with an army of fifty thousand men: he was soon after joined by Maximilian, with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-levied forces.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the English camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert, who had landed first with the vanguard of the army, had formed the siege of Terouane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy. Teligny and Crequi, who commanded in the town, made a stout resistance, but at the expiration of a month, finding themselves without provisions, they apprised the king of their situation, who sent orders to de Pinnes, governor

of the province, to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this small force he made an unexpected irruption into the English camp, and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fossée of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned on a gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt.

The governors were obliged, soon after, to surrender, and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expence of some blood, and much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications, in direct violation of the terms of capitulation.*

Maximilian, desirous of freeing his grandson from a troublesome neighbour, advised the king of England to lay siege to Tournay; and Henry, not considering that such an acquisition would nowise advance his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow this interested council. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy. They found themselves, however, inadequate to the task, and, after a few days siege, the place was surrendered to the English†. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead, and as a new bishop was already elected by the chapter, but not installed in his office, the king of England bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite, the celebrated cardinal Wolsey. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss from Burgundy, and observing the season to be far advanced, Henry thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him.

Lewis was thus unexpectedly delivered from a danger as formidable as any that had ever threatened the French monarchy; he was however, tired of the war; and the queen incessantly repeating to him that he could never expect to see it brought to a conclusion so long as he continued at variance with the sovereign pontiff, Lewis, at length, yielded to her importunate solicitations, and suffered her to make overtures to Leo, which were favourably received by that pontiff, who did not wish to promote the ruin of France, but only to prevent her from obtaining the duchy of Milan. An accommodation was accordingly effected between Lewis and the pope, the former having previously renounced the council of Pisa, and acknowledged that of Lateran, in consequence whereof the king and kingdom were absolved from all the censures which had been pronounced against them.

A. D. 1514.] The queen did not live to reap the fruits of this accommodation, which she regarded as her own work; she expired at Blois, on the ninth of

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 214.

† Mezerai, ubi supra.

February, 1514, regretted by the nation, and deeply lamented by the king, by whom she was tenderly beloved. The aversion of Anne for the countess of Angoulême, had made her conceive a dislike to the young duke of Valois, the consummation of whose marriage with her daughter Claude had, on that account, been hitherto prevented; but soon after her death, on the fourteenth of May, 1514, the nuptials were celebrated at Saint Germain-en-Laye.

The Swiss, enraged with the king for his refusal to ratify the treaty they had concluded with la Trémouille, now meditated a fresh invasion of Burgundy, and were busily employed in raising troops for that purpose; but the pope, fearful that Lewis might be unable to sustain a second campaign against such a powerful confederacy, undertook to appease the Swiss, and an accommodation might have been effected, had Lewis possessed less candour and sincerity; but it was a peculiar misfortune attending this prince, that his virtues generally proved prejudicial to his interests. The pope required, as a previous condition, the absolute renunciation of the duchy of Milan; but Lewis assured him it was impossible to comply with his demand, since that duchy had been united to the domain of the crown.

Lewis, who still grieved for the loss of Anne, his late queen, had no inclination to marry again; but the account he received of the charms of Mary, joined to his desire of promoting the happiness of his people, by the restoration of peace, were motives too strong to be resisted, and he accordingly gave Longueville full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Henry should receive payment of six hundred thousand crowns,* as well for arrears of the pension promised by the treaties of Péquigny and Estampes, as to reimburse him for the expences of the war; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France; even the last, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on succours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy.† In consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated on the tenth of October, 1514.

A. D. 1515.] This marriage diffused an universal joy throughout the kingdom, and the court became a scene of festivity and pleasure. Lewis was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of his youthful consort, for whose gratification he totally changed his manner of living; but, unfortunately, his excess of affection proved prejudicial to his health; by stimulating a disposition naturally amorous, it led him to indulge too freely in those enjoyments which are ill-suited to the autumn of life. He had been frequently heard to repeat, that

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 218.

† Du Tillet.

—“*Love is the king of young, but the tyrant of old men;*” and he was condemned to experience the truth of that maxim. His constitution, already shaken, received an additional shock, from a fit of the gout and a slow fever; yet still he continued his preparations for an invasion of Italy; the troops had already advanced to the frontiers, and only waited the return of spring to pass the mountains. The Venetians, having rejected the solicitations of the pope, to conclude a treaty with the emperor, had considerably augmented their forces, and were resolved to second the operations of Lewis. On the other hand, the Swiss had undertaken to guard the Alps, and threatened to exterminate the French. But the execution of these projects were, for a time, suspended, by the death of the best of kings, who, in addition to his other disorders, was seized with a dysentery, at the palace of the Tournelles, in Paris, which brought him to the grave, on the first of January, 1515, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age.

The superior integrity of Lewis, in an age when most of the European princes were actuated by a spirit of perfidy, and made interest the grand object of their pursuits, and the sole rule of their conduct, merits the highest commendations which the pen of the historian can bestow. A professed enemy to falsehood and equivocation, he punished with severity every deviation from truth. Frank, open, candid, affable, and gay, he conciliated the affections of all who knew him, while his attention to the welfare and felicity of his subjects, procured him the honourable appellation of *The Father of his People*. As a politician, indeed, his abilities may be called in question; though the failure of his schemes may, in general, be ascribed to the excellence of his principles; and the monarch who becomes a dupe to his virtues cannot fail to secure the esteem of posterity, while the prince who is indebted for his success to his vices, must be holden in perpetual abhorrence.

Lewis the Twelfth had, by his consort, Anne of Brittany, widow to Charles the Eighth, two sons, who died in their infancy, and two daughters, Claude married to Francis the First, and Renée, who espoused the duke of Ferrara.

Francis had been greatly stricken with the charms of the English princess Mary, wife to Lewis; and, even during his predecessor's life-time, had paid her such assiduous court, as made some of his friends apprehend that he had a design upon her person. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, at the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most expert in all the fashionable exercises of the age. He was the English monarch's principal favourite, and Henry had even once intended to give him his sister in marriage, and had encouraged a passion between the youthful pair. The queen now asked Suffolk whether he had the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her? and she told him that her brother would more easily be induced to forgive him for not asking his consent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk had too much spirit to decline such an inviting offer; and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Francis interposed his good offices in appeasing him; and his interposition being seconded by the English minister Wolsey, Suffolk and his consort obtained permission to return to England.

FRANCIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 1515.] WITH Lewis the Twelfth expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans, and the sceptre of France was transferred to that of Angoulême. Francis the first succeeded his great-uncle Lewis, without opposition or difficulty: the order of succession was firmly established; and this was the third time, since the accession of the monarchs of the Capetian race, that the crown, in default of heirs male, had passed to a collateral branch. The coronation of Francis was performed at Rheims, on the twenty-fifth of January, amidst the acclamations of a people, whose affections his external endowments and popular manners were well calculated to acquire. But the adulation he received had a fatal effect on his conduct, by inflating his pride, and flattering his ambition. The first act of authority he performed, proved the strength of his filial affection—the county of Angoulême was, in favour of his mother, converted into a duchy; the patent of the creation is dated the fourth of February, 1515.

After regulating the internal administration of his kingdom, Francis turned his attention to foreign affairs. His first care was to renew the treaty of peace which his predecessor had concluded with Henry the Eighth. He received homage from the count of Nassau, in the name of his master, the archduke Charles, from the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois; and he concluded a treaty with that prince, the terms of which it is needless to specify, as the treaty itself was annulled by another which was signed between Charles and Francis, the following year.

During these transactions an attempt was made to procure a renewal and prolongation of the truce with Spain, but this Ferdinand refused; unless Italy and the Milanese were included in the treaty; and Francis having rejected with disdain a proposal which tended to thwart his favourite project, the king of Arragon entered into a league with the emperor Sforza and the Swiss, for the defence of the Milanese: The Swiss engaged to make an irruption into Burgundy, and to spread terror and devastation throughout that fertile province. The pope, at first, hesitated to join this formidable confederacy, but was at length, in the month of July, induced to accede to it. The Venetians, whose safety in a great measure depended on the protection of France, renewed with Francis the treaty they had signed with

his predecessor. The king, meanwhile, continued to make the most formidable preparations, amused the pope by negotiations, which Leo thought necessary for the concealment of his designs, secured the Genoese in his interest, and engaged Octavian Fregosa to quit the title of doge for that of governor for the king.— Every thing being ready for his expedition, the king left Lyons on the fifteenth of August, after he had appointed his mother, Louisa of Savoy, regent of the kingdom during his absence.

In order to supply the necessary funds for his Italian expedition, Francis had recourse to measures the most arbitrary and impolitic. It was on this occasion that the offices of the crown were first exposed to sale, at the instigation of the chancellor Duprat*; a dangerous innovation, which was strongly opposed by the parliament, who refused to register it without the usual clause, in all cases where their own judgment was compelled to yield to the plenitude of the regal power, that it was entered in the registers, *by the express command of the king*†.

The army destined for this enterprise was formidable from its numbers, and splendid from the rank of its officers and commanders. Besides a great number of nobility, the king was attended by seven princes of the blood-royal. The Swiss, after laying waste the duchy of Savoy, had secured all the passages of the Alps, to force which it would have been necessary to sustain an action at every defile, in which twenty men might impede the progress of an whole army. Triulzi received information, from a peasant who inhabited the mountains, of a secret path, which was left unguarded, because believed to be impracticable; and having previously explored it, it was resolved to pursue it. It was necessary to blow up several points of rocks which intercepted the passage of the troops; and Peter Navarre, who had entered the French service, because the king of Spain had refused to pay his ransom when taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, rendered essential service to Francis on this occasion: both the army and the artillery reached the opposite side of the Alps in safety, and unperceived by the Swiss, whose attention was called to another quarter, by some troops of horse, stationed purposely to amuse them, on mount Cenis. The French descended the Alps into the marquise of Saluzzo, and Bayard surprised Prosper Colonna, the general of the papal forces, who, ignorant of the approach of the French, was negligently encamped, with a thousand cavalry, at Villa-Franca, near the source of the Po‡. But two men of the whole detachment escaped: the rest were all killed or taken.

This successful beginning inspired the French troops with additional courage; while the allies remained in a state of suspense, and divisions and mistrust began

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 237.

† When the practice of verifying and registering the royal edicts in the parliament of Paris became common, the parliament contended that this was necessary in order to give them legal authority. It was established as a fundamental maxim in French jurisprudence, that no law could be published in any other manner; that, without this formality, no edict or ordonnance could have any effect; that the people were not bound to obey it, and ought not to consider it as an edict or ordonnance, until it was verified in the supreme court, after free deliberation. (Roche-flavin des Parlements de France, quarto, p. 192.)

‡ Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xii. p. 151.

to prevail among them. The Swifs were the only enemies who were actuated by hostile zeal and violent resentment; enraged at their failure in preventing the French from passing the Alps, they had retired into the duchy of Milan, with the resolution to defend it to the last extremity. The king, meanwhile, had joined his army in the plains of Quieras; and the town of Novara immediately surrendered to his arms. The Swifs continued to retreat before him, as if anxious to avoid a battle; owing to a dispute with the cardinal of Sion, who had arrested one of their chiefs, named Albert. The cardinal was obliged to release Albert, who took the road to Berne with a part of his companions, while the rest of their troops lent a favourable ear to a proposal made by the duke of Savoy, in the king's name, to advance them seven hundred thousand crowns, and to give Maximilian Sforza an establishment in France. The treaty appeared to be on the point of conclusion, when the arrival of ten thousand of their countrymen, and the powerful exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, made the Swifs change their mind; they marched forwards to attack the lines of the French, who were encamped at Marignano, about a league from Milan.

History scarce affords any example of a battle disputed with greater obstinacy than that of Marignano. It began about four in the afternoon of the thirteenth of September, and lasted more than three hours after the night closed; when lassitude and darkness separated the combatants, without abating their animosity.—The king, who passed the night completely armed, on the carriage of a cannon, was surprised to find himself at dawn of day, within a few paces of the enemy, who renewed the charge with renovated vigour. The black bands, so called from the colour of their standards, commanded by the duke of Guise, in the absence of his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, who had given way the day before, now retrieved their honour, by the most spirited and successful exertions. The Swifs, repulsed on every side, and perceiving Alviano approaching with a chosen body of Venetian cavalry, returned to Milan, without being pursued by the French. Discouraged at the loss they had sustained, and unable to procure any money from Sforza, who had none to give them, they left him fifteen hundred of their men to defend the castle of Milan, and hastened back to their own country. Francis remained master of the field, which was strewn with the bodies of ten thousand Swifs, and from three to four thousand of the French, among whom were many of the nobility.

The king would not suffer the Swifs to be molested in their retreat; but Alviano, who did not arrive till the end of the action, anxious to share in the glory of the day, attacked the rear of the Swifs; the attempt proved unsuccessful, and was attended with the loss of many officers of note. Triulzi, who had been present at seventeen pitched battles, said, that “that of Marignano was a combat of giants, and all the rest but mere children’s play!”—The king rewarded the valour of the chevalier Bayard, by receiving the honour of knighthood from his hands.

The terror which the battle of Marignano inspired, together with the departure of the Swifs, left Maximilian Sforza almost destitute of assistance. Yet he fought to prolong the moments of his sovereignty by retiring into the castle of Milan,

while Francis took possession of the city ; but that fortress was incapable of withstanding the ardour of the French, directed by the duke of Bourbon. It was surrendered to that general, together with the city of Cremona ; but Sforza obtained, at least, honourable terms from the victor ; and a safe retreat, with a pension of thirty thousand ducats, was assigned him in France. Destitute of ambition, and of talents, he gladly retired from a situation to which he was unequal, and, at last, expired at Paris, after lingering fifteen years through a life of contempt.

When the king made his entry into Milan, he exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and established a parliament, in imitation of his predecessor, after which, he passed a week in visiting the different towns of the duchy.

Leo the Tenth, versed in all the refinements of Italian policy, abandoned with their fortunes, the cause his allies. He courted an interview with Francis ; and that monarch suffered himself to be conducted, by the cardinals de Fiesco, and de Medicis, to the city of Bologna. The treaty was soon concluded ; Leo agreed to withdraw his troops from the cities of Parma and Piacenza ; in return for which concession, Francis consented to abandon the duke di Urbino, an uncertain ally, and the declared enemy of the house of Medicis, in whose favour he was despoiled of his duchy : Had the king gone no farther, his policy would not have been prejudicial to the nation, but he was so weak as to accede to the pope's proposal for the total abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*—an abolition destructive of the privileges of the Gallican church—for which he substituted the *Concordat*, whereby Leo ceded to Francis the right of appointing bishops and abbots, throughout the French dominions ; and the king, in return, granted the pope the *Annates*, or first fruits of those ecclesiastical benefices*. The parliament long refused to register the *Concordat*, continued to regulate their decisions according to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and confirmed the opposition of the university. The clergy, too, called loudly for the convocation of a national council ; but the authority of the king prevailed, and the parliament were, at length, obliged, much against their will, to give the disgraceful compact a place on their registers, where it was inserted, on the twenty-second of March, 1518, with the usual clause of disapprobation.

While the king thus suffered himself to be duped by the artful adulation of the pope, his ministers concluded a more honourable and more advantageous treaty with the Swiss ; by which they consented to acknowledge Francis for duke of Milan, count of Ast, and lord of Genoa ; engaged to assist that monarch, and to defend his dominions, and to restore all the places they held in the Milanese, except Bellinzone. The king, on his part, engaged to pay them six hundred thousand crowns, and the annual pension which they received before their rupture with Lewis the Twelfth : but five cantons having refused to subscribe these conditions, the others stipulated that they should never be obliged to bear arms against their countrymen.

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 249.

A. D. 1516.] The victory of Marignano had inspired with terror the mind of Ferdinand of Arragon; the accommodation with the pope, and the treaty with the Swiss, which he had, in vain, exerted his utmost efforts to prevent, had increased his alarm; he trembled for the throne of Naples, and, anxious to avert the danger with which he conceived himself to be threatened, he endeavoured to revive the animosity of the neighbouring powers, and once more to excite a formidable confederacy against France; but death but a stop to his plans. He died on the twenty-third day of January, 1516. By his will he left the archduke Charles sole heir of all his dominions, and allotted to Ferdinand, brother to Charles, a scanty pension of fifty thousand ducats; the regency of Castile was committed to cardinal Ximenes, and the archbishop of Saragossa was appointed regent of Arragon.

Meanwhile the French, who now only acted as auxiliaries to the Venetians in Italy, formed the siege of Brescia, under the command of marshal Lautrec, whose brother Triulzi, had been appointed general of the Venetian forces on the death of Alviano. The garrison agreed to surrender if not relieved within twenty days; but the German general, Roquendorf, hastened to their assistance, with a body of six thousand men, and was close followed by the whole Imperial army, led by Maximilian himself. On the emperor's arrival Lautrec raised the siege, and retired with precipitation to Milan, where the alarm was so great that Maximilian might easily have made himself master of the city; but, instead of marching directly to Milan, he amused himself by laying waste the country between the Po and the Adda, and thereby gave time to the constable to put himself in state of defence. In the city of Milan there were thirteen thousand Swiss, in the pay of France, but as they refused to fight against their countrymen, who were in the Imperial army, the constable dismissed them. Maximilian, who invested Milan, was soon reduced to the same dilemma; his Swiss troops demanded their pay, and the emperor having dissipated the money that was destined for that purpose, they mutinied, and returned to their own country. The Germans, too, dispersed, and the whole army evacuated Italy.

During these transactions Charles, anxious to take possession of the Spanish dominions, and desirous to secure, during his absence, the Netherlands from invasion, evinced a strong disposition to maintain peace with France: the Flemings, too, who had long possessed an extensive commerce, which, during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with that power; and Chievres, the Flemish minister, sagacious to discern the true interests of his country, warmly adopted the same sentiments. Francis, solicitous to secure his late conquests in Italy by a treaty, listened with joy to the first overtures of accommodation. Chievres himself conducted the negotiation, in the name of Charles, while Boiss appeared as plenipotentiary for Francis. They concluded, on the sixteenth of August, 1516*, a treaty of con-

federacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with those powers, which put a final period to the bloody and tedious war which the league of Cambray had occasioned. This treaty was signed at Bruxelles, in the month of December, 1516, and confirmed by an other treaty, concluded at Combray, in the month of March following.

A. D. 1517.] About the same period a more durable treaty was signed between the French and Swiss; the five cantons who had refused to subscribe the former conditions, now joined their countrymen, and acceded to a treaty of perpetual alliance: in consideration of an additional pension, they promised never to serve against France; and this treaty has subsisted till the present time, without any alteration.

A. D. 1518.] The constable de Bourbon had been recalled from the Milanese, and was succeeded in his government by the mareschal de Lautrac, who, intoxicated with the favour he enjoyed, and jealous of Triulzi, represented that gallant veteran, at the court of France, as a secret enemy to the country he professed to serve. Triulzi, justly incensed at this malicious imputation, immediately hastened to France, in order to justify his conduct; but the reception he experienced from Francis, who, having inconsiderately given implicit credit to the base insinuations of Lautrec, did not deign to speak to him, made such an impression on his mind, as soon brought him to the grave. The death of Triulzi tended to alienate the affections of the Milanese, and their particular detestation of Lautrec, was speedily converted into a general hatred of his countrymen.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was now dispatched to London, in order to gain the confidence and friendship of Henry the Eighth; and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himself a place in the good graces of Cardinal Wolsey, that monarch's prime minister and chief favourite. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that, by mistakes and misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and he thenceforth expressed himself in favour of the French alliance.

When matters seemed to be sufficiently prepared, Bonnavet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey, immediately, without hesitation, engaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to Henry and the English council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places: that as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant.

These reasons being deemed convincing by the English council, a treaty was concluded for the cession of Tournay; and in order to give that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter to Henry, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in the erection of a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them noblemen, for the performance of the article*: and lest cardinal Wolsey should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres as an equivalent for his administration of the bishoprick of Tournay. Wolsey attempted to procure the restitution of Calais, but found such a strenuous opposition to the distant overtures which he made for that purpose in the English council, that he did not think it prudent to proceed any farther in the business.

A. D. 1519.] But while Francis was diligently employed in securing the amity of the neighbouring powers, an event occurred, that formed a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. This was the death of the emperor Maximilian, who expired at Lintz upon the Danube, on the twelfth of January, 1519.

On the death of Maximilian two candidates aspired to the vacant dignity, Francis and Charles, and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no less illustrious from the high rank of the candidates, than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each urged his pretensions with sanguine expectations, and no unpromising prospect of success. Charles considered the Imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Austrian line; he knew that no one of the German princes was sufficiently powerful to become his rival; he flattered himself that no consideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign potentate to a dignity, which, during so many ages, had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and least of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis, the sovereign of a people whose genius, laws, and manners differed so widely from those of the Germans, that it was hardly possible to establish any cordial union between them. He did not, however, trust the success of his cause to these alone. Great sums of money were remitted from Spain; and a considerable body of troops kept on foot by the states of the circle of Suabia was secretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by presents; the objections of the more scrupulous were answered or eluded; and some feeble princes were threatened or overawed.†

Francis, on the other hand, supported his claim with equal eagerness, and no less confidence of its being founded on justice. It was contended by his emissaries,

* *Memoirs du Bellay*, lib. i.—*Mezerai*, tom. vii. p. 264.

† *Cuicciardini*, tom. iii. p. 263.—*Sleidan*, *Hist. of the Reformation*.—*Struvii Corp. Hist. German.*—*Robertson*.

that it was now high time to convince the princes of the house of Austria that the Imperial crown was elective, and not hereditary; that other persons might aspire to an honour which their arrogance had, at length, led them to regard as the property of their family; that it required a sovereign of mature judgment and approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a country where such unknown opinions concerning religion had been published (alluding to the doctrines of the reformers, then recently propagated) as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened to be productive of the most violent effects. That the election of Charles would be inconsistent with a fundamental constitution, by which the person that holds the crown of Naples is excluded from aspiring to the Imperial dignity; that his elevation to that honour would soon kindle a war in Italy, on account of his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, the effects of which could not fail of reaching the empire, and might prove fatal to it.* As the expeditious method of transmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange, was then little known, the French ambassadors travelled with a train of horses loaded with treasure.

Such was the situation of affairs when the diet was opened at Frankfort, on the seventeenth of June. The right of choosing an emperor had long been vested in seven great princes, distinguished by the name of Electors. But, notwithstanding the specious arguments produced by the ambassadors of Charles and Francis, in favour of their respective masters, and in spite of all their solicitations, intrigues, and presents, the electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German constitution was thought to be founded. To elect either of the contending monarchs would have been a gross violation of that salutary maxim; would have given to the empire a master instead of a head; and would have reduced themselves from the rank of equals to the condition of subjects.†

Impressed with these ideas, all the electors directed their eyes to Frederick, duke of Saxony, a prince, who from the dignity of his virtues, and the splendour of his talents, had acquired the honourable appellation of *The Sage*, and they unanimously offered him the Imperial crown. Unseduced by an object so alluring, Frederick required a short time for deliberation, and magnanimously rejected the proffered diadem. His rejection of a gift which the proudest monarchs had courted with avidity, was accompanied by an observation on the impolicy of invariably adhering to a maxim, which, though just in many cases, could not be applicable to all. "In times of tranquillity"—said Frederick—"we wish for an emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger require one who has the ability to provide for our safety. The Turkish armies are now assembling under the conduct of a prince distinguished for his gallantry, and flushed with conquest. They are preparing to rush like a torrent upon Germany, with a violence unprecedented in former times. New conjectures call for new expedients. Some hand more potent than mine, or that of any other

* Guicciardini.—La Zalusus.—Robertson.

† Robertson.

“ German prince, must, at this period, be entrusted with the Imperial sceptre ;
 “ for we possess neither dominions, revenues, nor authority, which can enable
 “ us to face such a formidable foe. Recourse, therefore, must be had to one
 “ of the rival monarchs, each of whom can bring into the field forces sufficient
 “ for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction ; as he
 “ is a member and prince of the empire, by the territories he inherits from
 “ his grandfather ; as his dominions lie contiguous to the frontier which is most
 “ exposed to attack ; his claim is, in my opinion, preferable to that of a stranger
 “ to our language, to our blood, and to our country ; and, therefore, I give my
 “ vote to raise him to the Imperial throne.”

This opinion dictated by such uncommon generosity, and supported by arguments so plausible, made a deep impression on the electors. The Spanish party among the electors daily gained ground ; and even the pope's nuncio, convinced of the inutility of farther opposition, endeavoured to acquire some merit with the future emperor, by offering voluntarily, in the name of his master, a dispensation to hold the Imperial crown in conjunction with that of Naples.*

On the twenty-eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important contest, which had holden all Europe in suspense, was decided. Six of the electors had already declared for the king of Spain ; and the archbishop of Treves, the only firm adherent to the French interest, having, at last, joined his brethren, Charles was, by the unanimous voice of the electoral college, raised to the imperial throne, under the title of Charles the Fifth.

The French ambassador, Bonniyet, who had entertained the most sanguine expectations of success, was so mortified at the disappointment he experienced on this occasion, that it was some time before he could prevail upon himself to make his appearance at court. Francis himself, although he had been frequently heard to say to the Spanish ambassadors—“ *Your master and I are suitors to the same mistress ; the more fortunate will carry her ; but the other must remain content-* ”—was equally mortified with his ambassador, though he took care to disguise his feelings. From this moment, Charles, more fortunate or more politic, appears to have acquired an ascendancy over Francis, which he always preserved.

A. D. 1520.] Francis, alarmed at the augmented splendour and power of Charles, and mortified at the preference given to that prince in the sight of all Europe, endeavoured, by a strict alliance with Henry, to balance the acquisition of his rival. He had before solicited an interview with the English monarch, which Charles had in vain endeavoured to prevent, by making a voyage to England, where he flattered the king, and detached his favourite Wolsey from the interest of France. Whatever impression the engaging manners of Francis, or the liberal and unsuspicious confidence with which he treated Henry, made on the mind

* Freheri Rer. Germ. Scriptores, vol. ii. p. 172.—Gianone, Istoria di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 498.

of that monarch, was soon effaced by Wolsey's artifices, or by an interview he had with the emperor at Gravelines, on the tenth of July; which was conducted by Charles with less pomp than that near Guisnes, but with greater attention to his political interest.

A. D. 1521.] By the treaty of Noyon, Charles had agreed to do justice to John d'Albret, the excluded monarch of Navarre, whom Francis was bound in honour, and prompted by interest, to restore to his throne; but though frequent applications had been made to Charles for the purpose, he continually eluded them upon frivolous pretexts; and Francis, therefore, thought himself authorised by that treaty to assist the exiled family. Henry d'Albret had succeeded to the claims of his father John, and an army, levied in his name, was destined under the conduct of Andrew de Foix, lord of Lesparre, and brother to Lautrec, to restore him to the throne of his ancestors. The juncture appeared peculiarly favourable for such an enterprise, Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions; the troops usually stationed there had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spanish malecontents warmly solicited Francis to invade Navarre, in which a considerable faction was ready to declare for the descendants of their ancient monarchs. Lesparre had neither talents nor experience for the discharge of that important trust to which, through the powerful influence of his connections, he had been recommended; but as there was no army in the field to oppose him, he reduced in a few days the whole kingdom, without meeting with any obstruction but from the city of Pampeluna; nor would the slight resistance made by that fortress have deserved notice, if Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Biscay, had not been dangerously wounded in its defence. During the slow progress of a lingering cure, Loyola happened to have no other amusement than what he could find in the perusal of the lives of the saints. The effect of such reading on his mind, naturally enthusiastic, but ambitious and daring, was to inspire him with such a desire of emulating the glory of these "fabulous worthies of the Roman church," as led him into the wildest and most extravagant adventures, which terminated in the institution of the society of Jesuits, the most political and best regulated of all the monastic orders, and from which mankind have derived more advantage, and received greater detriment, than from any other of these religious fraternities*.

Had Lesparre, on the reduction of Pampeluna, been content with taking proper precautions for securing his conquest, the kingdom of Navarre might still have remained annexed to the crown of France in reality, as well as in title. But stimulated by the ardour of youth, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with success, he imprudently entered the dominions of Spain, and laid siege to Logroño, a small town in Castile. This roused the Castilians from the lethargy in which they had hitherto appeared to be involved, and having nearly composed their own private dissensions, both parties exerted themselves with emulation in defence of their country. The sudden advance of their troops, to-

* Robertson.

gether with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logroño, obliged the French general to abandon his rash enterprise. The Spanish army, which daily increased, harassing him during his retreat, he, instead of taking shelter under the cannon of Pampeluna, or waiting the arrival of six thousand Navarrese, who were marching to his assistance, attacked the Spaniards in the plains of Squiros, though far superior to him in number, with great impetuosity, but with so little conduct, that his forces were totally routed; Lefparre himself was wounded and taken prisoner; and Spain recovered possession of Navarre in still less time than the French had spent in the conquest of it*.

While Francis endeavoured to justify his invasion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the name of Henry d'Albret, the lawful sovereign of that country, another subject for dispute occurred between the rival monarchs:—Robert de la Mark, prince of Sedan, having abandoned the service of Charles, on account of an encroachment which the Aulic council had made on his jurisdiction, and having applied for protection to the king of France, sent a herald, in the heat of resentment, to Worms, to declare war against the emperor in form. He then entered Luxembourg, with troops levied in France, and after ravaging the open country, laid siege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly, as a direct violation of the peace which subsisted between the two crowns, while Francis disavowed the transaction, and consented to submit the decision of their differences to the arbitration of Henry of England, who accordingly sent Wolsey to Calais, where the conferences were opened, and commanded de la Mark to disband his troops.

Charles, meanwhile, had assembled an army of twenty thousand men, which, under the count of Nassau, invaded the territories of Robert, and in a few days reduced all the towns they contained, except Sedan. Having thus punished the prince who had presumed to defy him by a declaration of war, Charles would naturally have withdrawn his forces, had he been disposed to the adoption of pacific measures; but before he had received any cause for complaint against Francis, he had formed a resolution of humbling the power of a monarch who was as much his superior in all the amiable and manly qualities of the human mind, as he fell short of him in cunning, artifice, and fraud. For the promotion of his hostile and ambitious views, he had found means to engage in his interest the sovereign pontiff, who preferred the labyrinth of politics to the plain path of religion. An ambitious priest is, at all times, a detestable character; but a minister of a God of Peace, who, actuated by an insatiate thirst of power, seeks to extend his authority by the effusion of human blood, merits the execration of mankind. Leo, though possessed of many excellent endowments, fell into the same error, or rather adopted the same vices, by which too many of his predecessors had been distinguished; pursuing the wretched system of policy that prevailed among the Italian princes, and of which treachery and fraud formed the leading characteristics, he resolved to sacrifice his honour to his interest. He first concluded a

* Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 21.

treaty of alliance with Francis, by which he engaged to assist that monarch in recovering the kingdom of Naples, a part whereof was to be ceded to the pope's nephew, and the remainder to be governed by a papal legate, during the minority of young Henry, second son to the king of France, who was to be invested, by Leo, with the dignity of king of Naples*. But, allured by the prospect of reaping greater advantages from an alliance with the emperor, the perfidious pontiff soon deserted Francis, and made overtures of friendship, though with great secrecy, to Charles. A treaty was soon concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the pope and emperor should join their forces for the expulsion of the French from the duchy of Milan, the possession of which should be given to Francefco Sforza, (a son of Ludovico the Moor) who had resided at Trent, since the time his brother Maximilian had been dispossessed of his dominions by the French king; that Parma and Placentia should be restored to the church; that the emperor should assist the pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the holy see should be increased; that the emperor should take the family of Medici under his protection; that he should grant to the cardinal de Medici a pension of ten thousand ducats upon the archbishopric of Toledo; and settle lands in the kingdom of Naples to the same value upon Alexander, the natural son of Lorenzo de Medici.

Charles having thus secured the alliance of the pope, and the friendship of Wolsey, for whom he had promised to obtain the papal dignity, on the death of Leo, resolved to embrace the first opportunity of coming to an open rupture with France. In consequence of this determination, the count of Nassau had no sooner dispossessed the prince of Sedan, than he received orders to advance towards the frontiers of France, where he, soon after, laid siege to Mousson. The cowardice of the garrison having obliged Montmort, the governor, to surrender almost without resistance, Nassau invested Mezieres, a place the possession of which would have enabled the Imperial army to penetrate into the heart of Champagne, where there was scarcely any other town capable of obstructing its progress.— Happily for France, the king, sensible of the importance of this fortress committed the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard, who had already signalized his zeal and courage in Italy, and who, by his valour and integrity, had merited and obtained the honourable appellation of—“*The Knight without Fear, and without reproach*†!”—In the defence of Mezieres Bayard displayed all the talents of a great general, and, by repeated exertions of valour and conduct, he contrived to protract the siege to a considerable length, and in the end obliged the Imperialists to retire, with infamy and loss‡. The services of Bayard, on this occasion, were rewarded with the collar of Saint-Michael, and a company of one hundred lances.

Mousson was soon retaken by the duke of Alençon, while the duke of Vendôme reduced the towns of Bapaume and Landrici. The Imperialists, flying be-

* Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 277.

† Oeuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 114.

‡ Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 25, &c.

fore the superior forces of France, retired to Valenciennes, where they were reinforced by a considerable body of troops, commanded by the emperor himself. The king, meanwhile, having entered Artois, threw a bridge over the Scheld, between Bouchain and Valenciennes. Nassua had been detached by Charles to prevent the troops from passing the river, but he arrived too late; all the infantry had already passed, and were drawn up on the opposite side in order of battle; and while he was deliberating whether he should attack them or not the cavalry joined them, when Nassua thought it prudent to retire. The retreat of the Imperialists was favoured by a fog; the French, were apprised of the circumstance soon enough to have followed them and cut off the whole army*; and the constable, la Trémouille and Chabannes, were eager to embrace the opportunity, but this was opposed by the duke of Alençon and Chatillon, and unfortunately their advice was suffered to prevail. A party, indeed, was already formed against the constable, and it was determined to reject whatever he should propose; the king had just affronted that nobleman in the most sensible manner, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon, though this post of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office. Accordingly when, after that prince had revolted, he was called upon to resign the constable's sword, he replied, "*The king took it from me at the passage of the Scheld.*" The king retook Bouchain; but he endeavoured in vain to relieve Tournay, which, after a six months siege, surrendered to the Imperialists. The reduction of Hesdin by the French concluded the campaign.

The French arms had been equally successful in Navarre; d'Estillac having assembled the scattered remains of Lescarres' army, fortified the towns of Bayonne and Saint John-de-Luze, while the young king of Navarre reduced several other places. Bonnivet, who had become a favourite with the king, but still more with the dukes of Angoulême, and had recently been promoted to the rank of general, was sent to their assistance with an army of six thousand Landsquenets, under the count of Guise, and four hundred men at arms. After taking several fortresses in Navarre, they passed the river at Andaye, where they put a body of Spaniards to flight, and made a sudden and unexpected attack on Fontarabia, which capitulated after the first assault. Bonnivet, proud of his success, hastened to court to reap the laurels which he flattered himself he had deserved.

During these operations in the field, the conferences had been carried on at Calais; but when the conditions on which hostilities might be terminated came to be considered, the emperor's proposals were such as discovered either that he was utterly averse from peace, or that he knew Wolfey would sanction with his approbation whatever terms he might offer. He demanded the restitution of the duchy of Burgundy, a province, the possession of which would have given him access into the heart of the kingdom; and required a discharge of the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which had been paid

* P. Mart. Ep. 747.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 35.

by his ancestors, and which he himself had, on the accession of Francis, renewed. These terms, to which an high-spirited prince would scarcely have listened, after the disasters of a most unfortunate war, Francis rejected with great disdain; and Charles shewing no inclination to comply with the more equal and moderate propositions of the French monarch, that he should restore Navarre to its lawful prince, and withdraw his troops from the siege of Tournay, the congress broke up, without coming to any decision.

Meanwhile the league between the pope and the emperor produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the theatre of war. The pride, rapacity, and imperious conduct of Lautrec, governor of the Milanese, and of his brother Lescun, known by the name of the mareschal de Foix, had totally alienated the affections of the people from France, driven many of the principal citizens into banishment, and forced others to retire for their own safety. Among the last was Jerome Moroné, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man distinguished for his intriguing spirit and subtle genius. He repaired to Francesco Sforza, whose brother he had betrayed, and suspecting the pope's intentions of attacking the Milanese, although his treaty with the emperor had not yet been made public, he proposed to Leo, in the name of Sforza, a scheme for surprizing several places in that duchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former masters, were ready for any desperate enterprize. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a considerable sum for the execution of it; and when, through unforeseen accidents, it failed of success in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had assembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged, at that time, to the church. The mareschal de Foix, who commanded at Milan, in the absence of his brother Lautrec, informed of their resort, marched into the ecclesiastical territories, and invested Reggio; but the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini, the historian governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterprize with disgrace.* Leo eagerly seized this pretext for an open rupture with France; and now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manual, the Imperial ambassador at Rome, although it had really been signed some months before; and publicly excommunicated de Foix as an impious invader of Saint-Peter's patrimony.

Francis, apprised of the danger to which his Italian dominions were exposed, immediately commanded Lautrec to repair to his government. That general, who was well acquainted with the great neglect of economy in the administration of the king's finances, and who knew how much the troops in the Milanese had already suffered for want of their pay, refused to set out, unless immediately supplied with the sum of three hundred thousand crowns. But the king, the dukes of Angoulême, and Semblancy, superintendant of finances, having pledged their words, in the most solemn manner, that, on his arrival at Milan, he should find remittances to the amount he demanded, he ventured to depart.

* Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. 14.—Mem. de Du Bellay.

These promises, however, were violated, and the duchess of Angoulême, partly from avarice, and partly from an inveterate dislike she had conceived to Lautrec, who had been rather too free in his remarks on the numerous adventures to which her amorous disposition had given rise, seized the three hundred thousand crowns, and appropriated them to her own use.

Lautrec, however, still continued to levy a powerful army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates; acting chiefly on the defensive, he perpetually harassed the troops he could not venture to attack, and by his superior skill kept the enemy in awe, and effectually impeded the progress of their arms. But all his measures were disconcerted by an accident which no penetration could foresee, nor prudence prevent. A body of twelve thousand Swiss served in his army under the banner of the republic, with which France was in alliance. By a law, established among the cantons, their troops were not hired out by public authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law, indeed, had been sometimes eluded, and private persons had been allowed to enlist in what service they pleased, though not under the public banners, but under those of their officers. The cardinal of Sion, (a Swiss by birth) who still preserved his influence over his countrymen and his enmity against France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thousand Swiss joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, seeing such numbers of their countrymen and his enmity against France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thousand Swiss joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, seeing such numbers of their countrymen marching under hostile standards, and intent on mutual destruction, became so sensible of the infamy to which they would be exposed, as well as the loss they might sustain, that they dispatched couriers, commanding their people to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The cardinal of Sion, however, by corrupting the messengers appointed to carry this order, prevented it from being delivered to the Swiss in the service of the confederates; but being intimidated, in due form, to those in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, instantly yielded obedience, in spite of Lautrec's remonstrances. This defection of the Swiss was followed by the reduction of Milan, which was betrayed to Colonna, the general of Leo; the other cities of the duchy soon imitated the example of the capital; Parma and Placentia were united to the domains of the church; and the town of Cremona, with the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts, only remained in the hands of the French. Lautrec, with the remains of his shattered army, retired precipitately towards the territories of the Venetians, who had peremptorily rejected the solicitations of the pope, and faithfully adhered to their alliance with France.

The news of this success had such an effect upon Leo, that he was immediately seized with a fever, (if the French historians may be credited) which put an end to his existence, on the second of December, 1521. By this unexpected accident the spirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations suspended; the

Swiss were recalled by the cantons; some other mercenaries disbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the Imperial service, remained to defend the Milanese: but Lautrec destitute both of men and money, was wholly unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1522.] In the conclave as in the cabinet, the policy of Charles prevailed over that of Francis, and the sacred college, after much contention, raised cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who governed Spain in the emperor's name, (and was consequently devoted to his interest) to the papal dignity. The war in the Milanese was resumed with fresh vigour; the Swiss, enraged at the deception passed on them by the cardinal of Sion, cemented their alliance with the king of France, and sent him a supply of sixteen thousand men; the Venetians, too, evinced the greatest zeal for his service. But all these appearances proved deceitful: Guicciardini, not less skilful as a general, than eminent as an historian, repulsed, by his valour and address, a bold and vigorous attack which Lautrec made on the city of Parma, of which he was governor. The Venetians, by their negligence, suffered six thousand Landsknechts, under the conduct of Jerome Adorno, to effect a junction with the confederates; and another body, led by Francesco Sforza, to advance as far as Pavia, where they halted; while the French army lay encamped at Cassano, between that city and Milan. Here he was joined by a considerable reinforcement from France, under the conduct of his brother, the marshal de Foix, accompanied by Bayard and Navarre, who, on their road, had reduced the towns of Novara and Vigevano. Sforza, however, had contrived to elude the vigilance of Lautrec, and had marched to Milan, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. The French were repulsed in an attack upon Pavia, and as a scarcity of provision began to be felt in their camp, they took the road to Mouza, and endeavoured to advance to Arona, whither the money destined for the pay of the troops had arrived from France; but the Imperialists, aware of their object, stationed their army in such a position as to prevent its accomplishment. The Swiss, who had before been clamorous for their pay, now lost all patience, and crowding around Lautrec, threatened instantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay that was due, or promise to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec expatiate on the impossibility of the former, and the temerity of the latter, which must be attended with certain destruction, as the enemy occupied a camp (at Bicocca) strong by nature, and rendered almost inaccessible by art. Deaf to reason, and confident of success, the Swiss renewed their demand with increased ferocity, and offered themselves to lead the attack. Lautrec was thus compelled to act in opposition to his own judgment, and when the morn approached, the Swiss appeared in arms, and with intrepidity equal to their obstinacy marched against the enemy, deeply entrenched on every side, surrounded with artillery, and prepared to receive them. As they advanced, they sustained a furious cannonade with great firmness, and without waiting for their own artillery rushed impetuously upon the entrenchments. After incredible exertions of valour, which were bravely seconded by the

French, they were compelled to give up the vain attempt, and to retire with the loss of three thousand men. To that courage which had despised all danger, succeeded a pusillanimity which rejected all resource. They retired to a valley, and peremptorily refused to renew the attack in a quarter where they would have met with much less resistance. The Venetians, too, remained in a state of inactivity, and refused to make a diversion unattended with danger, and the only object of which was to prevent the enemy from directing their whole force against the marshal de Foix, who, by a desperate effort of valour, had forced his way over a stone bridge into the camp. Not being seconded, he was compelled to retreat by the same bridge, a task of extreme difficulty, but which, by a display of prudence equal to his courage, he did in good order. Lautrec was present every where; never had he displayed greater skill: and notwithstanding the innumerable difficulties he had to encounter, he would inevitably have gained the victory had his orders been obeyed. He proposed to renew the attack the next morning, but the Swiss, discouraged by the loss they had already sustained, not only refused to fight, but left the camp, and set out for their own country. Lautrec despairing, after this diminution of his forces, to make any farther resistance, retired into France, after throwing garrisons into Cremona and some other places, all of which, except the citadel of Cremona, soon surrendered to the confederates.

These disasters were speedily succeeded by the loss of Genoa and the defection of the Venetians, who were, at length, induced to conclude a peace with the emperor; and Francis had now to oppose a confederacy of all the Italian princes, excepting only the duke of Savoy.

A. D. 1523.] The Spaniards, meanwhile, had attacked Fontarabia, which was gallantly defended by Du Lude, during a vigorous siege of thirteen months, when the approach of Chabannes, with a powerful reinforcement, compelled the enemy to retire; but on the return of Du Lude to France, the command of that important fortress devolved on Frauget, who, on a renewal of the siege, immediately surrendered it to the Spaniards; an act of cowardice which was punished by degrading him from the rank of a nobleman.

Meanwhile, the duke of Bourbon, inflamed by a repetition of injuries, had recourse to measures which despair alone could have dictated. He entered into intrigues with the Imperial court, and offered to transfer his allegiance from his natural sovereign to the emperor, and to assist him in the conquest of France. Charles, as well as the king of England, to whom the secret was communicated*, expecting to derive great advantage from his revolt, were ready to receive him with open arms, and spared neither promises nor allurements which might tend to confirm him in his resolution. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry; and the counties of Provence and Dauphiné were to be settled on him, with the title of king.

The rumour of Bourbon's intrigues had reached the ear of Francis, who, far from giving credit to the report, had an interview with the duke at Moulin,

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. xiii. p. 794.

where he informed him of what he had heard, at the same time assuring him of his friendship, and requesting he would accompany him to Italy. The constable acknowledged that he had received some propofals from the emperor, but declared that he had rejected them with disdain, and only wished for an opportunity of signalising his zeal and fidelity to his sovereign. Francis paid implicit belief to what he said, and proceeded on his journey; the constable set out soon after, apparently with an intention of following him, but turning suddenly to the left he crossed the Rhone, escaped all the parties which the king (sensible too late of his credulity) sent out to intercept him, and joined the emperor's army in Italy.

The king took every possible precaution to avert the ill effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He secured all the towns in the constable's territories; he seized all the gentlemen whom he could suspect of being his associates; and as he had not yet discovered the whole extent of the conspiracy, he relinquished his intention of leading his army in person into Italy, and entrusted the command of that expedition to admiral Bonnivet, who passed the Alps with thirty thousand men.

Colonna, who was entrusted with the defence of the Milanese, was by no means prepared to resist such a formidable force; destitute of resources, he could only attempt to guard the passage of the river Tefino against the French; but in this he was foiled; Bonnivet crossed the river without loss, at a ford which had been neglected, and, at his approach, the Imperialist's retired to Milan, preparing to abandon the town as soon as the French should appear before it. By an unaccountable negligence, which Guicciardini ascribes to infatuation, Bonnivet delayed his march for three or four days, and thereby lost the opportunity with which good fortune had presented him. The citizens recovered from their consternation; Colonna, still active at the age of fourscore, and Moroné, whose enmity to France rendered him indefatigable, made every preparation for a vigorous defence; and when Bonnivet arrived, after a fruitless attack on the town, he was obliged, by the inclemency of the weather, to retire into winter quarters.

During these transactions, pope Adrian died, to the great joy of the Roman people, who publicly hailed his physician, as *The Deliverer of his Country*. He was succeeded in the chair of Saint Peter by the cardinal de Medicis, who assumed the appellation of Clement the Seventh.

La Trémouille had a more formidable enemy to encounter in Picardy, invaded by the united armies of England and Flanders, amounting to four-and-twenty thousand men. The duke of Suffolk, who commanded them, penetrated as far as the banks of the Oyse, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that capital with consternation. But the arrival of the duke of Vendôme, with a body of troops detached by the king, who was still at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French officers, who perpetually harassed the enemy; the rigour of a season more than usually inclement, together with a scarcity of provisions, compelled the English to retire; and la Trémouille had the glory of having, with a handful of men, checked the progress of a formidable army, and of expelling them with ignominy from the territories of France.

A. D. 1524.] Francis having repelled this formidable invasion, ought certainly to have contented himself with providing for the future defence of his kingdom against similar attacks; but having a numerous and well-appointed army at his command, he could not withstand the temptation which now presented itself to his view, for the recovery of the Milanese. In vain did his wisest ministers and generals attempt to dissuade him from this imprudent enterprise, by representing the danger of taking the field at such an advanced season of the year, with an army composed chiefly of Swiss and Germans, to whose caprices he must be subject in all his operations, and on whose fidelity his safety must absolutely depend. Francis was deaf to their solicitations, and began his march, crossed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and advanced directly to Milan, where their unexpected arrival occasioned such consternation, that although Pescara entered the city with some of his best troops, he found it impossible to defend it; and having thrown a garrison into the citadel, he retired through one gate while the French entered at another. Francis was guilty of a fatal error, in not immediately pursuing the Imperialists, who repaired to Loda on the Adda, an untenable post, which they had resolved to abandon on his approach. Instead of doing this, to which he was advised by his most experienced generals, he unfortunately espoused the opinion of Bonnivet; and, on the eighteenth of October, laid siege to Pavia on the Tefino. The possession of Pavia would, indeed, have been an object of importance, since it would have opened to the French a free passage into a country, fertile and extensive; but the season was too far advanced for forming the siege of a place so strongly fortified, and garrisoned by six thousand veterans, under the command of a brave and experienced general.

The king prosecuted the siege with vigour, and during three months every exertion of art and valour was employed for reducing the town, but the vigilant activity and enterprising spirit of the governor, Antonio de Leyva, rendered them all fruitless.

While Francis lay before the town, Clement the Seventh, jealous of the emperor's power, endeavoured to bring about a peace, which would leave the king in possession of the Milanese; and when Charles rejected his proposals with disdain, he immediately concluded a treaty of neutrality with the king of France, in which the republic of Florence was included*. Francis having thus deprived the emperor of his two most powerful allies, and secured a passage for his own troops through their territories, was so imprudent as to detach six thousand men, under the command of John Stuart, duke of Albany, to invade the kingdom of Naples, in the vain hope that Lannoy would be induced to recall a part of the Imperial army from the Milanese.

A. D. 1525.] The garrison of Pavia was, by this time, reduced to the greatest extremity; and the Germans, having received no pay for seven months, threatened to deliver the town to the French, a disaster which the Imperial generals

* Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 448.

resolved to avoid by immediately marching to their relief. This they were compelled to do, by the arrival of twelve thousand Germans, whom Bourbon had just brought to their assistance, which gave them a superiority over the French, who were considerably weakened, as well by the detachment sent to Naples, as by another, under the command of the marquis of Saluzzo, which had reduced Savona, defeated four thousand Spaniards, and insulted the city of Genoa: and, lastly, by the defection of the Grisons, who were recalled to the defence of their own territories.

Two false attacks were made by the enemy on the French camp, in the night of the twenty-third of February; while they were employed in destroying the wall by sapping; this they did so effectually, that at break of day on the twenty-fourth, a breach sixty toises in length was effected, by which the Imperialists entered the camp. They rushed on with such impetuosity, that the castle of Mirabello was reduced in an instant, and the garrison taken prisoners; but a detachment of the Imperialists, who were advancing towards the town, were attacked and defeated by Chabot Brion, while the artillery was so well pointed and successfully played by Galiot de Genouillac, that if that officer had been suffered to pursue his own plan, it would have sufficed, of itself, to destroy the enemy's army. All the efforts of the Imperialists were directed against the center; but Bourbon, with his Germans, attacked the black-bands, who, after they had displayed the most intrepid valour, were all cut to pieces. The king continued fighting, till exhausted with fatigue, and scarcely capable of farther resistance, he was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had accompanied Bourbon in his flight, and placing himself by the side of the monarch, against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers, at the same time conjuring him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant; but the name of Bourbon roused the indignation of Francis, who called for Lannoy, and gave up his sword to him. Francis was immediately conducted to the Imperial camp, where his wounds were dressed, and whence he dispatched this laconic but expressive note to his mother—"Madame, all is lost, except our honour."*

Ten thousand men fell in this fatal action, and the field of Pavia was stained with the best blood of France. Lewis d'Ars, la Trémouille, Chabannes, Bonniwet, and San Severino, were among the slain. The king of Navarre, the prince of Bozzolo, the count of Saint-Pol, Montmorenci, Saint-Marceau, Brion, Monchenu, Fleuranges, de Lorges, du Bellai-Langeac, la Roche-du-Maine, and many other illustrious warriors, shared the fate of Francis.

Lannoy treated his royal captive with every mark of respect; but solicitous to prevent a possibility of escape, he conducted him the day after the action to the strong castle of Pizzighitona, near Cremona, where he was committed to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, a man of

* Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 472.—Oeuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 355.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 90.

strict honour, and incorruptible integrity. The feeble garrison of Milan, on the first news of the defeat, retired without being pursued; and in two weeks after the battle not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

Henry the Eighth had been startled at the fatal event of the battle of Pavia, and had become sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles the Fifth; while his minister, Wolfey, was enraged at the recollection of the emperor's treachery, in having deluded him with vain promises of the papal crown. The English monarch, however, though resolved on a change of measures, deemed it prudent to save appearances, and he caused public rejoicings to be made throughout his dominions, on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis; he also dismissed the French envoy, whom he had hitherto allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London*. But upon the submissive applications of the duchess of Angoulême, he renewed his correspondence with her, and besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that they should never consent to the dismembering any province of the monarchy for her son's ransom. To the emperor, however, he held a different language; he reminded him that the hour was now come for extinguishing the monarchy of France: he required that Charles should immediately invade Guienne with a powerful army, in order to put him in immediate possession of that province; and he demanded that Francis should be delivered to him, in consequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to surrender all usurpers to him whose rights they had invaded. These proposals were received by the emperor with the disdain that was expected, and his rejection of them afforded Henry a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Lannoy, anxious to convey his prisoner safe into Spain, flattered Francis with the hope that a personal interview with the emperor would accelerate his release from captivity on more equitable terms; and the French monarch, anxious to grasp at any thing which could afford him the smallest prospect of procuring his liberty, furnished the galleys necessary for the voyage, and commanded his admiral Doria, to suffer them to pass without molestation. Bourbon and Pescara were deceived by the pretence that Lannoy meant to transport his prisoner to the castle of Naples; and the latter officer embarking with the king at Portofiero, landed, on the seventeenth of June, 1525, at Palamos, in Catalonia. Francis was then conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the Alcazar, under the care of the vigilant Alarçon.

The continuance of this harsh treatment for six months threw him into a fever; and the emperor, fearful of losing by his death all the fruits of his victory, condescended to make him a consolatary visit, and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him—"You come, sir, to visit your pri-

* Du Bellay, l. viii.—Stowe, p. 221.—Baker, p. 273.

“ forer.”—“ Nô,” replied Charles, “ I come to visit my brother, and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty.” This friendly language, and the specious promises of the emperor, had so good an effect on the king, that he daily recovered; but the flattering expectations he had been led to entertain vanished with the return of health; and Francis, in despair, entrusted to his sister, the duchess of Alençon, a deed, by which he resigned his kingdom to the dauphin.

A. D. 1526.] Charles, being apprised of this circumstance, and farther induced by a confederacy of the Italian powers, who, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, had entered into an alliance with the duchess of Angoulême, began seriously to think of treating with the king; while Francis, on his side, was persuaded by his friends to accede to any terms that might be proposed to him, under the idea that engagements contracted under such circumstances could never be deemed binding. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of January, 1526, a treaty was concluded between the rival princes, after Francis had secretly protested, in the presence of his friends, against the validity of a contract extorted, as it were, by force.

It was foretold by many of Charles’s ministers, that, however solemn the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of Francis, he would never execute a treaty so dishonourable to himself, and so disadvantageous to his country. By resigning Burgundy to emperor, he gave his powerful enemy a free passage into the heart of the kingdom; by sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of all foreign assistance, and rendered his oppressor irresistible, by arming him with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country. To these great views of interest, were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment. While Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his freedom.

Such was the reasoning of several of the Imperial ministers, particularly of Gattinara, the chancellor*, who advised his master to treat Francis with more generosity, and to give him his liberty on such terms, as would engage him, not on the feeble bond of treaties, but, by the more forcible tie of honour, to a strict and faithful performance. But the emperor’s avidity prevented him from following this wiser and more honourable council; at the same time that the prospect of a general combination of the European powers, prevented him from detaining Francis in captivity, and taking advantage of the confusions which his absence must necessarily occasion in his kingdom. Still suspicious, however, of the sincerity of his prisoner, he took an opportunity, before they parted, of asking him privately, and as a friend, whether he seriously intended to execute the treaty of Madrid; protesting that, at all events, he himself was firmly determined to restore him to liberty, and that the prospect of obtaining this advantage, needed no longer engage him to dissemble. Francis was too well acquainted with Charles’s character

* Guicciardini, lib. xvi;

to trust to the sincerity of this protestation; and, therefore, renewed his assurances of fidelity, and a strict observance of his word.

Francis was conducted to Fontarabia on the eighteenth of March, 1526, and hastened to the banks of the Bidassoa, accompanied by Lannoy, Alarçon, and an escort of fifty horse, while his two sons appeared on the opposite shore, under the care of mareschal de Lautrec. The exchange being made, the king crossed the river, and instantly mounting a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and exclaiming, "*I am yet a king!*" galloped full speed to Saint-John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the duchess of Angoulême and the whole court. He was soon followed by a Spanish envoy, who came to demand his ratification of the treaty of Madrid; but Francis waved the proposal, under pretence that he must previously assemble the states of Burgundy, and obtain their consent to the cession of that province. As soon as he had dismissed the envoy with this unsatisfactory answer, he wrote to the king of England, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he was indebted for his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his councils in all transactions with the emperor*. He then proceeded to fill up all the vacant posts in the ministry.

After the king had made these regulations he repaired to Coignac, to receive the ambassadors from the Italian princes, with whom he was about to form a league for frustrating the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor. At the same time Lannoy, who had remained at Vittoria, with the hostages and queen Eleanor, ready to conduct them to France as soon as the treaty should be executed, went to Coignac, accompanied by Alarçon, to summon Francis to fulfil his engagements. The king made the same reply as before, and Lannoy waited to hear the determination of the states of Burgundy, who declared against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, and expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The Imperial minister then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should return to his prison; but the king, instead of complying with his request, made public, on the twenty-eighth of June, the treaty which he had concluded with the Italian powers†.

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested by these events, had been holden in the most anxious suspense, with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, who suspected that this monarch would never execute a treaty so prejudicial to his interests, and even destructive of his independence, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis did not hesitate, but immediately entered into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that prince, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the

* Hume.

† Guicciardini, lib. xvii.

two young princes of France, on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther additions or incumbrances, Francis renouncing all his pretensions in Italy, reserving only for himself Genoa, and the county of Aste. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but also as a protector of the *Holy League*, as this confederacy was called.

A. D. 1527.] Francis hoped that the appearance of this powerful confederacy would engage the emperor to relax somewhat of the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid, and, at least, to accept the two millions of crowns which he had offered to him in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy; and led away by these hopes he neglected to send, in due time, reinforcements to his allies in Italy, and, indeed, forgot the whole world in the arms of his favourite mistress, Anne de Pisseleu, afterwards duchess of Etampes. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates, and not less so, because Charles, destitute of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The duke was extremely beloved by his troops, and, in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection for him had, alone, hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. On the sixth of May, 1527, the assault was given: Bourbon was killed by a random shot as he was planting a ladder to scale the walls; yet the army, the command of which devolved on Philibert, prince of Orange, rather enraged than discouraged by the death of their leader, entered the city sword in hand, and exercised all those brutalities which may be expected by ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence inflated by success.

Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken prisoner; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the Germans, who, from their attachment to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When the emperor was informed of the success of his arms. He put himself and all his court into mourning: he ordered prayers, during several months, to be offered up for the pope's liberty, which a letter under his hand would, it was well known, have sufficed to procure.

The concern expressed by Francis and the king of England for the misfortune which had befallen their ally, was much more sincere. These two monarchs had on the thirtieth of April, concluded a treaty, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the dauphin Francis, and his brother, Henry duke of Orleans, and to repay the money borrowed of the English monarch; and, in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended with heralds were ordered to denounce war against him.

The more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was concluded at London, on the eighteenth of September; by which Henry agreed to renounce for ever all claims to the crown of France. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay, for ever, fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that a greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed, that the parliaments and principal nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal de Montmorenci, accompanied with many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to England to ratify the treaty, and was received at London with all the parade which suited the occasion.

The king, meanwhile, had holden a *Bed of Justice*, at which deputies from all the towns in the kingdom attended, who were unanimous in their opinions that he was not bound to observe the treaty of Madrid, which had been the result of force, and was contrary to the laws of the realm; and they agreed that he had a right to levy on his subjects whatever money might be necessary for the ransom of his son, and the other wants of the state.* In consequence of this determination, Francis resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and having assembled a powerful army, he appointed the mareschal Lautrec to command it. The Italian states received Lautrec with open arms, who instantly seized Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that side of the Tefino. Pavia was taken by assault, and the whole Milanese must have been restored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting the jealousy of the confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome; the terror of his approach induced Charles to restore Clement to liberty, and directed the subsequent operations of the war against the kingdom of Naples.

A. D. 1528.] Meantime Lautrec pursued his conquests in Italy with vigour and effect. He speedily reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, except Gaieta and the capital; Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ablest seaman of his age, and the admiral of Francis, had gained a victory over the superior fleet of the emperor, and every thing seemed to favour the progress of the French arms.

But the imprudence of Francis soon blasted this flattering prospect; he had neglected to make proper remittances for the support of the Italian army; and he was prevailed on, by the fatal councils of his ministers, to disgust his admiral Doria; who, though in the service of France, maintained the independant spirit of a republican, and often preferred his complaints with freedom and boldness. He was anxious to re-establish the republican form of government in Genoa; to have his countrymen regarded by the French not as subjects but allies; and he opposed, with threats, the design of Francis to restore the harbour of Savona, an adjacent town, which the Genoese had long regarded with jealousy. Francis, irritated by his contemptuous expressions, commanded him to be instantly arrest-

* Gaillard.

ed; but Doria, apprised of his danger, retired with his galleys to a place of safety; entered into a negotiation with the emperor, who granted him whatever terms he required, and sailed back to Naples, not to block up the harbour of that city, but to afford it protection and relief.

The communication with the sea being thus opened, plenty was restored to Naples; the French in their turn began to experience a scarcity of provisions, and they were incessantly harassed by the Imperialists, under the conduct of the prince of Orange. To the ravages of famine those of pestilence succeeded; and the unfortunate Lautrec, after long struggling with the difficulties of his situation, expired the victim of disease and disappointment.

These disasters were followed by the loss of Genoa, the garrison whereof was reduced by desertion to an inconsiderable number. Doria, impatient to deliver his country from a foreign yoke, sailed into the harbour, and was received by the acclamations of his fellow-citizens. The French retired into the citadel, but were soon obliged to surrender; while Doria, instead of usurping the sovereign power, established the government nearly the same as it subsists to this day, and has obtained from the gratitude of posterity the honourable appellations of *THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY.*

A. D. 1529.] In the duchy of Milan the French were totally defeated by the Imperialists, under Antonio de Leyva, and Francis, discouraged and exhausted by so many unsuccessful enterprises, began to entertain serious thoughts of peace. The emperor, also, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Turkish arms, embarrassed by the propagation of the doctrines of Luther in Germany, and the seditious murmurs of his subjects in Spain, evinced an inclination to listen to his proposals. Margaret of Austria and the duchess of Angoulême, mother to Francis, met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification. The king of England, the republic of Venice, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, sent ambassadors to assert or discuss their respective rights. By this treaty, concluded on the fifth of August, 1529, the king renounced all pretensions to the duchy of Milan, the county of Asti, and the kingdom of Naples; engaged to compel the Venetians to restore all the places of which he himself had put them in possession; and relinquished his rights to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and the possession of Tournay and Arras. Charles agreed to accept of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, as the ransom of the French princes, reserving, however his pretensions to that duchy in full force; and Francis consented immediately to consummate his marriage with Eleanora the emperor's sister. The king of England was so generous to his friend and ally, Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of six hundred thousand crowns, which that prince owed him.

A. D. 1530, 1531.] It was with the utmost difficulty that the king could raise the sum stipulated for the ransom of his sons, who did not arrive in France till the first of June, 1530, when they were met by Francis at the abbey of Wegin, where he consummated his marriage with Eleanora, a princess whose per-

sonal charms were insufficient to fix the wavering affections of an amorous monarch. During this interval of tranquillity, Francis indulged in sorrowful reflections on his past misfortunes, which he vainly sought to remedy by the pitiful subterfuge of a secret protestation against the treaty of Cambray.

Meantime the progress of Lutheranism in Germany was rapid and extensive; and the princes of the empire who professed these doctrines, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed by the Catholic princes in the Imperial diet at Spire, for the defence of the established faith, they thenceforth received the appellation of *Protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and, on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

A. D. 1532, 1533, 1534.] The death of the duchess of Angoulême, which happened on the twenty-second of September, 1531, had delivered Francis from a councillor whose passions had frequently endangered the kingdom, which her wisdom and magnanimity had contributed to protect; yet mindful of her counsils, he completed her favourite project of annexing the duchy of Britany to the crown: the states of that province were, after much difficulty, prevailed on to abandon their claim of a free and separate principality, and, in the month of August, 1533, the long wished-for annexation took place.

A. D. 1535, 1536.] Francis having by this time recruited his finances, and indignant at the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Cambray, seized the opportunity of his rival's absence, then engaged in breaking the chains of the Christian captives in Africa, to renew his intrigues in Italy. The execution of Merveille, his ambassador at Milan, whom Sforza caused to be privately put to death, afforded him a pretence for public hostilities; and the duke of Savoy, by refusing permission to the French troops to pass through Piedmont, drew upon himself the first operations of war.

Velley, at the last audience he had of the emperor, pressed the prince to tell him in what manner he should justify himself to his master for having given credit to his promises: "I beg your majesty"—said the ambassador—"to declare before his holiness, whether it be not true, that you promised me the Milanese for the duke of Orleans?" The emperor, somewhat disconcerted by a question thus precise, remained silent for some time, but being pressed for an answer, he acknowledged that he had made such a promise, but under conditions which had not been fulfilled: Velley then offered to fulfil those conditions; Charles replied that it was impossible. "Why then did you promise them?" returned Velley. The emperor had recourse to fresh evasions; he observed that the time was past; that the king, by his invasion of Piedmont, had released him from his engagements, and that the Italian princes would oppose any attempt to fulfil them.—To such pitiful subterfuges was this powerful monarch reduced by his artifice, dissimulation, and treachery!

War was now unavoidable, and both monarchs prepared for the contest with a vigour and alacrity equal to their resentment: but Francis, warned by the fatal defeat of Pavia, resolved not to risk any decisive action, but to act chiefly on the defensive. He strengthened the fortifications of all those towns which were most open to attack; he recruited his armies, and replenished his coffers. The chief command of the troops, destined for the defence of Picardy, was conferred on the duke of Vendôme, who was assisted by the marechal de Montmorenci; the duke of Guise commanded in Champagne; Humieres was ordered to defend the province of Dauphiné, and to guard the passes of the Alps: Barbesieux was stationed at Marseilles; and the king himself, with a powerful army, undertook to defend the remaining part of Provence, against which he justly concluded the principal attack would be directed.

De Leyva, meanwhile, made a fruitless attempt to enter Dauphiné, but the emperor's real design was to get possession of Provence, which he claimed as well in his own right as in consequence of the cession which the duke of Bourbon had made him of that country. From the magicians and astrologers, whom he consulted on this occasion, he received the greatest hopes of success; and so thoroughly was he convinced that he should complete, with facility, the conquest of France, that he distributed a variety of governments and possessions, in that kingdom, to his favourites and friends.

The king, meanwhile, had completed the fortifications of such towns as were capable of defence, demolished others, and laid waste the open country: in his camp at Valence he was prepared to send succours wherever they might be wanted, while Montmorenci was sent to command the camp at Avignon, with orders to conduct himself with the utmost caution and prudence, and particularly, not to hazard a decisive action. Montmorenci arrived at Avignon on the fourth of August, and, in a council of war, it was determined to confine his operations to the securing his camp from insult, and to the preventing the enemy from forming any establishment on the rivers Rhone and Gurance. As the Imperialists approached they were alarmed at the face of desolation which the country presented, destitute alike of food and shelter: even Aix was dismantled, notwithstanding the offer of Montejan to take the command of it, and that of the inhabitants to defend it to the last extremity.

A victory obtained by the van of the Imperial army, over a detachment of the French, under the command of Montejan and Boisy, who had extorted from Montmorenci a reluctant permission to harraß the enemy on their march, served both to inflate the Germans and discourage the French, who began to tremble in their camp. The news of this check did not so much mortify the king as the intelligence which he received, at the same time, of the reduction of Guise in Picardy. The counts of Nassau and Rieux had entered that province, where the duke of Vendôme commanded; and several skirmishes had taken place with little advantage on either side. But Nassau, after an unsuccessful attempt on Saint-Riquier, at which the female inhabitants greatly contributed to his defeat, took

by surprise the town of Guise. The neglect and cowardice of the garrison were severely punished, and all the nobility, who were in the place at the time, were degraded from their rank. But these disasters were trifling when compared to one which now reached the ears of the king. The dauphin, on the road to join the army, had stopped at Tournon, where, after heating himself at tennis, he was so imprudent as to drink a glass of cold water, in consequence of which he expired in four days. The cardinal of Lorraine was appointed to convey the dreadful intelligence to the king, but his tears stopped his utterance, and the monarch, by one of those *presentimens* which, though often felt, cannot easily be accounted for, was apprised of that which no one dared to communicate. Francis felt as a father, and the whole kingdom joined in his lamentations for the loss of a son, who was an object of universal esteem.

During these transactions, the emperor advanced as far as Marseilles, but all his attempts to reduce that city proved ineffectual, and he was finally compelled to relinquish the inglorious siege. Finding his army considerably reduced, and having lost many of his bravest officers, he, at length, was prevailed on to quit the territories of France, where he had neither gained honour nor advantage. He retreated in the greatest confusion, and the king might easily have destroyed his army, had he not been restrained by the pertinacious caution of Montmorenci, and by his desire of reinforcing the duke of Vendôme, and of quieting the apprehensions of the Parisians. In Picardy, the count of Nassau, after the reduction of Guise, had laid siege to Peronne, which was ably defended by the marechal de Fleuranges, who repulsed the enemy in four successive assaults, and compelled them to abandon the hopeless enterprise; so that Francis, by the prudence of his own measures, and the union and valour of his subjects, rendered abortive the formidable schemes of his rival.

A. D. 1537.] Francis, on his return to Lyons, at the end of the campaign, found James the Fifth, king of Scotland, who had, without solicitation, failed to the assistance of his ancient ally, with an army of sixteen thousand men; though contrary winds had prevented him from landing, until the campaign was closed, and the emperor had retired. The king was so well pleased with the generous conduct of the Scottish monarch, that he gave his daughter, the princess Magdalen, in marriage, and the nuptials were celebrated on the first of January, 1537. Magdalen dying within the year, James took, for his second wife, Mary, daughter to the duke of Guise, and widow to the duke of Longueville, who became mother to the celebrated Mary Stuart, not less famous for her beauty and accomplishments, than for the persecution which she sustained during her life, and the calumnies which have been heaped, with illiberal profusion, on her memory.

A. D. 1538.] The enmity of Francis and Charles appears to have exceeded their strength, and their coffers were exhausted by their frequent and bloody wars. The mediation of the pope was offered and accepted, and an interview at Nice appointed between the rival princes. The emperor accordingly repaired,

on the third of March, to Villa-Franca; and the king arrived, about the same time, at Villa-Nuova; but still the two monarchs did not meet. Mezerai is of opinion, that the emperor was fearful of being pressed on the subject of the investiture of the Milanese, and of having a promise extorted from him in the presence of the pope. Both Charles and Francis visited his holiness, though at different times; and, after much altercation, a truce for nine years was at length concluded between them, on the eighteenth of June, 1538.

A. D. 1539.] The emperor, meanwhile, found ample occupation in his own dominions: the citizens of Ghent, mindful of their former immunities, and tenacious of their ancient privileges, had refused to contribute to the support of the late war; and erecting the standard of rebellion, had offered, by their deputies, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of France; but that monarch still flattering himself with the vain hope of obtaining the investiture of Milan from the justice of the emperor, rejected the proposals of the Flemings, and communicated their schemes and intentions to his rival—Charles, though free from any danger on the side of France, was alarmed at the revolt of a people, rich, turbulent, and obstinate. The exigency, he was aware, demanded his immediate presence, but his dignity would not allow him to pass through Germany without a train of attendants and troops that must necessarily have delayed him; and the voyage by sea was dangerous at that advanced season of the year. In this dilemma, contrary to the opinions of his most experienced counsellors, he resolved, as the shortest way, to demand a passage through the dominions of his rival. To Francis he, at the same time, made a promise to invest the duke of Orleans with the duchy of Milan*. The French council assembled on the occasion; they were unanimous in agreeing that the emperor's request should be complied with, but the majority were of opinion that the investiture of Milan should be first granted; this, however, was over-ruled by Montmorenci (who had recently received the constable's sword) as well as by Francis himself; who insisted on the propriety of placing a full reliance on the generosity and justice of Charles.

A. D. 1540.] On the first of January, the emperor made his public entry into Paris, attended by all the nobility, magistrates, and municipal bodies; the dauphin and the duke of Orleans rode on either side of him, and the constable followed him. But this profusion of honours was insufficient to remove the apprehensions of Charles, who, conscious that he merited no kindness from his rival, began to blame his own imprudence in putting himself in his power: Impressed with these ideas, he was greatly alarmed at a joke passed on him by the duke of Orleans, who jumped up behind him, and throwing his arms around his waist, exclaimed—"Your Imperial majesty is now my prisoner." Another time, the king, who was candour itself, told him, That the duchess of Etampes was of opinion he should not suffer him to leave Paris, until he had re-

voked the treaty of Madrid: "If the advice be good," replied the emperor, greatly disconcerted, "you ought to follow it;" at the same he purposely let fall a superb diamond, which the duchess picked up, and which he begged her to accept; she complied with his request, and, in the sequel, repaid his attention by betraying the interests of her sovereign. The king's fool having placed the emperor's name on his list, for having put himself in the power of his rival, observed, that if the king suffered him to escape, he would efface the emperor's name, and insert his master's in the place.

Charles remained six days at Paris, but he had no sooner reached his own territories, than the French ambassadors demanded the restitution of the Milanese; Charles relinquished the disguise which was no longer necessary to his interest; he peremptorily refused to grant the investiture of the Milanese, and denied that he had ever made any promise that could bind him to an action so weak and imprudent.

A. D. 1541.] Francis was greatly enraged when he found himself the dupe of his unprincipled rival; and his indignation was augmented in proportion as he perceived that the credulous simplicity with which he had trusted him, exposed him to the ridicule of Europe. He suspected the treachery of his own servants; and, though he had resolved on a renewal of the war, he dismissed his best general, Montmorenci. The cause of the constable's disgrace—who received orders to retire from court, whither he did not return until the following reign—has never been well ascertained. Some authors pretend that the king reproached him with the advice he had given to trust to the generosity of the emperor, and even go so far as to say that the constable maintained a criminal correspondence with Charles.

The next object of the king's displeasure was Brion, whose pride was insupportable, but whose probity was undoubted: having expressed his intention of humiliating the admiral, the chancellor Poyet (who had been entrusted with the seals, on the death of du Prat, in 1535,) with the prompt zeal of a courtly sycophant, instituted a process against him for extortion and malversation, and, by a base prostitution of the laws, pronounced a sentence which condemned Brion to perpetual banishment, and to pay a fine of fifteen hundred thousand livres. The king, enraged at this unjust proceeding, revoked the sentence, and restored the admiral to the possession of his honours and estates; but Brion was so deeply affected by the attack which had been made on his honour, that he survived the revocation of his sentence only two years. Poyet himself was disgraced, and by a sentence of the parliament, pronounced on the twenty-fourth of April, 1545, was declared incapable of holding any office whatever, and condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thousand livres, and to be imprisoned for five years.

Francis filled every court in Europe with his negotiations; but Henry of England had lately beheld with a suspicious eye his frequent interviews with the emperor, and his alliance with the king of Scotland; the pope still maintained a strict neutrality; and sultan Solymán alone embraced his proffered alliance, and declared himself ready to avenge his wrongs. Two of the ambassadors of Fran-

cis, on their road to Venice, were assassinated near the mouth of the Tefino, at the instigation of the marquis del Guastò, governor of the Milanese. The French monarch loudly complained of this base violation of the laws of nations; and demanded the punishment of the atrocious contriver of the guilty deed; but his demands were eluded, and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms that justice which he vainly sought to obtain by negociation.

A. D. 1542.] Piedmont and the Netherlands had been destined by du Bellay to become the theatre of war, but the new council rejected his plan, and regulated, on a far different scale, the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was determined to direct the principal efforts of the troops against Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon, which was falsely asserted to be in a defenceless state, while another army was to be sent into Luxembourg, to assist the duke of Cleves, who claimed the king's protection, to enable him to recover the duchy of Gueldres, which had been wrested from him by the house of Austria. In pursuance of this plan, the dauphin was appointed to command the army destined for Roussillon; he had under him Annebaut and Montpezat, and his orders were to lay siege to Perpignan, to the relief of which place it was expected the emperor would march in person, and in that case the king intended to repair, himself, to the scene of action. The troops that were sent to Luxembourg were commanded by the duke of Orleans, who was accompanied by the duke of Guise and his son, the count of Aumale; and by the young count of Enguien.

In Roussillon the French arms were far from successful; considerable delays had occurred in collecting the troops destined for that quarter, and supplying them with provisions; so that the emperor had sufficient time to put Perpignan in a proper state of defence, and to furnish it with every requisite for sustaining a long siege. Charles, however anxious he might be for the fate of that city, determined not to hazard a decisive engagement; but committed the defence of it to the persevering valour of the duke of Alva. The French, after a siege of three months, wasted by disease, and repulsed in various attacks, received orders from Francis to abandon the enterprise, and return to their own country: the duke of Alva made a vain attempt to harass them on their retreat; his efforts were frustrated by the vigilance of the dauphin; and the army reached France in safety.

A. D. 1543.] In the ensuing campaign the plan of operations was changed, Roussillon was neglected, and the principal efforts of the French were directed against the Netherlands. The intention of Francis was to fortify Landrecy, for which purpose he fixed his camp at Marolles. A detachment of the army, commanded by the dauphin, reduced Aimeries, Maubeuge, and Barlemont-upon-Sombre; while the count of Aumale extended his incursions to the gates of Avesne.

As soon as the fortifications of Landrecy were completed, the king left his camp at Marolles, and laid siege to Luxembourg, which he speedily reduced, and which he expressed his determination of keeping as an amends for the loss of the Milanese. He then detached Annebaut, with ten thousand infantry, and four hundred

men at arms, to the assistance of the duke of Cleves ; but that prince had already made his peace with the emperor, and agreed to join Charles against Francis, his friend and ally. The Imperialists, meanwhile, under the counts of Roeux and Roquenldoff, had invested Landrecy, and the king now marched with his whole army to the relief of that town, where he first received intelligence of the alliance which had been formed between the emperor and the king of England.

On the fourteenth of September, 1542, James the Fifth, king of Scotland, had expired in the flower of his age, leaving only an infant-daughter, the celebrated Mary Stuart, by his consort Mary of Lorraine. The disputes with regard to the regency, during the minority of the young princess, filled Scotland with confusion. Henry formed the design of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom ; and he engaged Hamilton, earl of Arran, who claimed the regency, as next heir to the crown, after Mary, to second his plan. But his project was thwarted by cardinal Beaton, primate of Scotland, who also aspired to the regency, and who persuaded the majority of the Scottish nobles to oppose the projected alliance with England. As a war was fully expected to be the consequence of this opposition, the cardinal found it necessary to make an immediate application to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally, during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Mathew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was, at that time, in the French court ; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother ; and he promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should be soon dispatched after him. By this means the French party acquired a decided superiority over that of the English in Scotland.

Henry now resolved to break with France, and to unite his arms with those of the emperor, notwithstanding the ill treatment he had formerly experienced from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to support the Scots against the power of England*. He had received information of some railleries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives ; he was disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor ; and in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle, intriguing, and interested monarch ; and he complained, that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been promised. Impelled by these various motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who very earnestly courted his alliance.

In consequence of this league, six thousand English troops were sent to join the Imperialists, then engaged in the siege of Landrecy, which the emperor covered with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of

* Pere Daniel.

an army not much inferior, as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to abandon the siege: but while these rival monarchs were facing each other, the French king found means to throw succors into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles sent Gonzaga to attack the rear of the French army; but that general was vigourly received and successfully repulsed by Brissac; and the emperor, finding the season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprize, and found it necessary to raise the siege; in his retreat, however, he took Cambrai by surprise, and placed an Imperial garrison in that city.

A. D. 1544.] The next campaign opened with greater vigour, and was attended with greater success. The young count of Enguien, who was now entrusted with the command of the French forces in Piedmont, greatly resembled the unfortunate duke of Nemours, who was killed at the battle of Cerignoles; with the valour of the bravest soldier he combined the skill of the most experienced general, and he had the advantage of the duke, inasmuch as his military talents were not sullied by temerity. On the fourteenth of April the two armies met near Cerizoles; victory for a while remained doubtful; she then seemed to incline to the Imperialists, and the flight of a body of Italians, under the count de Gryeres, induced Enguien to believe the day was lost; but the spirited exertions of the French nobility and their gallant followers soon restored order to the army, and, pressing forward with impetuous valour, the enemy were routed and put to flight. Enguien wished to pursue them, but he was checked by the prudent advice of an old officer, who begged him to recollect the fate of the duke of Nemours. The victory was complete; ten thousand of the Imperialists perished on the field, four thousand were taken prisoners, and all their baggage, artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of the French. Del Guasto, who had received a wound in the knee, retreated to Aste, but the inhabitants refusing to admit him, he hastened to Milan. Enguien now reduced, with facility, the town of Carignano, and the greater part of the marquisate of Montferrat; intelligence of his success being dispatched to the king, it was speedily forwarded to all the foreign courts; the duchy of Milan was ready to submit to the French; all Italy was in motion; even the kingdom of Naples exhibited symptoms of discontent; but Enguien was unfortunately, incapacitated from improving these advantages, by the formidable preparations of the king of England. Henry, on the fourteenth of July, landed at Calais with thirty thousand men, attended by the principal nobility and gentry of England. The English army was soon joined by the count of Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and that he might lose no time while he waited for the march of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which he took; he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which was surrendered to him: but the obstinate resistance of the garrison of Saint Dizier made the emperor despair of reducing the place, and (as a scarcity of provisions began to prevail in his camp)

had the dauphin's army marched to its relief, it is most probable he would have raised the siege. But the dauphin was restrained from acting by the king's positive orders; and the treachery of the dukes of Etampes relieved Charles from the difficulties under which he laboured; she gave him secret intelligence of the proceedings of the French council; she informed him of the place where the dauphin had left, under a slender guard, an ample supply of provisions; and she even forged the signature of the duke of Guise, in a letter addressed to the count of Sancerre, requesting that nobleman to give up Saint Dizier, as it would be impossible to march to its relief*. This town was accordingly surrendered to Charles, after it had sustained a siege of six weeks.

The emperor, after the reduction of Saint Dizier, pursued his march along the banks of the Marne, and pitched his camp immediately opposite to that of the French, who were only divided from him by the river. As the dauphin was not permitted to hazard a battle, Charles proceeded to take possession of Epernay and Chateau-Thierry. The news of his progress filled the Parisians with alarm; they hastened to quit the capital, and the roads to Rouen and Orleans were covered with waggons loaded with their wives, children and effects. The king endeavoured, by his presence and exhortations, to inspire his subjects with confidence; while the dauphin, by a forced march, contrived to throw himself between the forces of Charles and the capital; and he sent a strong detachment of seven or eight thousand infantry, and four hundred men at arms, to the assistance of the Parisians, under the conduct of de Lorges, who fixed his camp at Lagny. The emperor, astonished at the dauphin's vigilance and activity, turned to the left, and marched to Soissons. Finding his schemes for subduing France were likely to prove abortive, he proposed terms of accommodation to the king, and conferences were accordingly opened at Crespy in the Laonnois, and a treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of September, 1544. Francis agreed to relinquish his acquisitions in Piedmont and Savoy; and the emperor engaged, in the space of two years, to bestow on the duke of Orleans his daughter or his niece in marriage, with the Low Countries or the Milanese as a dower. This peace, though highly advantageous to the king, as it relieved him from the efforts of his most powerful enemy, was highly blamed by his subjects.

A. D. 1545.] The war between England and France was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides galleys, which he entrusted to the command of the admiral Annebaut; and having embarked some land forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England†. They failed to the isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor at Saint Helen's. It did not exceed one hundred sail; and the English admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French among the narrow passages and rocks which were unknown to them. The rival fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the

* Garnier.

† *Memoirs de Du Bellay.*

sinking of the *Mary Rose*, one of the largest vessels in the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable. The French landed troops in the isle of Wight, and committed depredations on the circumjacent country, but being repulsed by the provincial militia, they retired to their ships, and soon after set sail for France. They were, however, again driven by the wind on the coast of England, where they met with the English fleet, and a fresh cannonading ensued, which proved no more decisive than the foregoing. It was indeed scarcely possible, that a fleet could, at that time, without boarding, obtain any considerable advantage over the enemy. The cannon were commonly so ill served, that Du Languey observes in his memoirs, as a circumstance somewhat singular, that each of these numerous fleets, in an engagement which lasted two hours, fired full three hundred shot; when a single vessel could now, without difficulty, perform thrice as much.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so powerful a fleet was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he intended to besiege; and, for that purpose, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he proposed to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of money and time, the fort was found so ill-constructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had collected, on that frontier, an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprise. He broke into the territory of Oye, an extent of country which lies near Calais, and which served commonly to supply the garrison with provisions; and he laid it entirely waste by fire and sword. Several skirmishes ensued between the French and English, in one of which the count of Aumale received a remarkable wound. A lance was run into his head between his eye and nose; and notwithstanding that the lance broke, and the head of it remained in the wound, he was not dismounted by so violent a shock, and the head of the lance being extracted by the skill of an eminent surgeon, Aumale afterwards recovered, and became extremely famous under the name of duke of Guise.

A. D. 1546.] A new war was now expected with the emperor, as the treaty of Crespy had been rendered void by the death of the duke of Orleans. Annebaut and the chancellor Olivier were dispatched to the Imperial court, to propose a fresh treaty to Charles; but that prince, who was then occupied with the troubles occasioned by the league of Smalcalde, deferred his answer, under various pretences, until he had obtained from the Flemings the succours he had demanded, and had succeeded in his efforts to disunite the league; he then replied—without explaining his intentions—that he should not engage in a war unless he were attacked. This was construed into a refusal of the king's demands; and Francis, accordingly, put all his frontier towns in a proper state of defence. The emperor stated some objections to the fortifying Villa-Franca, which, he pretended, was a fief of the empire; but du Bellay, by the production of ancient records, convinced him of his error. Charles gave up the point, but, in order to oppose one barrier to another, he restored the fortifications of Damvilliers, which had been dismantled by the duke of Orleans, in 1542.

A. D. 1547.] The death of the duke of Orleans was followed by that of the count of Enguien, who had acquired an immortal reputation by the victory of Cerizoles; and the loss of both these princes impressed Francis with a grief which nothing could mitigate. The remaining hours of his life were embittered by domestic contention, arising from the disputes which prevailed between the dukes of Etampes and Diana of Poitiers; he was sensibly affected by the death of Henry of England, to whom he was personally attached. A slow fever continually preyed upon him; he wandered from one palace to another, in a state of langour and depression, and, at length, expired at Rambouillet, on the thirty-first of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Francis employed his last moments in giving useful council to the dauphin; he advised him never to recal Montmorenci; nor to promote the elevation of the Guises; to retain in his service the cardinal de Tournon, and the admiral Annebaut; and, finally, to spare, protect, and relieve his subjects: but, unhappily, no part of this advice was followed.

Francis had, for his first wife, Claude of France, daughter to Lewis the Twelfth, and Anne of Brittany; this princess died in 1524. In 1530 he married Eleanora of Austria, sister to Charles the Fifth, and widow to the king of Portugal. By his second wife he had no children; by the first, he had the dauphin, Francis, who died in 1545; Henry, who succeeded him on the throne; Charles, duke of Orleans, who died in 1545; Louisa-Charlotta; Magdalen, who married James the Fifth of Scotland: and Margaret, who espoused Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy.

Francis, who was a great patron of the sciences, had formed a plan for the erection of a college for the study of dead languages; but he never put it in execution: he established, however, salaries for professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, physic and surgery. A mathematical professor was also established during his reign; and the study of natural philosophy began to be cultivated with diligence and success.

From the year 1528 to 1534, perpetual summer prevailed in France; during four years not two days' frost was experienced; nature, exhausted by a continued heat, incessantly produced blossoms, but had not strength to bring the fruit to maturity: a scarcity of provisions was the consequence of this phenomenon; the harvest was scarcely sufficient to supply feed for the following year. Worms, and insects of every kind, multiplied *ad infinitum*, and destroyed the little fruit which the earth yielded. A most dreadful famine prevailed, and the consumption of unwholesome food gave rise to a disorder which carried off one-fourth of the inhabitants of France*.

* Gaillard.

HENRY THE SECOND.

A. D. 1547.] HENRY the Second completed his twenty-eighth year, the very day on which he succeeded to the throne, which was the thirty-first of March; though the ceremony of his coronation did not take place till the twenty-eighth of July. He was possessed of the full vigour both of body and of mind; handsome in his person, but awkward in his manners and address; accomplished in all the martial exercises of the age, but averse from application to business, and from every pursuit which required study and attention*. An ardent admirer of the fair sex, he was grateful to all who favoured his prevailing passion; and as Diana de Poitiers had first initiated him in the school of love, she had acquired an unlimited ascendancy over the mind of the youthful monarch.

Notwithstanding the dying injunctions of his father, Henry hastened to recall the constable Montmorenci, whom he re-established in the possession of all his honours, and to whom he paid the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, the amount of his salary, as constable, during the five years which he had passed in exile. The constable exerted his newly-acquired power for the gratification of his private revenge. The duchess of Etampes, who had greatly contributed to procure his banishment, was the first to feel the effects of his resentment: she was sent back to her husband, and stripped of all the possessions which the profuse bounty of the late monarch had lavished on her. The hotel d'Etampes was given to Diana of Poitiers, and her estate at Chevreuse to the cardinal of Lorraine†. All the old ministers were dismissed, some of them imprisoned, and most of them persecuted. The request of Francis the First to his son to repress

* Brantome.—Matthieu. Mem. de la Vieuville. M.S. de Fontanieu.

† Belcarious.—De Thou.—Additions aux Mem. de Castelreau, par le Laboureur.—M. S. de Bethune.—La Vieuville.

the dangerous ambition of the house of Guise, was equally disregarded with his other injunctions, and that potent family was soon received into favour, and entrusted with the confidence of Henry. To this imprudent conduct may be traced the origin of those factions and leagues which tended, at a subsequent period, to desolate the kingdom. Five different parties were already formed in France; the first of which was headed by Diana of Poitiers; the second, by the constable; the third, by the house of Guise; the fourth, by the marshal St. André; and the fifth, by Catherine of Medicis.

Montmorenci, by being placed at the head of the administration, and by enjoying the two important offices of secretary of war, and secretary for foreign affairs, possessed the means of augmenting the number of his creatures and partisans; but the extreme severity of his disposition, his avarice, and excessive partiality for his numerous relations, disgusted a considerable part of the higher order of nobles. During the preceding reign he had scarcely suffered a single year to pass away, without extending his domains by some new acquisitions. He displayed less ardour in the attainment of titles and honours, than in the acquisition of wealth; and as he was in no haste to procure the dignity of a duke, he had the mortification to see himself preceded in all the public ceremonies by the princes of the house of Guise.

Those princes pursued a very different line of conduct from that which had been adopted by the constable: affable, generous, and more anxious to obtain honours than to accumulate wealth, they sought no other possessions than what they inherited from their ancestors, and titles were the sole objects of their solicitations. Besides the two duchies of Guise and Aumale, they procured the erection of several estates they possessed in the province of Maine into a marquissate, and the barony of Joinville into a principality.

Catharine of Medicis had been married to the king while only duke of Orleans, and when he had barely completed his thirteenth year; she had some time since, brought him a son, who was named Francis; but she was nevertheless holden in contempt, as well by Henry himself, as by all who surrounded him; yet the pliancy of her disposition, and her profound dissimulation, had, at length, enabled her to become the head of a party. By caressing the duchess of Valentinois, whom she detested; by perpetually flattering the pride, and asking the advice of the constable, whom she considered as her greatest enemy; and by stopping at nothing which could, in the smallest degree, promote the object she had in view; she obtained many considerable favours, as well for herself as her partisans.

The rest of the court, or rather the whole nation, were divided between the four first parties, by whose recommendation all military promotions, all offices, civil and ecclesiastical; all pensions and employments, were distributed; so that the king, no longer considered as the fountain of honours and rewards, was holden in little estimation by his subjects.

Francis de Vivonne, lord of Chateigneraie, and Guy de Chabot, lord of Jarnac, both natives of the province of Angoumois, had been introduced at the court of Francis the First, nearly at the same time; one of them was placed in the dauphin's household, and the other in that of the duke of Orleans; and notwithstanding the antipathy which prevailed between their respective masters, and which extended to the partisans and dependants of either prince, these young noblemen had ever preserved a sincere friendship for each other. The whole court was astonished at the magnificence displayed by Jarnac; and la Chateigneraie, who was better acquainted than any one else with the circumstances of his friend, having expressed a wish to know whence he derived his resources, was informed by Jarnac, in confidence, that he was supplied with money by his mother-in-law, with whom he maintained a criminal connection; this report soon reached the ears of Jarnac's father. He immediately sent for his son, who denied the charge, and requested he would instantly accompany him to court, that he might see in what manner he would confound the person who dared to calumniate him. They accordingly repaired thither, and entering the apartment where the court was assembled, young Jarnac exclaimed aloud, *that whoever asserted that he maintained a criminal intercourse with his mother-in-law, was a liar, and a coward.* As la Chateigneraie could not suffer this challenge to remain unanswered without dishonouring himself in the eyes of his master, and, indeed, without exposing the dauphin himself to the imputation of falshood, he boldly replied, that Jarnac had imprudently boasted of that which he now so proudly denied; and that he would extort from him a confession of the fact: it was now resolved that a judicial combat should take place; and the lists were accordingly marked out at Saint German en Laye, where Henry attended in person, and the constable, assisted by the mareschals of France, was judge of the field.

Having observed all the forms prescribed by the laws of chivalry, the two combatants attacked each other sword in hand; la Chateigneraie, who was one of the most robust men of the age, confided in his strength, while Jarnac trusted to his superior agility; the latter, covering his head with his shield, bent beneath the vigorous blows of his adversary, till having watched an opportunity, he aimed two successful strokes at his left ham, which was left uncovered that the motion of his leg might not be impeded. The astonishment of the spectators, when they beheld that warrior whose brows they were in momentary expectation of seeing encircled with the wreath of victory, lay prostrate on the ground, was inexpressible. While la Chateigneraie lay in a state of insensibility, Jarnac approached the scaffold where the king was seated, and falling on his knees, exclaimed, "Sire, I am sufficiently revenged if you believe me innocent. I resign my adversary to you, and entreat you to impute all that has passed entirely to to our own levity and thoughtlessness." He then returned to la Chateigneraie, who had, by this time, recovered his senses, and endeavoured to extort from him an acknowledgment of his innocence; but the wounded warrior rising on his

knees, drew his dagger, and endeavoured to reach his opponent; but his strength failed him, and he again sunk to the ground. Although la Chateigneraie had lost a vast quantity of blood, the surgeons, after examining the wound, expressed their opinion that a cure might easily be effected; but their patient, indignant at the triumph of his adversary, tore off the dressings, and obstinately rejecting all offers of assistance, soon after expired.

The rapaciousness of the leaders of the different factions, by occasioning the creation of many new places, greatly increased the public expenditure, and, of course, caused a deficit in the revenue. As it was deemed impolitic to mark the commencement of a reign by an augmentation of imposts, indirect means for procuring the necessary sum were sought for, and the following adopted:—the value of the mark of gold was raised six livres, twelve sols, six deniers, which made it worth one hundred and seventy-two thousand livres, the mark of silver was raised from fourteen livres ten sols, to fifteen livres: crown lands, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand livres were exposed to sale; the tenths levied on the clergy were doubled; a *free gift* was exacted from the principal towns in the kingdom; and some trifling additions were privately made to the *Gabelle* in the provinces beyond the Loire.

The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at last summoned a general council, which had assembled at Trent, on the thirteenth of December, 1545, and had for the space of fifteen months been employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, in ascertaining her doctrines, and in condemning the tenets of Luther. The French monarch had observed with concern, that the emperor, at whose instigation this assembly had been summoned, assumed a kind of dictatorial authority over the fathers, and sought to render them the instruments of his ambition and policy.

Charles the Fifth had long been accustomed to make religion subservient to his interest: he was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatinate and the elector of Brandenburg from the protestant confederacy: he took arms against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse: he took the former prisoner at the battle of Mulhausen, and treated him in the most unfeeling and inhuman manner: by a base violation of his word, and a dereliction of every principle of honour, he detained the latter captive, after he had granted him a safe-conduct. He seemed to have obtained the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, astonished at his success, and deprived of their usual resources by the death of Francis the First, and Henry the Eighth, were no longer able to withstand his power. Henry indeed, was willing to afford them assistance, but he rather chose to interfere in favour of Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of the late king, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

Henry who was deeply interested in preventing the union of Scotland and England, consented to furnish, at his own expence, the succours required for the defence of the former kingdom, on condition that the Scottish parliament should, by a formal act, decree that their young sovereign should give her hand to the dauphin Francis, who, in consequence of this alliance, should govern both kingdoms. The parliament was accordingly summoned to meet in an abbey, near Haddington, where the proposal of Henry was submitted to their consideration. The arguments were carried on with great warmth and ability on both sides; it was objected by some, that the measure proposed was a desperate one, that it allowed no resource in case of miscarriage; exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners; and involved them in perpetual war with England. On the other hand, it was urged, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desist when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and Henry, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their sovereign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. And as the Scottish clergy dreaded the consequence of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either zeal or interest could inspire, so that it was finally determined to accept the proposals of the king of France.

Henry was no sooner informed of the resolution of the Scottish parliament, than he gave orders for the embarkation of three thousand of his best infantry, to which he joined the same number of Lanfquenets, under the command of the Rhinegrave, and six companies of light horse*. This army was entrusted to the conduct of Andrew Montalembert, lord of Essé.

The fleet which had conveyed these troops to Scotland, was destined to bring back Mary Stuart to France; Leo Strozzi, who commanded it, fearful of being intercepted by the English, if he employed all his ships for that purpose, detached the chevalier Villegagnon, with four galleys, then lying in the Frith of Forth, who set sail as if he intended to return home: but when he reached the open sea, he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton. The young queen was there committed to his care; and being attended by two Scottish noblemen, she put to sea, and, after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after betrothed to the dauphin.

A. D. 1548.] The rapid strides which the emperor continued to make towards the accomplishment of his ambitious projects gave serious inquietude to Henry, who, anxious to persuade the pope to take up arms against Charles, levied an army, with which he entered Italy; but the Roman pontiff was too far advanced in years to think of engaging in a war, and the king himself was speedily compelled to repass the Alps, in order to quell a dangerous sedition which broke

* Oarnier, tom. xxvii. p. 101.

out in Guienne, in consequence of the rapacious conduct of the officers of the revenue employed in collecting the oppressive duties upon salt.

A. D. 1549.] In the month of June, this year, the king made his solemn entry into Paris, where his accession to the throne was celebrated by tilts and tournaments, and by every kind of rejoicing then in vogue; but the chief object of these rejoicings was to collect together all the nobility in the kingdom, in order to accelerate the execution of a project which the confusion that prevailed in the English council had led him to form. Having, accordingly, collected a powerful army, Henry marched from Paris in the month of August, and directed his course towards the Boulonois, which he had resolved to recover by force of arms. He arrived at the place of his destination, and falling on the Boulonois, speedily reduced the forts of Sallacques, Ambleteuse, and Blacquenai, though well supplied with every thing requisite for sustaining a siege. He endeavoured to surprise Boulenburg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he returned to Paris, leaving the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligni, lord of Chatillon, (afterwards so famous by the name of admiral Coligni) who had orders to renew the siege in the spring.

A. D. 1550.] During these transactions, a powerful party had been formed in England against the duke of Somerset, who was, at length, compelled to resign the protectorship. The earl of Warwick, who was now at the head of affairs, finding it necessary to conclude a peace with France, sent over Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, to Paris, to negotiate, in a private manner, with the constable Montmorenci. Preliminaries being settled, the constable sent his nephew, de Coligni; his brother, Francis Montmorenci, lord of Rochepot; Andrew Guillard, lord of Mortier; and William Botchetel, lord of Saffi, secretary of state, to meet the English plenipotentiaries; and, after some discussion, it was agreed to give four hundred thousand crowns for the immediate restitution of Boulogne: one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty, which was signed on the twenty-fourth of March. An agreement, some time after, was formed for a marriage between the king of England and Elizabeth, a daughter of Francis; all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully settled: but this project never took effect.

A. D. 1551.] Meanwhile the council had, by the pope's orders, reassembled at Trent; but many of the Italian prelates being prevented, by this war, or the preparations for it, from repairing to that city on the first of May, the day appointed; the papal legate and nuncios were compelled to adjourn till the first of September, when about sixty prelates, mostly from the ecclesiastical states, or from Spain, were convened*. The session was opened with the accustomed formalities, and the fathers

* *Adriani Istoria*, lib. viii. p. 505, 514, 514.—*Sleidan*, p. 513.—*Paruta*, p. 220.—*Lettere del Caro*, scritte al nome del Cardinale Farnese, tom. ii. p. 2.

were about to proceed to business; when the abbot of Bellocane appeared, and, presenting letters of credence from the French king, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he protested, in the name of his master, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impossible for the deputies from the Gallican church to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and discipline, with the requisite tranquillity; he declared, that his master did not acknowledge this to be a general or œcumenick council, but must consider, and would treat it, as a particular and partial convention. The legate affected to despise this protest; and the prelates proceeded, notwithstanding, to examine and decide the great points in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penance, and extreme unction. This measure of the French monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations.

Early in the winter, Henry entered into a negociation with the Roman pontiff, and soon concluded a truce for two years, that he might be at liberty to direct all his efforts against the emperor. While Charles was employed in subverting the liberties of Germany, Maurice, duke of Saxony, cousin to the deposed elector, and a protestant prince himself, had, from motives of interest, seconded his designs, and acquired his favour: but he was no sooner invested with the spoils of his degrading kinsman, than he resolved to rescue them from the caprice of a master whom he dreaded, and more firmly to establish a religion, the exercise of which he had contributed to restrain. He secretly negociated a new confederacy of the protestants, and he earnestly courted the assistance of Henry to oppose the despotism which Charles laboured to establish.

John de Freffe, bishop of Bayonne, whom Henry had sent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to negotiate with Maurice and his associates; and a formal treaty was, accordingly, concluded on the fifth of October*. The preparatory negotiations for this treaty were conducted with such profound secrecy, that, of all the princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated his plans only to two of them, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh, and William of Hesse, the Langrave's eldest son. The league itself was no less anxiously concealed, and with such fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the emperor or his ministers; nor do they seem to have conceived the most distant suspicion of such a transaction†.

A. D. 1552.] The king hastened to make the necessary preparations for fulfilling the engagements he had contracted, but he found an extreme difficulty in raising a sufficient sum for defraying the expences of his expedition. The war in Italy had already exhausted the treasury, and compelled the government to have recourse to exactions both odious and onerous. He now opened a loan at Lyons; and demanded a free gift from the city of Paris, in return for which he granted a duty of two sols six deniers on every hoghead of wine introduced into the capital. But

* Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 340.

† Robertson.

these expedients proving insufficient, he had recourse to others of greater extent and importance. By the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, he instituted sixty new courts of justice in the different towns of the kingdom, by which means nearly six hundred offices were exposed to sale*. The king also obtained from the clergy a promise of three millions of livres, payable in six months, on condition that he should pass an edict, restoring to the ecclesiastical courts the same degree of power which they enjoyed previous to the year 1539; the money was paid, and the edict passed; but the parliament refusing to register it, it was not enforced. A farther sum was raised by the erection of other new offices, as well in the court of aids, as in the chamber of accounts.

Henry having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, during his absence, took the road to Champagne, where his army was assembled. It consisted of fifteen thousand French infantry; nine thousand Lanfquenets; seven thousand Swiss; fifteen hundred lances; two hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers of the king's household-troops; twelve hundred horse-arquebusers; two thousand light-horse; two thousand militia, and five hundred English knights, sent by Edward to the assistance of his intended father-in-law†. As soon as the troops were ready to march, Henry published a manifesto, in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, both descended from the same ancestors, and, after mentioning the applications which, in consequence of this, some of the most illustrious of the German princes had made to him for his protection; he declared that he now took arms to re-establish the ancient constitution of the empire, to deliver some of its princes from captivity, and to secure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanic body.

So early as the fifteenth of March, the French, having entered Lorraine, laid siege to Toul, which opened its gates at their approach; Verdun followed the example. Their forces next appeared before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent stratagem of the constable Montmorenci, who having obtained permission to pass through it with a small guard, introduced as many troops as were sufficient to overpower the garrison, was likewise seized without bloodshed. Henry, who had hitherto been detained at Joinville by the illness of his queen, now joined the army. He left a strong garrison in Metz, under the command of the lord of Gonnor, brother to the marshal de Brissac, with orders to repair and strengthen, without delay, the fortifications of that city. From thence Henry advanced into Alsace, as far as Strasbourg, and demanded leave of the senate to march through the city. But the Strasburgers, instructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortunes of their neighbours, shut their gates, and having assembled a garrison of five thousand soldiers, repaired their fortifications, raised the houses in their suburbs, and determined to defend themselves to the utmost. At the same time they sent a deputation of their most respectable citizens to the king, in order to divert him from making any hos-

* De Thou.—Recueil d'Ordonn.—Regist. † De Thou—Matthieu—Rabutin—Paradin—Sleidan—Dom Calmet, Historie de Lorraine—Garnier.

tile attempt upon them. The Swiss cantons seconded them with zeal, soliciting Henry to spare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendship and alliance.

Powerful as this united intercession was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of so much value, had he been in a condition to seize it. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to suffer from scarcity of provisions, and had not sufficient magazines collected to support them during a siege, which must necessarily have been of great length. At the same time, the queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, had assembled a considerable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Rossem, laid waste Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. These concurring circumstances obliged the king, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprise. But being willing to acquire some merit with his allies by this retreat, which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiss that he had taken the resolution merely in compliance with their request*; and then, after giving orders that all the horses in his army should be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of having pushed his conquests so far, he marched back towards Champagne.

Maurice had published his manifesto, and taken the field at the same time with Henry, and after a variety of successful manœuvres, compelled the emperor, who was unable to check the rapidity of his progress, to evacuate Inspruck with a slender train, and under cover of the night; and that monarch fled with precipitation before the arms of Maurice as far as Villach in Carinthia, on the frontier of the Venetian territories.

While the king and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was entrusted with the command of a separate body of eight thousand men, consisting chiefly of mercenaries, who had resorted to his standard rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay.

Meantime the emperor, alarmed at the powerful confederacy which had been formed against him, and wholly unprepared to resist the united efforts of his enemies, expressed a willingness to listen to terms of accommodation; and conferences were accordingly opened at Passau, at which most of the protestant princes and deputies from the free cities attended, and where Charles was represented by his brother, Ferdinand, king of the Romans. After much discussion, during which the emperor had raised up numerous obstacles to the conclusion of a peace, Maurice left Passau abruptly, and joining his troops, which were encamped at Mergentheim in Franconia, he put them in motion, and renewed hostilities. At three thousand men in the emperor's pay had thrown themselves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infest the neighbouring country of Hesse, he marched towards that city, and laid siege to it in form. The briskness of this enterprise, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches against the town, gave such an alarm to the emperor, that he lent a favourable ear to the

* Sleidan, p. 557.—Brantome, tom. vii. p. 39.

arguments which his brother advanced in behalf of an accomodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it necessary to bend, and signified his disposition to make concessions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate somewhat of the rigour of his demands. Maurice, equally desirous of an accomodation, complied with the proposal, and after a long consultation with his associates, he signed, on the second of August, the treaty of peace, of which the chief articles were—That the confederates shall lay down their arms, and disband their forces; that the landgrave of Hesse shall be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety to his castle of Rheinfels; that the protestants shall not molest the catholics, either in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; that the Imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and protestants be admitted indiscriminately with the catholics to sit as judges in that court; that Albert of Brandenburg shall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he shall accede to it, and disband his forces before the twelfth of August*.

Such was the memorable treaty of Passau, that overturned the vast fabric, in the erection of which Charles had employed so many years, and had exerted the utmost efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority absolute and hereditary in his family: and established the protestant church, which had hitherto subsisted precariously in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and secure basis.

The interests of Henry had been little attended to during the negotiations at Passau. Maurice and his associates having attained their object, discovered no great solicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they deemed overpaid for the assistance he had afforded them, by his acquisitions in Lorraine. But how much soever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they hastened to make their peace with the emperor at his expence, he was perfectly sensible it was more his interest to keep well with the Germanic body, than to resent the indignities offered him by any particular members of it. For that reason he dismissed the hostages which he had received from Maurice and his associates, and affected to talk in the same strain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient constitution and liberties of the empire.

On the other hand, the empire had now lost as much, in point of security, as France had acquired, and being stripped of the defence which those cities afforded it, lay exposed to invasion on a quarter, where all the towns having been considered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but slightly fortified. Charles was influenced by these considerations to attempt the recovery of the three towns which Henry had reduced; and the preparations which he had made against Maurice and his associates, enabled him to carry his resolution into immediate execution.

The peace therefore, was no sooner concluded at Passau, than he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augsburg, at the head of a considerable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To these he added several battalions which had been dismissed by the confederates, and prevailed also on some princes of the empire to join him with their vassals. In order to conceal the destination of this formidable army, and to guard against alarming the French, so as to lead them to prepare for their defence, he gave out that he meant to march to Hungary, in order to second Maurice in his operations, who had engaged in an expedition against the Turks. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he had recourse to new artifices, and spread a report, that he took this route in order to chastise Albert of Brandenburg, whose destructive incursions and cruel exactions in that part of the empire, called loudly for his interposition.

But Henry immediately discerned the true object of his vast preparations, and resolved to defend the important conquests which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foresaw that the principal efforts of the Imperialists would be directed against Metz, by whose fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, to take the command of that city during the siege. The character and conduct of this nobleman fully justified his choice; he repaired with joy to the dangerous station assigned him; while the martial genius of the French nobility, which led them to disdain a life of inactivity, when an opportunity occurred for the acquisition of honour, prompted great numbers to follow a leader. Several princes of the blood, many noblemen of the highest rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the king's permission, entered Metz as volunteers. By their presence they added spirit to the garrison, and enabled the duke of Guise to employ, on every emergency, persons eager to distinguish themselves, and fit to conduct any service.

But with whatever alacrity the duke of Guise undertook the defence of Metz; he found every thing, upon his arrival there, in such a situation, as might have induced any person of less zeal and intrepidity to despair of defending it with success. The city was of great extent, with large suburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; and the ditch was narrow, and the old towers, which projected instead of bastions, were at too great distance from each other to defend the space between them. For all these defects he endeavoured to provide the best remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the suburbs, without sparing the monasteries or churches, not even that of Saint Arnulph, in which several kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but, in order to guard against the imputation of impiety, to which such a violation of so many sacred edifices, as well as of the ashes of the dead, might expose him, he executed it with much religious ceremony.

He then pulled down such houses as stood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was necessary that all these works should be finished with the utmost expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands; the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the soldiers submitted with cheerfulness to the most extreme fatigues, when they saw that their superiors did not decline to bear a part with them. At the same time he compelled all useless persons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores; burnt the mills, and destroyed the corn and forage, for several miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his art of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens seconded him with no less ardour than the soldiers; and every other passion being swallowed up in the zeal to repulse the enemy, with which he inspired them, they beheld the ruin of their estates, together with the havoc which he made among their public and private buildings, without any emotion of resentment*.

The emperor, meantime, having collected all his troops, continued his march to Metz. As he passed through the cities on the Rhine, he saw the dismal effects of those destructive depredations which Albert had committed in those parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of twenty thousand men, withdrew into Lorraine, as if it were his intention to join Henry, whose arms he had quartered with his own in all his standards and ensigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops, which amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men, forming one of the most numerous and best-appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars between the princes of Christendom.†

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, assisted by the marquis of Marignano, together with the most experienced of the Italian and Spanish generals. These officers represented the danger of beginning at such an advanced season—the month of October being nearly expired—a siege which could not fail to prove very tedious. Charles, however, rejected their advice; and, relying on the strength of his preparations, and the efficacy of his precautions, he ordered the city to be invested. As soon as the duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French sallied out and attacked his van-guard with great vigour, threw it into confusion, and killed or took prisoners a great number of men. The place, notwithstanding this check, was completely invested by the Imperialists, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

The attention both of the besiegers and besieged was turned, for some time, towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they strove, with emulation, which should gain that prince, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the un-

* De Thou, tom. xi. p. 387.—Salignac, Journal.—Rabutin.—Histoire de Lorraine, par Dom Calmet.—Fontanieu.

† Natalis Comes.—Robertson.

certainly of resolution natural to a man, who, being swayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of interest. He marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this service, and the great accession of strength which he brought him, granted Albert a formal pardon of all past offences, and confirmed him in the possession of the territories which he had violently usurped during the war.

The duke of Guise harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies, in which his officers were so eager to distinguish themselves, that his authority was scarcely sufficient to restrain the impetuosity of their courage. He repaired in the night whatever damage the enemy's artillery had effected during the day. The Imperialists, on their part, pushed on the attack with great spirit, and carried forward approaches against different parts of the town at the same time. The besiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progress; and although breaches were effected by their batteries in various places, they were astonished by the sudden appearance of works, the demolition of which would require a renewal of all their dangers and fatigues. The emperor, enraged at the obstinate resistance which his army experienced, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and, though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that, by his presence, he might animate the soldiers, and urge on the attack with greater spirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour.

The winter, however, had by this time set in with extreme rigour. Diseases began to spread among the soldiers, especially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to such inclement weather; so that great numbers were rendered unfit for service, and many died. Charles resolved to hazard a general assault, in spite of the remonstrances of his generals, concerning the imprudence of attacking a numerous garrison, conducted and animated by the most gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diseases, and disheartened with ill success. The duke of Guise, suspecting the enemy's intentions, from the extraordinary hurry he observed in their camp, ordered all his troops to their respective posts. They immediately appeared on the walls and behind the breaches, with such a determined countenance, so eager for the combat, and so well prepared to give the assailants a warm reception, that the Imperialists, instead of advancing to the charge, when the word of command was given, stood motionless, in a timid dejected silence. The emperor perceiving the impossibility of trusting troops whose spirits were so much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deserted by his soldiers, who no longer deserved the name of men*.

Deeply as Charles was mortified and affected by the conduct of his troops, he would not consent to abandon the siege, though he perceived the necessity of changing the mode of attack. He suspended the fury of his batteries, and proposed to proceed by the more secure but tedious method of sapping. But as it still continua-

* De Thou, p. 397.—Robertson.

ed to rain or snow incessantly, such as were employed in this service endured incredible hardships: and the duke of Guise, whose industry was equal to his valour, discovering all their mines, counterworked them, and prevented their effect. At last, Charles, finding it impossible to contend any longer with the rigour of the season, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor subdue with art; while at the same time, a contagious distemper raged among the troops, and daily cut off great numbers of the officers as well as soldiers, yielded to the solicitations of his generals, who conjured him to save the remains of his army by a timely retreat: "Fortune,"—said he—"I now perceive resembles other females, and chooses to confer her favours on young men, while she forsakes those who are advanced in years."

On the twenty-sixth of October, Charles gave orders to raise the siege, and submitted to the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise, after having continued fifty-six days before the town, during which time he lost upwards of thirty thousand men, who died of diseases, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guise, as soon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialists, took measures to molest them on their march, and sent out several bodies of cavalry and infantry to infest them on their rear, to pick up stragglers, and to seize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confusion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the most cruel manner. But when they sallied out, a spectacle presented itself to their view, which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into tenderness and compassion. The Imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape, beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no farther, to perish without assistance. This they received from their enemies, to whom they were indebted for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guise immediately ordered proper refreshments for such as were dying of hunger; he appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; he removed such as could bear removal into the adjacent villages; and those who would have suffered by being carried so far, he admitted into the hospitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own soldiers. As soon as they recovered, he sent them home under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By these acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and animosity than at present, the duke of Guise completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and successful defence of Metz, and engaged those whom he had vanquished to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name*.

In Italy the Sinese threw off the Imperial yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of France, so that this was the most disastrous year in the life of Charles the Fifth, and the most glorious in that of Henry.

* Pere Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. iii. p. 392.—Natalis Comes.

A. D. 1553.] Maurice and his associates were inclined to listen to the overtures of the king of France, from the perfidious conduct of the emperor at this period, who encouraged the destructive depredations and other violent proceedings of Albert of Brandenburg.—That prince's troops having shared in the calamities of the siege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number; but the emperor, less from gratitude for his services on that occasion, than from his desire to foment divisions among the princes of the empire, having paid all the money due to him, he was enabled with that sum to hire so many of the soldiers dismissed from the Imperial army, that he was soon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever.

The Imperial chamber now issued its decree against this dangerous usurper, Albert, and required the elector of Saxony, together with several other princes, to take arms in order to enforce its execution. Maurice, and those associated with him, were not unwilling to undertake this service, since they were convinced that the emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings, and secretly afforded him assistance, that, by raising him up to rival Maurice in power, he might, in any future broil, make use of him to counterbalance and controul the authority which the other had acquired in the empire*.

The confederacy formed against Albert wrought no change in his sentiments; but as he knew that he could not resist so many princes if he should allow them time to assemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and, for that reason, marched directly against Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded most. It was happy for the allies, that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a prince of such abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inspired them with vigour; and having carried on their preparations with greater rapidity than could have been expected, he was in condition to face Albert, before he could make any considerable progress.

Their armies, which were nearly equal in number, each consisting of twenty-four thousand men, met at Sieverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animosity against each other, which possessed the two leaders, did not suffer them to continue long inactive. The troops, inflamed with the same hostile rage, marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greatest obstinacy; and, as both generals were capable of availing themselves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At last, victory declared for Maurice, who was superior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand dead in the field; and their camp, baggage, and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors.

The emperor, meanwhile, impatient to efface the stain which his ignominious repulse at Metz left upon his military reputation, took the field early in the spring, and entering the Low Countries with a powerful army, laid siege to T rouenne.

* Sleidan, p. 585—Memoires de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 442—Arnolpi vita Mauricii apud Menken, tom. ii. p. 1242—

Though the town was of such importance, that Francis used to call it one of the two pillows on which a king of France might sleep with security, the fortifications were out of repair, and the garrison consisted of only one troop of light-horse, under the command of the lord of Losses, who was governor of the place, and three companies of foot. The constable jealous of the glory acquired by the duke of Guise in the defence of Metz, procured for his eldest son, Francis Montmorenci, the appointment of lieutenant-general of T rouenne; and the celebrated d'Eff , who had signalized his courage and military conduct in the expulsion of the English from Scotland, was given him as an assistant in the arduous enterprise. D'Eff  was afflicted with the jaundice, and when he went to take leave of the king, Henry expressed his concern at the languid and debilitated state to which he seemed to be reduced; to which the gallant veteran replied — "*When your majesty shall receive intelligence of the reduction of T rouenne, you may safely affirm that d'Eff  is cured of the jaundice.*" D'Eff  conducted a strong reinforcement, and ample supplies, which entered the town without loss or molestation; and from this first success it was generally believed at court, that the emperor was preparing for himself at T rouenne the same affront which he had sustained at Metz.

The siege of T rouenne still continued: d'Eff  when he entered the town, found the enemy's batteries completed, and all the posts so well fortified that it was impossible to attack them with any prospect of success. The trenches were opened, and extended to the very walls of the place: in vain did d'Eff  make continual sallies, by day and night; in vain did he effect a partial destruction of their works, and bring off in triumph several pieces of artillery which greatly incommoded the garrison; inconveniences were speedily remedied by the Imperialists; and the emperor had such a prodigious quantity of artillery at his command, that one piece was no sooner taken or destroyed, than three or four others appeared in its place, owing to the zeal of the Flemings, who were so anxious to have the town reduced, that sooner than suffer the army to be in want of pioneers, they would have deserted their cities, and left their fields untilled. A practicable breach being effected, the Imperialists, on the twelfth of June, delivered a general assault, which lasted four hours, when they were repulsed with the loss of twelve or fifteen hundred men: the besieged lost only three hundred, but among the slain was their brave commander d'Eff , who closed a life of military toil in the field of honour. Young Montmorenci, who, though his equal in rank, had cheerfully consented to fight under his orders, now became commander in chief: he immediately assembled Losses, Fumel, Contai, Renti, Wart, la Chapelle, and all the principal officers, who unanimously agreed to follow the example of d'Eff , and bury themselves beneath the ruins of the place. They were confirmed in the heroic resolution by the unexpected arrival of three hundred arquebusiers, sent by the duke of Vend me, and of thirty young noblemen, who had obtained permission to serve as volunteers in this chosen band: among these

gallant gentlemen, history has preserved the names of Baugé, Dampierre, la Roue, Bailleul, Vieuxmaisons, and Rambure.*

Elated with success, the Imperialists immediately invested Hesdin, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewise taken by assault, and such of the garrison as escaped the sword was taken prisoners. Charles entrusted the conduct of this siege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who, on that occasion, gave the first display of those great talents for military command, which soon entitled him to be ranked amongst the first generals of his age.

The losses which France had sustained, and by which the emperor had assumed his wonted superiority in the field, were ascribed to the extreme jealousy and precaution of the constable, in refusing to appoint a commander in chief of the troops, or to put the army in motion, till he had secured a decisive superiority.†

In Italy the French arms were more successful; Charles having exerted himself to the utmost to make a great effort in the Low Countries, his operations on the other side of the Alps were proportionably feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Cosmo di Medicis, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Sienna, endeavoured to become master of that city; but instead of reducing the Siennese, the Imperialists were obliged to retire with precipitation, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkish fleet, which threatened the coast of Naples; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but, by the assistance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the island of Corsica, subject, at that time to the Genoese.

A. D. 1554, 1555.] Henry observed the progress of the emperor's negotiation in England with much uneasiness. The great accession of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his son with the queen of such a powerful kingdom, was obvious and formidable. For this reason the king gave it in charge to Anthony de Noailles, his ambassador at the court of London, to employ all his address in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any prince of the blood in France whom he could propose to the queen as a husband, he instructed him to co-operate with such of the English as wished their sovereign to marry one of his own subjects. But the queen's ardour and precipitation rendered all his endeavours ineffectual.

The duke of Nevers reduced and demolished the fort of Jodiner, with the castles of Orcimont, Beaurain, Fument, and Hierges; while the marshal de St. André, with a detachment of six thousand Swiss and two thousand cavalry, laid siege to Mariembourg, a town which the king of Hungary, governor of the Low Countries, had fortified at a great expence; but being destitute of a sufficient garrison, it surrendered in six days. Henry, elated with this success, put himself

* Memoires de Villars.

† Haraeus, Annales Brabant.

at the head of his army, and investing Bouvines, took it by assault, after a short resistance. With equal facility he became master of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The vast sums which the emperor had remitted into England, for the purpose of securing the leading men in his interest, with regard to the marriage of his son, had so exhausted his treasury, as to render his preparations at this juncture slower and more dilatory than usual. He had no body of troops to oppose the French at their first entrance into his territories; and though he hastened to collect all the forces in the country, and gave the command of them to the duke of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy so far superior in number. The duke, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a distance, and by chusing his own posts with skill, he put it out of their power either to form any siege of consequence, or to attack him. Want of subsistence soon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country in the most cruel and licentious manner.

The emperor had resolved, if possible, to avoid a decisive action, but, notwithstanding all his precautions, a dispute about a post, which both armies endeavoured to seize, brought on an engagement, on the thirteenth of August, which proved almost general. The object of dispute was a wood, which commanded one part of the French camp, and in which the duke of Guise, foreseeing the emperor's intentions, had judiciously posted, in an advantageous situation, several companies of arquebusiers, who successfully repelled the first body of troops that were sent to dislodge them. Charles, however, being resolved to carry his point, detached from his army three thousand Spanish arquebusiers, under the conduct of Gonzaga, and two thousand light horse, headed by the duke of Savoy. The duke of Guise, thus overawed by a superior force withdrew the troops he had stationed in the wood, and sent word to the king to prepare the army for action, while he endeavoured to retard the enemy's march as much as possible, he placed himself at the head of his company of one hundred lances. The count of Schwatzemberg, meantime, continued to advance at the head of two thousand foot, all veterans. This formidable corps was twice attacked by the French light horse, under the conduct of the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who were speedily repulsed: but Gaspard de Saulx Tavannes, at the head of his company of fifty lances, charged them with such fury, both in front and flank, that he made them give way, and then, by mixing among them, complexed their disorder; being first supported by the duke of Guise, and afterwards by the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who, having rallied, their men, returned a third time to the charge, he was enabled to pursue his advantage; and the Germans falling back on a regiment of Lansquenets which had been sent to their support, fled for shelter to the wood. Meanwhile the admiral de Coligny, at the head of the French and Swiss infantry, after receiving the first fire of Gonzaga's arquebusiers, ordered his men to charge with their pikes, by which

means the enemy were routed, and pursued to the farther extremity of the wood. In this action two hundred of the French were slain, the loss of the Imperialists amounted to fifteen hundred or two thousand men.* Both armies passed the night under arms : that of the emperor, from the expectation that the conqueror would be induced to pursue his advantage ; and that of Henry, because, as they were situated in an open field, and destitute of entrenchments, they had every thing to dread from an attack during the night. The constable, who went to reconnoitre it the next morning, declared the impossibility of attacking it, with any prospect of success ; and as it would have been extremely imprudent to make an assault upon the town of Renti, in sight of a numerous army, it was determined, in a council of war, that the troops should return to Picardy ; and, in order that this retreat might not wear the appearance of a flight, the king sent a herald to inform the emperor that he would wait for him the next day on the field of action, during four hours ; and that, on his arrival at the first place where forage could be procured, he would again wait for him during four days.

The campaign of 1555 was neither conducted with spirit nor effect ; both parties being too much exhausted to bring any considerable army into the field. During the siege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Franciscans in that city, had insinuated himself into the esteem of the duke of Guise, by his attachment to the French ; and the duke, in return for the services he had rendered him, in procuring intelligence of the motions and designs of the enemies, had strongly recommended him to Vielleville, who was appointed to the government of Metz. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers, or from resentment against the French, who had not rewarded him according to his own opinion of his deserts, or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him to imagine that he might carry on and accomplish any scheme with perfect security, formed a design of betraying Metz to the Imperialists.

Leonard accomplished, with great secrecy and dispatch, every thing which he had undertaken to perform ; but, happily for France, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a spy, whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciscan friars resorted frequently thither, and were admitted to many private conferences with the governor, who was making great preparations for some military enterprize. This intelligence having awakened Vielleville's suspicions, he instantly visited the convent of Franciscans, and detected the foldiers who were concealed there ; the father-guardian was also seized, on his return from Thionville ; and he, in order to escape the rack, revealed all the circumstances of the conspiracy.

Vielleville, not content with having frustrated the nefarious machinations of these traitors, was solicitous to avail himself of the discoveries which he had made,

* Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 522.

so as to be revenged on the Imperialists. For this purpose, he marched out with the best troops in his garrison, and placing these in ambush near the road, by which the father-guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell with great fury upon the Imperialists, who, confounded at this sudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to surprize, made little resistance; and a great part of the troops employed in this service, among which were many persons of distinction, was killed or taken prisoners before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

On the twenty-third of March, this year, pope Julius the Third died, and was succeeded in the papal throne, by Macellus Cervino, cardinal of Santa Croce, who enjoyed his new dignity only twenty days. All the refinements in artifice and intrigue peculiar to conclaves, were displayed in that which was holden for the election of a successor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the French and Imperial factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the necessary number of suffrages for one of their own party. But, after a struggle of no long duration, though conducted with great warmth and eagerness, they united in chusing John Peter Caraffa, the eldest member of the sacred college, and the son of count Montorio; a nobleman of an illustrious family in the kingdom of Naples. In order to testify his respect for the memory of Paul the Third, by whom he had been created cardinal, he assumed the name of Paul the Fourth. The new pontiff, at the instigation of his nephews, proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the king of France, and the treaty was accordingly concluded on the fifteenth of December: the conditions were much the same as had been proposed by the pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole transaction secret until their united forces should be ready to take the field.

During the negotiation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened, which seemed to render the fears which had given rise to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unnecessary. This was the emperor's resignation of his hereditary dominions to his son Philip; together with his resolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in business or the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude. At Brussels this extraordinary renunciation was made; and Charles only retained for himself the Imperial dignity, which, about a year afterwards, he relinquished to his brother Ferdinand, the king of the Romans.

A. D. 1556.] Charles sensible of the importance of peace, at the commencement of a reign, he was anxious to conclude an accommodation with Henry. By a long truce, during the subsistence of which, and without discussing their respective claims, each should retain what was in his possession. Charles declared warmly for closing with the overture, though manifestly dishonourable as well as disadvantageous; and such was the respect due to his wisdom and experience, that Philip, notwithstanding his unwillingness to purchase peace by such concessions, did not presume to urge his opinion in opposition to that of his father.

Henry could not have hesitated one moment about giving his consent to a truce on such conditions as would leave him in quiet possession of the duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conquests which he had made on the frontiers of Germany. But it was no easy matter to reconcile such a step with the engagements which he had recently contracted, by his late treaty with the pope. The constable Montmorenci, however, represented, in such strong terms the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to these rash obligations, and took such advantage of the absence of the cardinal of Lorraine, who was anxious to maintain his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, naturally fluctuating and unsteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice last given him, authorized his ambassadors to sign, on the fifth of February, a treaty of truce for five years, on the terms which had been proposed : * but that he might not seem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, whom he foresaw would be highly exasperated, he, in order to soothe him, took care that he should be expressly included in the truce.

Under these circumstances, Paul had recourse to the arts of negotiation and intrigue : he affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a stop to the effusion of human blood : and he offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed cardinal Rebiba, his nuncio to the court of Brussels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The public instructions given to both were the same ; that they should exert themselves to the utmost to prevail on the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-established, and measures taken for assembling a general council. But Caraffa received a private commission to solicit Henry to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the holy see ; and he was empowered to spare neither entreaties nor promises, nor bribes in order to gain that point.

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp ; and having presented a consecrated sword to Henry, as the protector, on whose aid the pope relied in the present exigency, he besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This represented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of justice. As the pope, from confidence in the assistance and support which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken such steps as had irritated the king of Spain, he conjured Henry not to suffer Paul and his family to be crushed under the weight of that resentment which they had drawn on themselves merely by their attachment to France.

These arguments made a deep impression on Henry ; but reverence for the oath, by which he had so lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles, together with the extreme old age of the pope, whose death might occasion a total revolution in the political system of Italy ; kept him for some time in suspense. The cardinal, however, had expedients ready for removing these obstacles. To obviate the

king's scruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the pope to absolve him from the obligation of it.

The cardinal having had the art to secure in his interest not only the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, but even Catharine of Medicis and her rival, the duchess of Valentinois, they, by their solicitations, easily swayed the king, whose secret inclinations were favourable to their design. The prudent remonstrances of Montmorenci were treated with neglect; the nuncio absolved Henry from his oath; and he signed a new league with the pope, which kindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low Countries.

A. D. 1557.] Preparations, meanwhile, had been making in France for affording effectual assistance to Paul; and on the twenty-fifth of January the duke of Guise arrived at Turin, and strengthened his army with fifteen hundred foot and three hundred light horse, part of the forces commanded by the marshal de Brissac, he proceeded to Regio, where he had a conference with the duke of Ferrara and the cardinal Caraffa, after which he accompanied the latter to Rome. On his arrival at that city he found the pope profuse in professions, but slow in the performance of his promises; neither the pecuniary nor military aids which he had engaged to furnish, were ready. The duke of Guise soon perceived that his hopes of success must entirely depend on his own exertions: he took the field with an army consisting of five hundred men at arms; eight or nine hundred light-horse, and from thirteen to fourteen thousand foot; * he opened the campaign by the reduction of Campoli, which he resigned to pillage, and then advancing to the Neapolitan frontiers, laid siege to Civitella. Twice he made a general assault on the town, and as often was repulsed; the neglect or treachery of the Caraffas had rendered him destitute of the means of prolonging the siege, and the unexpected approach of the duke of Alva compelled him to resign all hopes of conquest, and to confine himself to the defence of the capital.

Henry, meanwhile, had recalled a part of the veteran troops which served under the marshal de Brissac in Piedmont, and had sent repeated orders to the duke of Guise to bring back his army, with all possible expedition, to France. Alarmed at the progress of the enemy, he had ordered the citizens of Paris to take arms, and when they were reviewed by the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, they were found to amount to forty thousand men, properly equipped for the field. Fortifications were also begun to be erected for the protection of the capital; but the arrival of the lord of Termes, a veteran officer, from Italy, put a stop to the works. After viewing the state of the frontiers, he was of opinion, that Paris was secure from insult, and that the money about to be expended there, might be better employed in Picardy. The metropolis was still covered by three towns of great strength; La Fère, Compiègne and Loan; and by an entrenched camp on the river Oise, capable of containing one hundred thousand men, and in which

* Garnier:

the troops assembled by the duke of Nevers were supposed to be in greater safety than in any town in the kingdom.

The duke of Guise was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill-success in Italy seemed to be forgotten, while his former services, particularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praise; and he was welcomed in every city through which he passed, as the restorer of public security, who, after having set bounds, by his conduct and valour, to the victorious arms of Charles the Fifth, returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progress of Philip's power. The reception which he experienced from Henry was no less cordial and honourable: He was appointed lieutenant general in chief, both within and without the kingdom, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited, and little inferior to that which was possessed by the king himself. The duke of Nevers, who had, for a time, enjoyed the dignity of commander in chief, resigned, without a murmur, his station to his rival. After having, during several months, by his exertions, his prudence, and the voluntary sacrifice of his property, sustained the falling fortunes of the state, he saw another preparing to reap the fruits of his labours; but, so far from being actuated by envy, he consented to serve under the duke of Guise.

By the arrival of ten thousand Germans, as many Swiss, the veteran bands from Piedmont, and the troops which had served under the duke of Guise in Italy, Henry had collected an army so formidable, he was resolved it should not remain inactive during the winter. A secret council was therefore called to settle the plan of operations, when Henry, to the surprise of all present, proposed the reduction of the city of Calais. The duke of Guise at first exclaimed against the scheme as impracticable. The plan, however, was not hastily conceived, nor was Henry the author of it. Sênarpont, governor of Boulogne, a man of great knowledge in the art of fortifying towns and taking plans, had availed himself of the short interval of peace between France and England, to visit Calais, and to examine the fortifications as closely as he could, without laying himself open to suspicion. What information he was unable to procure himself, he obtained by means of his emissaries. He had particularly observed that it was the custom of the English to dismiss the greater part of the garrison towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the spring, in order to save expence; and he judged, therefore, that the winter would be the only season to make any attempt on it. The duke of Guise consented to make the experiment, but without being answerable for the event, from the conviction, that in an operation so complicated, the smallest accident might overturn the whole plan.

A. D. 1558.] While the duke of Guise was employed in making preparations for his intended expedition, the states-general assembled in Paris, and after some deliberation consented to grant the king three millions of crowns of gold, one third of which the clergy agreed to advance as a free gift. The duke of Guise having, at length, assembled his troops, sent the duke of Nevers, with the greater part of the army, towards Luxembourg, as if his intention had been to penetrate

into that province; while he placed himself at the head of a second division, and took the road to Picardy, under pretence of visiting the different towns, and reinforcing the garrisons. After amusing the enemy with threatening successively different places on the frontiers of Flanders, the two divisions joined, when the duke of Guise suddenly turned to the left, and invested Calais with his whole army. As the country adjacent to the city was overflowed during the winter, the marshes around it became impassible, except by one avenue, which the forts of Saint Agatha and Newnham-bridge commanded. The duke, sensible that the success of his enterprise depended on conducting his operations with such rapidity as would afford the English no time for throwing relief into the town by sea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land he pushed the attack with a *degree of* vigour little known in carrying on sieges during that age. He drove the English from fort Saint Agatha at the first assault; he obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnham-bridge, after defending it three days; he took the castle which commanded the harbour by storm; and, on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to surrender, as his feeble garrison, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with fatigue of sustaining so many attacks, and defending such extensive works.

The duke of Guise, without allowing the English time to recover from the consternation occasioned by this blow, immediately invested Guisness, the garrison of which, though more numerous, defended itself with less vigour, and, after standing one brisk assault, gave up the town. The castle of Hames was abandoned by the troops posted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Henry imitated the policy of its former conquerer, with regard to Calais. He commanded all the English inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houses to his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garrison, under the gallant officer the marechal de Termes, for their defence. After this, his victorious army went into quarters of refreshment, and the usual inaction of winter returned.

By this event the duke of Guise acquired new consideration and importance; but though the marriage of his niece to the heir apparent of the crown raised him so far beyond the condition of other subjects, as seemed to render the credit which he had gained by his splendid achievements no less permanent than it was extensive, yet he soon perceived the difficulty of insinuating himself into the confidence of the king, which seemed to be monopolized by the constable. The faults and the misfortunes of Montmorenci, far from weakening Henry's esteem and attachment for that minister, had only served to give them additional energy. Henry even submitted to the voluntary degradation of serving his friend in the capacity of a spy; informing him daily of every thing that was said and done to his prejudice. The duchess of Valentinois, enraged at the conduct of the Guises, who began to treat her with disdain, in order to obtain the good graces of Catharine of Medicis, supported, to the utmost of her power, the tottering faction of the constable, and contributed, in no small degree, to the preservation of his influence. Some letters, forming a part of this

secret correspondence, are still extant in the royal library at Paris, written partly by the king and partly by the dukes, and subscribed "*Your old and best friends Diana and Henry*.*"

When the campaign opened, however, soon after the dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guise was placed at the head of the army, with the same unlimited power as before. Henry had received such liberal supplies from his subjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhausted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to dismiss so many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head against the enemy. The duke of Guise did not lose the favourable opportunity which his superiority afforded him; urged by Vielleville, governor of Metz, who had long entertained spies in the town, and obtained every necessary information, he invested Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France, by its vicinity to Metz; and notwithstanding the obstinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate on the twenty-second of June, after a siege of three weeks.

But the success of this enterprise, which it was expected would lead to other conquests, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The marshal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without opposition, with an army consisting of six hundred light-horse, and from six to seven thousand infantry†, seized and pillaged the town of Bergue-Saint-Vincent, and then investing Dunkirk, took it by storm, on the fifth day of the siege. The marshal perceiving that the soldiers, solely intent on preserving the rich booty they had acquired, neglected all military discipline, took the precaution to send it to Calais; and at the same time wrote to the king, to inform him that Dunkirk, from its advantageous situation, might, in a short time, and at a little expence, be rendered a place of importance. Unhappily for France, Henry had, at this period, no person near him with whom he could advise on the business; for the cardinal of Lorraine, who officiated as prime minister, was totally ignorant of all military concerns. At the expiration of twelve days the king's answer arrived, containing a permission to the marshal to fortify Dunkirk, for which purpose the sum of two thousand crowns were remitted to him. But it was now too late; Lalain, lord of Bénicourt, had entered Gravelines with four thousand men, while the count of Egmont, the most active of all Philip's generals, having received a regiment of cavalry from the duke of Savoy, and having assembled all the garrisons of the neighbouring towns, advanced to the banks of the river Aa, in order to cut off the retreat of the French. At this critical conjuncture de Termes was seized with a violent fit of the gout that nearly deprived him of the use of his limbs; he therefore gave up the command of the troops to John d'Estouteville, lord of Vil-

* Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 475.
—Mem. de du Villars—Garnier.

† La Popliniere—De Thou—Matthieu—Monuf. de Bethune

lehon with orders to retreat along the sea-coast, and to profit by the falling of the tide to ford the Aa, by which means he would get the start of the count of Egmont, who lay in wait for him at that part of the river which the army had crossed on their road to Dunkirk. The mareschal, however, followed the next day in a litter, and overtook his troops just as the baggage and rear guard were passing the stream ; but he had no sooner gained the opposite bank than he descried the enemy, who, fearful lest he should escape them, had left all their artillery behind. Finding an action unavoidable, de Termes now drew up his army in the most advantageous manner ; with the sea at their backs, their right wing extended along the banks of the river, and their left covered by the baggage-waggons. In this position, the French sustained the impetuous attack of an enemy whose numbers were double their own ; repulsed, with considerable slaughter, their foremost battalions, and were on the point of obtaining a victory, when one of those accidents which human foresight cannot anticipate, nor human prudence avert, gave a different turn to the contest. A squadron of English ships of war, which were cruising on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing towards the scene of action, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns against the right wing of the French with such effect, as immediately broke that body, and spread terror and dismay through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom assistance so unexpected and so seasonable gave fresh courage, redoubled their efforts, that they might not lose the advantage which fortune had presented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their consternation ; and the rout of the French soon became general. Near two thousand of them were killed on the spot ; and the rest were taken prisoners, together with the mareschal de Termes, Villebon, Annebaud, Morvilliers, and the count of Chaulnes.

The victory obtained by the count of Egmont over the mareschal de Termes, obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all other schemes, and to hasten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppose the progress of the enemy in that province. This disaster reflected new lustre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whose arms victory always attended, and in whose conduct, as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced Guise's army with so many Germans and Swiss, that it soon amounted to forty thousand men, whom Guise encamped on the banks of the Somme, from Amiens to Pont-Remi. The enemy's army, after the junction of the count of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number, and they pitched their camp at the distance of six leagues from the French. Each monarch having joined his army, it was expected that a decisive action would, at last, determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them discovered any inclination to bring the determination of such an important point to depend upon the uncertain and fortuitous issue of a single battle. *Who made the first overtures for a peace, however, it is not known, nor is it of any consequence to ascertain.*

Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal solicitude. As during Mary's jealous administration, under the most difficult circumstances, that princess had conducted herself with great prudence and address, they had conceived a high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her sister. Equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs set themselves with emulation to court it, and employed every art, in order to insinuate themselves into her confidence. Each of them had something meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat into his dominions, if the dread of her sister's violence should force her to fly for safety out of England. Philip, by his powerful intercession, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the most fatal extremities against her. Each of them now endeavoured to avail himself of the circumstances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth soon after her accession, with the warmest expressions of friendship and regard. He represented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her husband, and fond compliance with all his wishes. He entreated her to disengage herself from an alliance which had proved so unfortunate to England, and to consent for a separate peace with him, without mingling her interests with those of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to lose his connection with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope to that effect.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with all the attention that their importance deserved. She gave some encouragement to Henry's overture for a separate negotiation, because it opened a channel of correspondence with France, which she might find to be of great advantage, if Philip should not discover sufficient zeal and solicitude for securing to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But she ventured on this step with the most cautious reserve, that she might not alarm Philip's suspicious temper, and lose an ally in attempting to gain an enemy. In order to give her time to come to a decision on this point, it was agreed to suspend the conferences for two months, and to assemble, either at Cercamp, or at some more convenient place, towards the end of January.

Henry, in the course of this business, conducted himself with a degree of meanness and duplicity, wholly unworthy a monarch. The Guises, apprised by one of their emissaries of the transaction which had passed between the king and the constable, during their late interview at Beauvais, were enraged at the idea that a man, whose imprudence had brought the state to the brink of destruction, should reap the rewards which had been refused to those whose conduct and courage had restored it to its former splendour: for the duke himself had been anxious to obtain the place of grand-master of the household, which gave a considerable influ-

ence to the person who held it, by subjecting to his will almost all the principal officers of the court. Having resolved to come to an explanation with Henry, he begged that monarch to believe that the humble request which he was about to prefer was not, in the smallest degree, influenced by jealousy ; but that been chosen, by his majesty himself, to act as grand-master of the household, on the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scotland, he could not but feel sensibly mortified at seeing any other person vested with that dignity : that he had, therefore, experienced the most lively concern on hearing that his majesty had promised it to the constable's eldest son, because the whole kingdom would believe that nobody would have received a preference over himself, unless he had given cause for displeasure, or had been deemed unworthy of the office. The king, embarrassed, at first denied that any conversation had passed between him and the constable on the subject ; but observed that if the constable had asked the place for his son, he was so strongly attached to the young man, and his father had rendered such essential service to the state, that he could with difficulty have refused him. The duke of Guise pressed the matter no farther ; and the king, after denying, in the most positive manner, that he had disposed of the place in question, did not dare to invest young Montmorenci with the promised dignity*.

The constable, on giving security to the king of Spain for the payment of the sum stipulated for his ransom, was released from prison, whence he hastened to court. During his captivity, he had formed the project of an alliance which was calculated to confirm his influence, and secure him a superiority over his rivals : this was the marriage of his second son, Danville, with Antoinette, de la Mark, grand-daughter to the dukes of Valentinois. Danville, who had signalled his courage in the wars of Italy, whence he had been recalled after the fatal battle of Saint-Quentin, had made such an impression on the heart of his intended bride, and had so far ingratiated himself with her relations, that, though a younger son, he obtained a preference over the most opulent noblemen who frequented the court, and even over some of the princes of the blood, who aspired to obtain her hand. Apprised of these circumstances, the constable went to sign the marriage contract, and to assist at the nuptials, which were celebrated at his castle of Ecouen.

The Guises, on their side, availing themselves of the favour they now enjoyed, and for the possession of which they were solely indebted to their recent services, pressed the conclusion of the marriage of Charles the Third, duke of Lorraine, the head of their family, with the princess Claude, second daughter to the king : the young duke, who, for the last seven years, had been brought up with the dauphin, received, as a marriage-portion with his wife, the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, and the town of Stenay, one of the keys of the province of Champagne, which formerly belonged to the dukes of Lorraine.

A. D. 1559.] Elizabeth, meanwhile, had instructed the English plenipotentiaries to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take

no step until they had previously consulted with them. But though she deemed it prudent to assume this appearance of confidence in the Spanish monarch, she knew precisely how far to carry it; and discovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary proposal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The English had expressed so openly their detestation of her sister's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to exasperate them by a renewal of that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harsh and imperious temper, to think of him for a husband: nor could she admit a dispensation from the pope to be sufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catharine to Arragon, and acknowledging, of consequence, the nullity of her mother's marriage, and the illegitimacy of her own birth. But, though she determined not to yield to Philip's addresses, the situation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them; and she returned in answer, therefore, in terms which were evasive, but so tempered with respect, that though they gave him no reason to be secure of success, they did not altogether extinguish his hopes.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she concealed her sentiments and intentions with regard to religious concerns, for some time after her accession, she so far gained upon Philip that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed, on the sixth of February, to Cateau-Cambresis. A definitive treaty, which was to adjust the claims and pretensions of so many princes, required the examination of such a variety of intricate points, and led to such infinite and minute details, as spun out the negotiations to a great length. But the indefatigable exertions of the constable Montmorenci, who alternately repaired to the courts of Paris and Brussels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, the chief points in dispute were at length adjusted.

The claims of England remained as the only obstacle to retard the treaty. Elizabeth demanded the restitution of Calais, in the most peremptory terms, as an essential condition of her consenting to peace; Henry refused to give up that important conquest; and both seemed to have taken their resolution with unalterable firmness. Philip warmly supported Elizabeth's pretensions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the English nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had lost by espousing his cause; nor solely with a view of soothing Elizabeth by his manifestation of zeal for her interest; but in order to render France less formidable, by securing to her ancient enemy this easy access into the heart of the kingdom. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries soon began to relax. During the course of the negotiation, Elizabeth, who now felt herself firmly seated on her throne, began to take such open and vigorous measures, not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favour of popery, but for establishing the protestant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate.

Pending the negotiation, the marechal de Brissac, who commanded in Piedmont, apprised of the sacrifices which France was about to make, and fearful of being deprived of his government, sent his secretary, Boivin, to the king : he observed to Henry, that the country proposed to be ceded to the enemy was equal in value to any one of the best provinces in his dominions ; and would, in time of peace, produce a revenue of five hundred thousand crowns, three hundred thousand whereof, or even more, would be paid into the treasury, every year ; that the finances of the Spanish monarch were in such a deplorable state, that the continuance of the war for another year would suffice to make him alter his tone, and submit to such conditions as France might choose to exact. " Do not be offended, Sire,"—said the duke of Guise, who was present at the time—" if I declare that the conduct you are made to pursue proves the contrary ; and that a single stroke of your pen is about to take from you more than you could possibly lose by an unsuccessful war of thirty years. Put me in one of the weakest places which you are advised to resign, and let your enemies dislodge me if they can. In the offer I now make, I shall be joined by hundreds of your servants, as well on this as on the other side of the Alps." Henry remained silent, and exhibited evident marks of confusion : and the duke believing him to be shaken, told him to trust to his brother and him for providing the requisite funds for raising and supporting an army of equal strength to that of the preceding year ; that they would even, he said, save him the trouble of convening the states-general a second time, having already opened a negotiation with certain bankers who had consented to advance as much money as would be wanted ; and he had formed a plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, the success whereof appeared to him to be infallible, and would put him in a situation to give law to the enemy.

These offers, from a man who had always been accustomed to perform more than he promised, seemed to decide the king ; who, to give an apparent satisfaction to the duke of Guise, immediately dispatched Boivin with orders to his plenipotentiaries to exercise their power with great discretion ; but, in a private letter which he sent, at the same time, to the constable, he gave him an account of this conversation, which he represented as a new scheme of the Guises in order to keep the reins of government in their own hands ; and he therefore urged Montmorenci to accelerate the treaty as much as possible*.

The treaty of peace between France and England contained no article of real importance, but that which respected Calais. It was stipulated, that Henry should keep possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years ; that, at the expiration of that term, he should restore it to England ; that in case of non-performance, he should forfeit five hundred thousand crowns, for the payment of which sum seven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his subjects, should grant security ; that five persons of distinction should be given as hostages until that security were provided ; that, although the forfeit of five hundred thousand

* Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 567.

crowns should be paid, the right of England to Calais should still remain entire, in the same manner as if the term of eight years were expired ; that the king and queen of Scotland should be included in the treaty ; that if they, or the French king, should violate the peace by any hostile action, Henry should be obliged instantly to restore Calais ; that, on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry, and the king and queen of Scots, were absolved from all the engagements which they had contracted by this treaty.

The expedient employed by Montmorenci for the purpose of facilitating the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip, who supplanted his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that princess had been promised in the former conferences at Cercamp ; the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the duke of Savoy. Henry having, by this means, secured an honourable establishment for his sister and his daughter, granted, in consideration of these marriages, terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The principal articles in the treaty between Henry and Philip were, that a sincere and perpetual amity should be established between the two crowns and their respective allies ; the two monarchs should labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progress of heresy, and restore unity and concord to the Christian Church ; that all the conquests made by either party on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war, in 1551, should be mutually restored.

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-established in Europe. All the causes of discord which had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had transmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, seemed to be wholly removed or finally terminated.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the duke of Savoy repaired, with a numerous retinue, to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's sister. The duke of Alva was sent to the same capital, at the head of a splendid embassy, to espouse the princess Elizabeth, in the name of his master the king of Spain ; the ceremony was performed, on the twenty-sixth of June, by the cardinal of Bourbon, at the church of Notre Dame. The greatest rejoicings and festivities took place on this occasion, and on the twenty-ninth of June a grand tournament was holden in the Rue Saint-Antoine, at which the king bore away the palm of victory. But as he was retiring from the circle, he perceived two lances, at one end of the lists which were unbroken ; one of these he took himself, and the other he sent to Montgomery, the captain of his guards, a man eminently skilled in all martial exercises, inviting him to break it with his sovereign in honour of the ladies. Montgomery hesitated for some time, and even twice refused to obey the summons ; the queens of Scotland and France too, who were present, sent to entreat the king to content himself with the glory he had already acquired, and to run no farther risk ; Henry, however, persisted, and, at length, sent a positive order to Montgomery

to prepare for the assault : he obeyed ; the attack was violent ; their lances were shivered in pieces : but the king's vizor having been deranged by the shock, one of the broken pieces of his adversary's lance pierced his forehead, just above the left eye, and he fell senseless on the ground. He was immediately conveyed to his palace, and the surgeons, after examining the wound, declared it, though dangerous, not incurable ; but an abscess having unexpectedly formed in the head, their utmost skill proved ineffectual, and, on the 10th of July, Henry expired, in the forty-first year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The character of this monarch may be traced in a few words : he had more in his disposition of the warrior than the statesman ; active and intrepid in the field, but weak and irresolute in the council : better formed for obedience than command, a culpable facility of temper subjected him to perpetual imposition, and betrayed him into situations by which he was not only degraded as a monarch, but disgraced as a man. The *best* feature in his character was his constancy in friendship, and the *worst*, his cruelty in religion.

The doctrine of the Reformers began to spread with great celerity in France, during the reign of Henry the Second ; and from a principle, justly applied to religious sectaries, in whom opposition begets perseverance, the persecuting spirit of that monarch, who piqued himself upon the orthodoxy of his religious tenets, far from stemming the torrent it was intended to check, only served to encrease the rapidity of its progress. The French Reformers being chiefly Calvinists, and their principles, of course, being farther removed from those of the established church, than the principles of the more moderate Protestants, could not fail to be highly disgusting to such as were firmly resolved to adhere to the religion of their country.

A system of persecution was accordingly entered upon and pursued with unrelenting severity, by Henry and his principal ministers, who publicly declared war against heretics of every denomination. The cognizance of the crime of heresy had been sometimes entrusted to the parliaments, and sometimes to the bishops' courts ; and these rival jurisdictions had, from a spirit jealousy, generally contrived to thwart the operations of and impose a restraint upon each other. With a view to remedy the inconveniences arising from the jealousy, and to enforce the execution of the laws against heretics, Henry the Second, in the year 1551, issued the famous edict of Châteaubriand, by which two courts were strictly enjoined, in all similar prosecutions, to act in conjunction, and to afford each other all possible assistance. The *presidials*—tribunals established in the different provinces during this reign—were empowered to decide definitively in matters of heresy, and even pronounce sentence of death on the persons convicted of that crime, provided not less than ten judges were present at the time ; and, in order to effect the expulsion of the Reformers from the kingdom, all *lords high-justiciaries* were strictly enjoined to inform against such as were *suspected* of heresy, throughout their respective lordships, and to send their informations to the nearest presidial, that the culprits might be proceeded against without delay.

Many of those who favoured the new doctrines, and were afraid of being exposed to the dangers of a trial, extended by every circumstance of prejudice and partiality, fled to Geneva or to Switzerland, after transferring his property and estates to their friends who remitted them the produce thereof. Some, indeed, really sold their estates at a very inferior price, from the idea that it was better to save a part than to run the risk of losing the whole. All the property belonging to these fugitives was ordered to be seized; and if the officers employed in executing this commission met with any obstacle from persons who pretended to have purchased such property, the judges were strongly enjoined by the edict to investigate, with the utmost vigour, the validity of their titles, and, in case they should discover any collusion between the purchaser and vender, not only to seize the property in dispute, but to impose a heavy fine upon the purchaser: whoever gave information, and substantiated such information by proof, that any of the king's subjects sent money to Geneva, was entitled to a third of the amount: any person informing against a heretic was also entitled to a third of his property, but, in some measure to check the abominable oppressions which such a regulation would necessarily occasion, it was decreed that if the informer failed to convict the person he had accused, he should be subjected to the same punishment as that person would have incurred, had his guilt been confirmed.

The executions, in consequence of this rigorous and oppressive edict, were numerous; but still the number of protestants, as well in the capital as in the provinces, continued to encrease. Enraged at the inefficacy of their measures, and stimulated by the prospect of confiscations, the produce whereof the king had resigned to his favourite courtiers. The magistrates themselves, were infected with the new opinions, and far from enforcing the execution of his edicts, acted in concert with the protestant ministers: that the presidials, through fear of being engaged in a dispute with the sovereign courts, seldom exercised the power which had been conferred on them of trying heretics in dernier resort; that the ecclesiastical tribunals in vain caused the culprits to be apprehended and proceeded against with becoming severity, since, by means of an appeal which the judges were compelled to respect, they were taken from their jurisdiction, when the secular judges always discovered some mode of clearing them from the accusation: that religion would be destroyed in France, unless resource were had to the only remedy which preserved it pure and unpolluted, throughout Spain, and the greater part of Italy: that for this purpose, it was only necessary to make two alterations in the edict of Châteaubriand, which the calamity of the times rendered indispensable; that the first of these alterations consisted in putting a stop to all appeals from the sentences of the ecclesiastical courts, which ought to be sent to the nearest secular judge, who should be compelled to enforce their execution: the second in confiscating the property of all persons, indiscriminately, who should leave the kingdom, through the dread of persecution, in order to settle in foreign countries; and in seizing such property, for the king's use, wherever it might be found, even though it were in possession of a person who had

given a valuable consideration for the same. As soon as this resolution had been adopted by the council, a secret conference was holden at the house of Bertrand, keeper of the seals, at which certain magistrates, who were sworn enemies to the new doctrines, were invited to attend; and two new edicts were there drawn up, which were presented to the parliament to be registered, at a time when most of the judges were absent. This attempt, however, being foiled, the matter was argued on the eleventh of September; when Denis Riant, advocate-general, in support of the edicts, observed, that they were the result of the deliberations of the most enlightened men in the kingdom; that the king had been led to pass them from the conviction that there was no other preservative to be found against the progress of a contagion which infected the capital and spread over the provinces: that if any objections could be raised against the edicts, it was the too great extension of its jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, by subjecting to them, indiscriminately, all orders of citizens: but it could not be denied that it was highly expedient with regard to apostate monks, and other fanatics, who, assuming the right of dogmatizing, perverted the consciences of his majesty's subjects, and diffused trouble and confusion throughout the realm: that the court, as might be proved from the registers, did not disapprove of the inquisition, provided it were directed by the rules laid down in the canons: that he was therefore justified in his expectation, that the court would, after making such restrictions as it might think proper with regard to the too great extension of the power of the spiritual tribunal, proceed to register the edict in question. It was however decided in the parliament, by a very considerable majority, that the edict should not be registered, but that the court would address the king, and indicate some other means of promoting the extirpation of heresy, more conformable to the spirit of Christianity.

Accordingly, on the seventeenth of October, 1555, the president Séguier, and the counsellor Dudrac had an audience of the king at Villers-Coterets, when the former thus addressed his majesty, in the name of the parliament;

"Sire, The difficulties naturally attending the commission with which we are entrusted, are considerably augmented by the sinister impressions which your majesty has been led to encourage against your parliament. Were the sole object of our commission the justification of those by whom we are sent, it would suffice to observe that the edict which they refused to register is precisely the same as that which was rejected by a part of the court some months ago; and that it would be impossible to act otherwise without making your parliament fall into a contradiction with itself, and without introducing into the kingdom, and into the same sanctuary of justice, two tribunals opposed to each other. But this reason, powerful as it was with regard to ourselves, is not that which we mean to employ, since it would only justify us at the expence of our brethren, and would rather constitute an excuse than form an apology. In fact, it is not, because the edict has before been rejected that we have thought proper to reject it also, but be-

cause, after a close examination, it appeared to us, as it did to our brethren, that it could not be admitted without depriving your subjects of their liberty, and your majesty of the noblest rights of that sovereignty which we are constitutionally bound to defend and protect. But before I enter on the reasons by which our conduct has been influenced, let me be permitted to offer one previous reflection.

“Your parliament, Sire, is composed of one hundred and sixty magistrates, who were not admitted as members of the court, until they had furnished satisfactory proofs of their capacity, and ample attestations of the purity of their lives and manners; who are, in short, men of that description, that your majesty would scarcely find it possible to replace them throughout the whole extent of your dominions: what mortal, then, can be so presumptuous as to oppose his private judgment to that of so large a body of men, devoted, from their infancy to the study of the laws, and employed, from morning to night, in distinguishing what is just and lawful, from what is unjust and prohibited? As for me, I have formed so high an opinion of the integrity and knowledge of that august senate, that if it had pronounced a sentence of death against me, I should be led to doubt my own innocence, and, in some degree, to reject the testimony of my conscience. Those men who wished to persuade your majesty to establish the inquisition, were aware they could only succeed in their attempt, by rendering the religion of your magistrates suspected; by representing them either as heretics in disguise, or as men floating between error and truth, and perfectly indifferent on the article of faith. That, Sire, is an accusation, ever easy to hazard, but which no honest man would ever advance unless he were able to substantiate the charge by clean and convincive proofs. The orthodoxy of your magistrates has been proved, and they are obliged to give a certificate with regard to the stability and purity of their faith; it must, therefore, be supposed, either that they have been perverted since their reception, or that they have given false certificates; if a door be once opened to suspicions of that nature, what man will be free from them, or in whom can you place your confidence? we know our brethren much better than those who speak of them with such disrespect; and if your majesty will give credit to our oaths, we shall not hesitate to swear by all that we hold sacred, that we have never perceived any thing in the conduct of the parliament, that could possibly occasion or justify similar suspicions. Not that we pledge ourselves that, in a society so numerous, there are no fantastical nor whimsical minds, which entertain peculiar sentiments on the article of faith; God is the sole judge of men’s consciences; and it would be wonderful indeed if, in an age when the rage for reasoning is become an epidemic disorder, not a single man could be found among us who, impelled by prejudice and presumption, had strayed from the right road; but will venture to assert, that we do not know any one magistrate but what professes and practises the true religion; in short, I should sooner be made to believe that anti-Christ is arrived, and the world is just at an end, than to give credit to any of the absurdities which have been related

to you. It is you, Sire, who appoint magistrates: when you chose the present members of your parliament, you deemed them worthy your confidence; to that confidence, then, they have an undoubted right, until it shall have been proved that they deserve to lose it; and you cannot deprive them of it, either wholly or partially, without prejudice to your own authority and power. For how can their decisions be respected by the inferior judges, and by the rest of your subjects, if it be suspected that they are the decisions of men of doubtful characters; and who are themselves acting in opposition to the laws of the realm? it is evident therefore, that the perfidious and malicious insinuations which have been conveyed to you have a direct tendency to subvert all order, and expose your authority to contempt.

“Such, Sire, are the real motives by which we have been deterred from paying obedience to your orders, and we never doubted but that, as soon as we should be permitted to explain them to you, they would make the same impression on your mind as on our own. Your parliament laments the rapid progress of heresy, and has long perceived the necessity of opposing it with strength and efficacy; but cannot this be done without shaking the foundations of the monarchy? Grant, if you will, permission to the bishops and Inquisitors to inflict capital punishments on men of their own profession—though even with regard to them it would be infinitely more just to leave open the way of appeal—but never suffer your lay-subjects to be tried except by your own tribunals, and by men who hold of you alone their commissions and their powers. To this first expedient, suggested by the court, another must be added, of much greater efficacy.

As for you, gentlemen,” addressing himself to the ministers and courtiers who were present, “who listen to me with so much tranquillity, and who think, probably, that the matter does not concern you, it is proper that you should be undeceived. As long as you are in favour, you wisely make the most of your time; honours and rewards are lavished on your heads: you are respected by all who approach you; and no one thinks of attacking you: but the higher your station, the nearer you are to the thunder, and a man must be ignorant of history not to know on what trivial circumstances the disgrace of a courtier frequently depends. Formerly, however, when this disaster befell you, you could, at least, retire with a fortune, that consoled you, in a certain degree, for the loss you had sustained, and that enabled you to enrich your heirs. But were this edict to pass, from that moment your situation would be altered; you would, as before, be succeeded by needy men, of hungry minds, who, knowing not how long they may remain in office, will burn with the desire of making a sudden fortune, and will find it a very easy matter to gratify that desire: certain of obtaining from the king the confiscation of your property, it will only be necessary to secure in their interest one Inquisitor and two witnesses, and though you were saints, you would be burned as heretics.

At these words, the constable Montmorenci, who had not forgotten his own disgrace, in the preceding reign, knitted his brows and changed colour; and the other

ministers shuddered with horror. The king himself exhibited evident marks of confusion, and thanking the parliament for their remonstrances, promised to pay attention to them. Nothing farther, however, was done in the business, till the year 1557, when the number of Calvinists having considerably encreased, the king, by his letters-patent, enjoined all prelates to repair to their dioceses, and either to discharge the duties of their office in person, or to appoint grand-vicars of approved virtue and rigid principles, who were worthy to act as their substitutes: in case of disobedience, the king authorized the parliament to proceed against them, by seizing their temporalities, and applying the produce thereof to the purpose of paying enlightened ministers who might preach the Word of God to the people.

In the year following, after the return of the cardinal of Lorraine from Rome, a bull was published, by which Paul the Fourth, at the king's request, established an Inquisition in France, after the model of that which subsisted at Rome; and the cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Chatillon, were appointed presidents of this new tribunal, with the power of choosing vicars, either from among the bishops, or doctors of divinity; conferring, as well on these inquisitors, as on their delegates, a full power to arrest, imprison, and condemn all persons, of whatever rank or quality, convicted or suspected of the crime of heresy.

This attempt to establish the Inquisition had been preceded, though not influenced, by a tumult in the Rue Saint-Jacques, where about four hundred Calvinists had assembled, in a private house, in order to perform divine service*: the neighbours, alarmed, or pretended to be so, at this unusual assemblage of people, at such a late hour—for it was night—surrounded the house; and, having collected a mob, assailed the congregation, on their attempt to leave the place after service was over with stones and other missile weapons. The Calvinists held a consultation among themselves, and as they knew that death would be their portion if taken, the boldest of them resolved to cut their way through the mob, sword in hand. This they easily effected; the cowardly rabble fled before them; but they were no sooner out of danger, than they speedily re-assembled, and prepared to vent their rage on the old men, women, and others, who had been restrained by fear from following their companions. The timely arrival of the ministers of justice saved the unhappy victims—among whom were several females of high distinction—from immediate assassination; though, as they were conducted to prison, they were exposed to the blows and licentious insolence of a brutal populace. To complete the misery of their situation, by adding a calumny to persecution, a report was industriously propagated, that, immediately after the celebration of their infernal orgies, the Calvinists extinguished the lights, and, mixing together indiscriminately like brutes, each man seized, as the partner of his crimes, the first woman he could lay hold of, even though she were his mother, daughter or sister. These atrocious calumnies were repeated from the pulpit, and the king, prone to credulity, gave easy credit to tales that flattered his religious prejudices. Musnier, a man of infamous character, who had

* Beze, Hist. Eccles.—La Popliniere.

† Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 406.

been convicted of subordination of perjury, was appointed, by the cardinal of Lorraine, to try the culprits, but the parliament remonstrated with such warmth on the insult offered to them by that appointment, that the cognizance of the cause was left to themselves. Five of the wretched Calvinists were publicly burned at the Place de Grève, but the judge purposely prolonged the trials of the rest, and, by that means, afforded them an opportunity to escape.

The remonstrance, which was rather intended as an appeal to the public, than as an address to the king, produced but little effect: but the unhappy prisoners found more able advocates in the protestant cantons of Switzerland, and the elector palatine, who solicited their release with uncommon earnestness; and the king, who was, at that time, raising troops in their dominions, did not think it prudent to reject their application. The calm, however, which ensued on their release, was but of short duration. Many princes of the blood, who favoured the new doctrines, and among others, Anthony of Bourbon and his consort Jane d'Albret, king and queen of Navarre, with the prince and princess of Condé, having repaired to Paris, to be present at the marriage of the dauphin with the young queen of Scotland, frequented the private assemblies of the Calvinists, caressed their ministers, and encouraged them to redouble their zeal and activity.

Calvin had, for some time past, reproached them, in his letters, with their timid circumspection, or rather pusillanimity; and, convinced that any explosion must prove advantageous to the propagation of his doctrine, which had already taken such deep root in the kingdom, that it was deemed impossible to eradicate it, he incessantly exhorted them to act with firmness and decision, and boldly to publish their profession of faith wherever they went*. Piqued at these reproaches, and encouraged by the presence and exhortations of the princes of the blood, they appointed two or three successive meetings, in a meadow, called Le Pré aux Clercs, where three or four thousand persons assembled, and sang the Psalms of Marot, set to music: they then marched in procession through several streets in the suburbs of Saint-Germain, attended by a great number of armed gentlemen, who threatened to cut down all that should attempt to oppose their passage. The magistrates, alarmed at this unexpected tumult, ordered those gates to be shut which led to the university and the suburb of Saint-Germain, and sent their officers to take informations on the spot. The bishop of Paris immediately sent the particulars of this transaction to the king, without, however, naming the principal persons concerned in it. Henry, having compared this intelligence with the notice that Granvelle, bishop of Arras, had recently given to the cardinal of Lorraine, of a conspiracy on the point of breaking out, dispatched, without delay, the cardinal Bertrand keeper of the seals, with three masters of requests, to investigate the business. Bertrand, after he had read the informations already taken by the officers of the Chatelet, went to the parliament, where he observed, that the cardinal of Lorraine, having had a fresh conference with the Bishop of Arras, prime minister to the king of Spain, on the sub-

* Beze, Hist. Ecclesi.—Reg. du Parlement—Calv. Epist.

ject of peace, had received intelligence from that prelate of a conspiracy then forming by the protestants, which would soon break out : that the day after the cardinal's return to the court, the king had received a letter from the bishop of Paris, in which he was informed that some of the insurgents had been heard to say—" *That they would do as they pleased in spite of every body :—they cared not who disapproved of their conduct—it would soon be seen who was the strongest :*"—that there could be no doubt but this insolent challenge was addressed to the king, and announced a regular plan for overthrowing the state.

The first president, Le Maitre, replied that the little lights which they had been able to procure on the subject, rather resembled intelligence imparted in confidence, than evidence delivered on oath, because the witnesses had no sooner evinced a disposition to enter into explanations, than they had been threatened by persons in disguise to be massacred in the streets, or to have their houses reduced to ashes ; fear, therefore, had rendered them silent : that Truth was the daughter of time, and as soon as it was known that the king would spare none of the criminals, however, elevated their rank in life, depositions would flow in apace : that, if it was intended to trace the evil to its source, it would be found to originate in the Concordate ; and that the people had only been led astray since they had ceased to hear the voices of their lawful pastors : that, at that time, there were forty bishops at Paris, who did nothing but excite disgust : that, formerly, at least they never appeared in public but in the canonicals, whereas now they strutted about the streets in court dresses : that the edict, published at the request of the parliament, for compelling bishops and curates to reside, had been speedily abrogated : that all the abbies in the kingdom were successively exposed to the degradations of the commendataries, who laid waste the woods, suffered the buildings to go to ruin, and endeavoured to abolish the little regularity which still subsisted in the monasteries.

propagated Still the doctrines of Calvin continued to be propagated with great success ; the parliament themselves were divided in their sentiments ; for while the *Grand Chamber*, presided by Le Maitre, Saint André, and Minart, consigned to the flames almost every heretic that was brought before them, the chamber of the *Tournelle*, presided by Harlai, de Thou, and Seguier, generally contrived to acquit them, or, at most, made them pay a trifling fine.

This indulgence excited an universal clamour throughout the capital, and the crown-lawyers received instructions to remonstrate with the court on the impropriety of their conduct, and to convene one of those meetings—called *Mercuriales*—at which every member of the parliament was compelled to answer all questions that should be put to him on religious matters. The parliament accordingly met, at the beginning of June, in a great room at the convent of the Augustine friars, when they spoke with so much force and vehemence, that the first president, alarmed at the commotion which prevailed in the court, sent word to the ministers, that the king must either dissolve the assembly, or repair thither in person, or order to preserve a proper decorum. Accordingly, on the tenth of June, at an hour when he was least expected, Henry entered the room, accompanied by the cardinals of Lor-

raigne and Guise; the princes of Montpensier and La Roche-sur-Yon; the dukes of Guise and Montmorenci; and Bertrand, keeper of the seals. As soon as he was seated, he said, that since it had pleased God to grant him a durable peace, he thought he could not make a better use of his time than in endeavouring to put a stop to those dissensions which began to prevail among his subjects with regard to religion.

If, on the one side, this sudden appearance of the king, and the number of his guards, who had taken possession of the doors, alarmed the judges; on the other, the serenity of his countenance, the tone of impartiality he had assumed, and more than that, the undoubted right which every member of the court enjoyed to deliver his sentiments without restraint or molestation, encouraged the most timid. Some of those who favoured the Protestants insisted on the necessity of allowing them six months, in order to procure instruction, and to return to the right path, which if they failed to do, they should then be banished from the kingdom; while others voted for the convocation of a council, which would be authorized to decide on all points of controversy, and for suspending, till the decisions of the council should be known, all prosecutions against those who were improperly called *heretics*, since they had neither been tried nor even heard in their own defence. This last opinion was broached by Lewis Dufaur and Anne Dubourg; the former an eminent lawyer and statesman; the latter a good divine and a pious christian. Dufaur, tracing all civil punishments to their source, and laying it down as a principle that they could only be just and useful so long as they were proportioned to the nature of those disorders which it was the interest of society to repress, desired to know by what subversion of ideas the crimes of homicide and adultery, which sap the very foundations of social order, came to be punished with less rigour in France, and excited public censure in a less degree, than a few speculative opinions, which were almost indifferent to the support and welfare of society? why men, branded with those crimes, were received, and even honoured, both at court and every where else, while Inquisitors were paid, and every species of cruelty exercised, in order to torture a few unhappy men, who injured no one, who practised the precepts of the Gospel, and served God according to the dictates of their own consciences? That, being at a loss to account for this rage, he asked those who persecuted them with the greatest virulence, what they had to reproach them with; and the only answer he had ever received was, that they were pests to society, though how or in what they had never been able to explain to him. That it might be expected the Calvinists would answer their persecutors, as a prophet formerly answered king Ahab—*"'Tis thou who troublest Israel."*—After returning thanks to God for having inspired the king with the resolution to enquire into the merits of the question, and to act in conformity to the rules of justice, he observed, that the only mode of forming a just opinion of a thing, was to consider it by itself, laying aside all those collateral circumstances with which prejudice and passion were apt to clog it.

The presidents Seguier, Harlai, and de Thou, justified the conduct of the parliament, without entering into the merits of the question: Minart voted for the strict

execution of the laws against heretics ; and the first-president, Le Maitre, in support of the same opinion, quoted the example of Philip Augustus, who, in one day, had caused six hundred heretics to be burned in his presence, and bestowed the greatest eulogies on the various cruelties which had been exercised, at different times, against the Vaudois*.

The king retired, with the princes of the blood and the noblemen who had accompanied him, into an adjoining apartment, where he ordered the list to be brought to him, on which were inscribed the names and opinions of all the judges who had spoken before his arrival. After he had read it he returned to his seat, and said—That it was but too true, though he had hitherto refused to believe it, that there was a great number of heretics in his parliament ; that though he had a right to punish the whole body, for having so long suffered them to remain on the bench, yet he would not confound the innocent with the guilty. The constable, after approaching the throne to receive the king's orders, seized Dufaur and Dufour, and delivered him over to the captain of the guards, who conducted them to the Bastille : orders were issued for the apprehension of six other judges, who had delivered their opinions with candour and freedom ; three only were taken, Anthony Fumée, Eustache de la Porte, and Paul de Foix : the others, having received timely notice, effected their escape.

By an edict, published in 1557, at the instigation of the constable Montmorenci, whose son had contracted a marriage, in opposition to the will of his father, it was enacted, that all children of distinction, under the age of thirty, if males, and under twenty-five, if females, who should marry in a clandestine manner, against the will and consent of their parents—excepting only the case in which the father was dead, and the mother married again—should forfeit their inheritance ; and it was left at the option of the parents to make any or no provision for them ; all such marriages were likewise declared null, unless consummation had taken place.

Another edict, less oppressive in its nature, and more salutary in its effects, though still too rigorous and severe, was published about the same time. Young women and widows, who had sacrificed their honour to the gratification of their passions, in order to conceal their disgrace, not unfrequently delivered themselves in private, and put the wretched offspring of their illicit amours to death as soon as it was born ; if they were apprehended and prosecuted, they did not fail to alledge that the infant had given no signs of life, and provided they did not contradict this declaration, when applied to the rack, they were acquitted, and, emboldened by their escape, often repeated the same crime. To remedy this evil, any girl or woman, duly convicted of having concealed her pregnancy and delivery, and who should fail to produce her child, on being summoned so to do, was, by this edict, declared guilty of murder, and punished accordingly.

* Beze, Hist. Eccles.—La Popliniere—La Place—De Thou—Registres du Parlem.

FRANCIS THE SECOND.

A. D. 1559.] HENRY was succeeded by his son, Francis the Second, who, though the eldest of seven children, had but just entered his sixteenth year, when he was called to the throne. His education had been neglected, not from inattention or design, but from necessity; for frequent sickness and habitual languor rendered him equally unfit for mental exertions, and for those martial exercises which by invigorating the body, give strength and energy to the mind. His mother, Catharine of Medicis, had remained sterile for a considerable time after her marriage, and she was in danger of being divorced on that account, when the skilful efforts of Fernel, a celebrated physician, effected an alteration in her constitution, and removed the cause of her sterility; but the violent remedies she employed, as well before as during the period of her pregnancy, had a fatal effect on her first offspring, at his birth, he exhibited every symptom of debility, and never enjoyed more than a passive existence: without desires, without vices, without virtues, pronounced of age by the law, but condemned by nature to a perpetual minority, he was destined to become a blind instrument in the hand of the first person who should take possession of him.

No sooner were the eyes of Henry closed by death, than the Guises entered the dauphin's chamber, accompanied by the duke of Ferrara, their brother-in-law, and the duke of Nemours, and hailed him as their sovereign. They then conducted him to his mother's apartment, who was easily persuaded to remove him from the palace of the Tournelles to the Louvre, where he received the deputies from the parliament, to whom he announced his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands, aided by the advice of his mother, and assisted by the experience of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, to the former of whom he had assigned the military department, and to the latter the finances.

Bertrand, the keeper of the seals, was dismissed from his office, and retired to Rome; but the marshal de Saint André, who had amassed an immense fortune during the last reign, courted the friendship of the duke of Guise, and secured it by marrying his only daughter and heiress to one of the duke's younger sons. The constable Montmorenci seemed better entitled to respect, and better calculated to give uneasiness to the new ministry: independent of a property superior to that of almost any subject in France, and the degree of consideration which long services command, he opposed to the Guises, through himself and his numerous relations, a mass of power which it appeared difficult, and infinitely dangerous to attack.

Montmorenci received a visit from the secretary of state, Aubespine, who, in the king's name, desired him to deliver up the PRIVATE SEAL which Henry had entrusted to his care. Although this message ought clearly to have convinced him that his reign was at an end, yet he could not resist the temptation of having auricular conviction of the king's disposition towards him; rather chusing if he found it unfavourable, to take a voluntary leave, than to wait for his dismissal. Having, accordingly, assembled his sons and nephews, he went with them to the palace before the king had risen from table; Francis took him by the hand, and led him to his closet, whither he was followed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, who never lost sight of him. The constable presenting his family to the king, expressed a wish that his majesty would confirm them in the possession of their places, and continue to favour them with the same special protection with which they had been honoured by his father: as he was proceeding to explain his wishes with regard to himself, the king, who was better tutored than Montmorenci had supposed, suddenly interrupted him, and said—That he was well apprised of the merits and services of those whom he had recommended to his protection, wherefore he confirmed them in the possession of their respective offices, and would certainly employ them, whenever an opportunity should occur, in preference to all others: that being equally sensible of the length and utility of his own services, in the two preceding reigns, and of the perfect confidence reposed in him by his father, he should settle all his salaries and pensions on him for life; but that wishing to save him for particular occasions, and to release him, in his old age, from the cares of government, he had divided the administration between the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise, to the former of whom he had entrusted the management of the revenue, and to the latter the military department: that all he had to request of him was, that he would assist him with his knowledge, and attend, as often as he could, at the council, where he should preserve his ancient rank.

To this the constable replied, that the favour his majesty had voluntarily offered, of releasing him from the cares of state, he had come purposely to solicit, but that, as his great age rendered it absolutely necessary that he should be wholly unmolested in his retirement, he must farther request that his majesty would dispense with his attendance at the council. He then quitted the king, and re-

paired to the apartment of the queen-mother, in order to inform her of what had passed. Catharine, considering the disdain with which the constable refused the seat that had been reserved for him at the council board as an affront offered to the king and to herself, advised him to act with more caution and prudence; and, in a transport of passion, reproached him with the artifices he had employed in order to deprive her of her husband's confidence; and particularly with one expression, so imprudent, that it is inconceivable how a man of Montmorenci's sagacity could have suffered it to escape him: he had asked the king how it happened that none of his children resembled him except Diana, his natural daughter, who was widow to the duke of Castres, and had afterwards married the constable's eldest son. Montmorenci, however, strongly denied the fact.

Mortified with the reception he had experienced, the constable hastened to complete the preparations for Henry's funeral, and after he had attended the corpse of his late sovereign to the royal vault at Saint Denis, he followed the court to Saint Germain, still uncertain whether he should pursue the advice of Catharine of Medicis, or adhere to his first resolution; but here his mortification was increased, for the young monarch did not even deign to speak to him. Enraged at a treatment to which he had been so little accustomed, he resolved to retire without farther delay; and that the foreign ambassadors who had witnessed the insult might be convinced that though his credit was lost at court, his influence with the nobility remained undiminished, he set out from Saint Germain with such a numerous train of friends as gave to his retreat the appearance of a triumph, and left the court almost wholly deserted that day.

Of the Guises, who acted such a conspicuous part during this reign, there were six brothers—the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, the cardinal of Guise, and the grand prior—but the two first only appear in the foreground of the political picture. The duke had secured the attachment of the troops, by the repeated proofs he had given of his skill and courage in the field; while his liberality, magnificence, and courtesy endeared him to the people. The cardinal was chiefly indebted for the extent of his influence to the strength of his oratorical talents, and the orthodoxy of his religious principles.

Still the king of Navarre remained, and, as the first prince of the blood, he was indisputably entitled to the first seat at the council, and, in case the king were incapable of holding the reins of government in his own hands, he might have preferred well-founded pretensions to the high post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The constable, aware of this, had offered him his support; but Anthony, considering him as a sworn enemy to the princes of the blood, doubted his sincerity, and paid no attention to his proposal. Naturally timid and irresolute, he was long at a loss how to act; but finding the Guises aimed at a monopoly of power, he, at length, determined to repair to court. The news of his departure excited a general commotion in all the southern provinces; men of the first families mounted their horses and attended by their neighbours, their re-

lations and friends, met him on the road, and offered to accompany him. But they soon became so numerous, that, through fear of alarming the Guises, he was compelled to reject their offers, at the same time thanking them for their zeal, and requesting them to reserve it for a future opportunity.

Anthony had appointed a general rendezvous of all who were discontented with the present government at Vendome, the chief city of his appanage. They accordingly attended on the appointed day, except the constable, who sent Dardois, his confidential agent, to represent him. As soon as the king of Navarre proposed the subject for deliberation, every body agreed in considering the domination of the Guises, whom they called foreigners, as an insult not only to the princes of the blood, but to the whole order of French nobility, whose honour and whose privileges were materially affected thereby; but though they were unanimous on this point, they differed essentially as to the means of repressing the usurpation of which they complained. The most violent, such as the prince of Condé, d'Anelot, and the count of Rochefoucaud, observed that, there were but two means established by nature for one man to obtain of another the object of his desires—persuasion and force;—the first of which ought undoubtedly to be preferred, and always to be tried, whenever you had to deal with men who were just and enlightened; but, that with men of a different disposition, such a mode of proceeding would only be productive of shame, ridicule, and contempt; were the mode of persuasion to be adopted, they asked to whom they were to apply?—certainly either to the Guises themselves, to the king, or to the queen-mother; could any one suppose then, that by proving clearly to the Guises that they were usurpers, he could persuade them to resign that authority which they had disputed with so much violence during the preceding reign, and which they had just taken such pains to secure?

In opposition to these arguments it was urged by the admiral and Dardois, that celerity was not more requisite in the execution of a great undertaking, than prudence and deliberation in the formation of a scheme: that those who had just advised them to fly immediately to arms, evidently acted on two suppositions, which appeared, at least, doubtful:—first that the Guises would be taken by surprize; secondly, that almost the whole order of nobility would espouse the quarrel of the princes with the same ardour by which they themselves were actuated: that, by this calculation, they ran an evident risk of being deceived both as to their friends and their enemies. It was therefore, thought time enough to have recourse to more violent methods: that, in the mean time, they might sound their friends, watch their enemies, and avail themselves of all the faults that might escape them.

This last opinion met the approbation of the king of Navarre, inasmuch as it corresponded to his natural decision, and differed but little from the advice he had previously received from his own ministers: he accordingly repaired to Saint-Germain, where the court then was, but having received the most pointed insults, as well from the Guises as from the king himself, he did not dare to take his seat

at the council, but departed, with precipitation, for the capital, in concert with the prince of Condé, and others of the same party. The Guises, meanwhile, apprised of their attempts, perceived the necessity of sending the princes from the capital, as soon as possible; they therefore hastened the preparations for the king's coronation, which ceremony was performed at Rheims on the twelfth of October, by the cardinal of Lorraine. Emboldened by the presence of the great officers of the crown, the king of Navarre now ventured to take his seat at the council; and his suggestions began to meet with attention, when an artifice of the Guises again made him change his resolution. They read, in his presence, a letter from Philip the Second to Francis, in which that prince offered, in consequence of the information he had received that some turbulent men had formed a plan for overthrowing the administration which had been so happily established, and for encroaching on the authority of the king, although he was of age, and perfectly in a condition to govern his kingdom, to send him, as his friend and brother-in-law, an army of forty thousand men, which he might dispose of at his pleasure for the purpose of reducing the insurgents to obedience. Anthony, hearing at the same time, that Philip, after settling his affairs in the Low Countries, intended to embark for Spain, began to tremble for his principality of Bearn: resigning all his projects of grandeur, he only sought for an honourable pretext for retiring; and this his adversaries were careful to afford him, by proposing that he should, himself, execute the commission which had been entrusted to his brother the cardinal of Bourbon, and his cousin the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, and conduct the princess Elizabeth to the frontiers of Spain. He was afterwards detained in Bearn, with the vain hope of recovering his former dominions by a negotiation, with which he was amused by the queen-mother and the duke of Alva.

While the court were at Rheims, the duke of Guise, in a private conversation which he had with the admiral, told him in confidence that a man, whose name he would not mention, but who passed for a friend of Coligni's, wished to deprive him of the government of Picardy, by representing that the incessant care and attention which the administration and defence of a frontier province required, were wholly incompatible with the duties of an admiral. Coligni could not mistake the person to whom the duke alluded, because the prince of Condé had been his competitor for the post, and he alone could form pretensions to an office which had been successively holden by his father and elder brother; he therefore entered into an explanation with the prince on the subject, and after expressing his concern, in the most affectionate manner, at his having applied to any other than himself, in order to obtain what he was justly entitled to, he offered to give up the government immediately. Condé protested, with great truth, that he had no concern whatever in the business, nor could he easily forgive the admiral for having thought him capable of an action so dark and treacherous. Coligni, however, still persisted in his determination to resign his post; for considering that he should be unable to keep the frontier towns in a proper state of defence, if the cardinal of Lorraine, who had

the sole management of the finances, should refuse him the necessary supplies for that purpose; and that he should thereby run the risk of receiving an affront, either from the enemy in case of war, or from the king himself, on his visit to the provinces, he rather chose to anticipate his adversaries, than to wait till they chose to dismiss him. He therefore gave in his resignation, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the queen-mother, and strongly recommended the prince of Condé as his successor, whose pretensions to that office were, he said, anterior to his own, and whom he never would have consented to deprive of it, but for the deference which he owed to the commands of the late king. But his recommendations were disregarded, and the government of Picardy was conferred on the marshal de Brissac.

The prince of Condé was justly offended at the preference given, under such circumstances, to a private gentleman over a prince of the blood: and his resentment on this account probably induced him to pay greater attention to the suggestions of his mother-in-law, the lady of Roye, and to his wife, the princess of Condé, who being strongly attached to the new doctrines, and surrounded by enthusiastic ministers, had long exhorted him to open his ears to instruction, and to take under his immediate protection the numbers of unhappy men who were persecuted on account of their religious principles.

This party was in a very different situation from that to which it had been reduced but a few years before; it no longer consisted of a few fortuitous assemblies of obscure individuals, whom the publication of an ordonnance, or the sight of a commissary, put to flight, and frequently dispersed never more to meet: it now formed an immense corporation of citizens of all ranks and conditions, who held assemblies *political* and religious*, and who began to calculate their strength: From Boulogne to Bayonne, from Brest to Metz, France was crowded with churches, whose enthusiastic ministers, long accustomed to brave the dangers of imprisonment and torture, inspired their proselytes with the same degree of audacity, and the same resolution; connected together by one common danger, they maintained a close correspondence with Calvin, and through his means, with some of the Swiss cantons, the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse, who having embraced the same religion, thought themselves interested in procuring its solid establishment in a neighbouring kingdom. If, notwithstanding these advantages, the Hugonots still continued to keep themselves concealed, and to hold their assemblies in the night, even in those places where they were nearly as numerous as the Catholics, indignant at the restraint imposed on them, they took proper precautions for repelling any violence that might be offered them, and clearly evinced, by their conduct, that they only waited for a leader to make them act in concert with each other, in order to extort a toleration which they regarded as their right, but which they knew would never be voluntarily granted. The prince of Condé, who enjoyed but little credit at court and in the council, naturally inclined to the adoption of violent measures, but to this mode of proceeding an obstacle occurred, which, at first, they knew not how to surmount.

* Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 58

It was first asked—Whether, when a sovereign, either from extreme youth, or any other natural defect, was rendered incapable of governing, it did not belong to the nation to form a council of administration? and whether they who, without consulting the nation, had, by stratagem, taken possession of the supreme authority, and meant to maintain it by force, might not be regarded as usurpers and plunderers?

II. Whether the principal nobility of the kingdom, headed by one or more of the princes of the blood, had not a right to demand a convocation of the states-general, and to procure for the three orders, by lawful means, the liberty of assembling? What were the means which it was lawful to employ for that purpose, as well with regard to the sovereign, as to the other orders of the state?

III. Whether, if convinced that their humble request and their just complaints could not reach the ears of the king, without exciting the rage and provoking the resentment of those violent men who surrounded his throne, and imposed on his youth and inexperience, and without exposing the lives of their deputies to extreme danger, they would not be authorized in sending with them an escort of armed men, not for the purpose of attacking nor even of threatening any one, but merely to guard their deputies from all violence, as well on the road, as during their residence at court?

IV. Whether the provisional regulations which this assembly might be induced to adopt, would not have the force of law until the assembly of the states-general should meet, when they should be duly examined?

V. In what manner they ought to conduct themselves towards the oppressors of public liberty, and whether it was permitted to kill them, in case they could not seize their persons and bring them to a formal trial?

Such were the principal questions which the Hugonots wished to be propounded, before they proceeded to the execution of their plan. The prince of Condé was appointed their leader; and John de Barri, lord of La Renaudie, of an ancient family in the Perigord, but of a ruined fortune, was chosen for his lieutenant and representative.

The Guises knew nothing of this transaction; content with watching the king of Navarre and the constable, and thinking themselves rid of them, at least for a time, they laboured, in concert with the chancellor Olivier, to repair the disorders which had crept into the administration, and to rescue the state from the ruin which seemed to threaten it. Though the treasury was exhausted, the nation considerably in debt, and demands were daily encreasing, yet the dreadful situation to which the farmers and peasants were reduced, rendered a considerable diminution of the taxes a matter of necessity.

They began by reducing the interests of the sums which had been borrowed of the bankers, as well in France as in other countries, during the late reign; and those bankers were compelled either to reimburse, or carry to account all the money they had received above the rate of interest as now arbitrarily settled*. This.

* Piguierre—La Planché—Villars—La Poplinière—Manuscrits de Fontanieu—Ordon. de Fontanon.

measure was both unjust and impolitic: unjust, as it violated, without the consent of one of the parties, an engagement voluntarily contracted and solemnly confirmed: and impolitic, since it shut up those sources to which the nation had been accustomed to apply in the hour of distress.

But the most difficult, and not the least necessary task, yet remained to be accomplished; viz. The reduction of the army. It had been resolved in the council, after the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, to reduce the national forces to fifteen hundred lances, and six or seven thousand infantry; but many obstacles occurred to the execution of this plan. During the war, which had continued for nearly thirty years, a new generation of men had been formed, who knew no other profession than that of a soldier; and no other patrimony than their pay, and the contributions they levied: by suddenly depriving them of their situation in life, without affording them any other means of subsistence, the government would almost reduce them to the necessity of living by plunder. Nor was the situation of the officers much better than that of the soldiers: most of them were gentlemen, born with ambition, who had abandoned the care of their domestic concerns, and sacrificed the greater part of their fortune, in order to obtain promotion in the service, and to procure rank or pensions. These were not only debarred any kind of recompence for the loss they sustained by the reform, but were even deprived of their salaries for several quarters that were due to them; this violent and unjust plan had been adopted towards the conclusion of the last reign, and was pursued under the present. The commissioners appointed to superintend its execution had been exposed to the greatest danger; in order to get rid of the soldiers, they had divided them into different corps, arming those who were retained against those who were disbanded, and cutting to pieces such companies as were most untractable; numbers of them entered on board the fleet which Philip was fitting out against the states of Barbary. The officers insisted on being treated with greater delicacy and respect; and it was not possible to call in question their right to make a direct application to the king and his ministers, in order to solicit what was lawfully due to them; they accordingly repaired in crowds to Fontainebleau, where the court then resided.

Though the enemies of the Guises were already sufficiently numerous, yet do they seem to have studied the means of encreasing their number. Anne Dubourg, one of the members of the parliament, who had been committed to prison by Henry for delivering his sentiments with freedom on the subject of religion, was now proceeded against with the utmost rigour; in vain did he protest against the irregularity of the proceeding, against the competency of the court to try him, and against the admission of men who were his avowed enemies to sit as his judges; all his remonstrances were disregarded, and after a trial, which, from the injustice and partiality that marked it, could scarcely be called a trial, he was sentenced to be hanged; he was accordingly executed at Paris, and died with the same firmness and fortitude that had distinguished his conduct through life; the other magistrates who had been imprisoned at the same time were released, on making on apology for their imprudence.

Meanwhile the assemblies of the Hugonots became more frequent, and a number of satires and libels, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, and to excite an insurrection, was distributed by their emissaries, throughout the capital*. The Guises, on the their part, not content with renewing the ancient ordonnances, and with encouraging informers, by the hope of reward, caused a new edict to be published, by which it was ordained that, all the houses in which such assemblies should be holden, should be razed to the very foundation, without even excepting those which belonged to religious communities, or to proprietors settled in the country, who, in this instance, were made responsible for the conduct of their tenants.

Two young apprentices, the one a painter, and the other a musical instrument-maker, had been initiated, by their masters, into the doctrines of Calvin, and taken to those nocturnal assemblies at which the Hugonots received the sacrament. Being afterwards driven on account of their misconduct, from their master's houses, they returned home, and going to confession, were sent, by the director of their consciences, to the president Saint-André, and the inquisitor Démocharés, who, after bestowing on them many caresses, took their deposition, in which they swore, that they had frequently attended the assemblies of the Calvinists, in the Place Maubert, at the house of an advocate, named Trouillas, who had a wife, and two daughters grown up: that, at a numerous assembly holden on the night of Holy Thursday, after the service was over, the lights were extinguished, when each man laid hold of a woman, and that one of them had one of the advocate's daughters whom he knew very well, notwithstanding it was dark, and with whom he passed the remainder of the night. Catharine enraged at the perusal of this deposition, acknowledged the justice of the cardinal's proceedings, and meeting, just after, with some of her maids of honour, whom she knew to be attached to the Hugonots, she repeated to them what she had read, and declared, that if ever they attended those assemblies, she herself would inform against them, and abandon them to all the rigour of the laws.

A. D. 1560.] At the commencement of this year, the king, whose general debility was greatly encreased, and in whose face several reddish spots had lately appeared, was advised by his physicians to repair to Blois, where the air was more salubrious and temperate than at Saint-Germain, and there prepare himself, by moderate exercise, for the use of the aromatic baths. Some evil designing persons, apprised of his intentions, had spread a report that the king was afflicted with the leprosy, and that the only remedy which could be of service to him was to bathe in the blood of young children. A number of emissaries had visited all the villages within twenty leagues of Blois; and while some, without entering into any explanation, took an exact list of the most healthy and beautiful children; others, who followed them at some distance, revealed the secret, and promised the parents, for a trifling reward, to procure the erasure of their childrens' names

* La Planche—La Place—La Poplinière—De Thou—Beze.

from the fatal list. By this abominable manœuvre, the report, absurd as it was, obtained such credit with the common people, that, instead of the acclamations of joy with which they were wont to hail their sovereigns, alarm, sorrow and desolation marked the progress of the court. Most of the towns and villages were abandoned, while such as had courage to remain in their houses, had strongly barricaded the doors, and did not even dare to look through the windows: troops of peasants, carrying off their children, were descried in the fields, at a distance from the high roads; and when pursued, they fell on their knees, and in the most piteous accents implored mercy for their children. The king, at this unusual spectacle, burst into tears, and insisted, with such eagerness, on knowing the cause of it, that his attendants were under the necessity of telling him the truth; he endeavoured to dispel the fears of the wretched fugitives, and ordered the strictest search to be made after the authors of such an infamous report; but they had all disappeared except one, who was apprehended at Loches. This man, when applied to the rack, had the audacity to maintain that he had only acted in obedience to the orders of the cardinal of Lorraine.

During these transactions, the queen of England had concluded a treaty with the Scottish rebels, and prepared a manifesto in justification of her conduct.—Having published her manifesto, she sent several copies of it to her secret partisans on the continent.

The preparations were carried on with rapidity, and the Guises, notwithstanding their numerous spies, and notwithstanding the advice they had received from foreign courts, would have been taken by surprise, if the man who was most interested in the success of the scheme had not himself betrayed the secret*. La Renaudie, who had assumed the name of Le Forêt, went to Paris in order to inform the prince of Condé of what had passed at Nantes, and to confer with Chandieu, the minister, and the elders of the reformed church in the capital, on the subject of the contributions they were to supply on the present important occasion. He took up his residence at a house in the suburb of Saint Germain, belonging to one Peter des Avenelles, an advocate, who secretly professed the reformed religion. This man perceiving, from the numbers of people that visited La Renaudie at all hours of the day and night, from the anxiety visible in their countenances, and from certain expressions which escaped them, that some great enterprise was in agitation, reproached him with his want of confidence in a person who was so firmly attached to the party, and by that means extorted from him a confession of all the resolutions adopted by the assembly at Nantes. But though Avenelles had solemnly sworn to observe the most inviolable secrecy, either the dread of punishment or the hope of reward operated so powerfully on his mind, that, as soon as La Renaudie had left his house, he went to de Vouze, a master of requests, and Millet, secretary to the duke of Guise, to whom he revealed the whole secret. The Guises immediately communicated the matter to Catharine of

* La Planche—La Popliniere—De Thou—Memoires de Conde—Davila.

Medicis, who in the midst of her alarms, recollecting a letter she had received two months before from the ministers of the reformed church at Paris, in which they warned her of the danger to which the government would be exposed, should they persist in persecuting the Hugonots, could not forbear observing that those sectaries were men of their words. The chancellor Olivier, deeply affected at the news, reproached, with great bitterness, the Guises, for having neglected to follow his advice, for the violence of their administration, the tone of authority, and the threats, which, in spite of his remonstrances, they had substituted for the language of confidence and affection, so proper to proceed from the mouth of a king of France, and a monarch of sixteen; and he declared, that to their own obstinacy alone they ought to ascribe the dreadful situation to which they were now reduced.

But while the duke of Guise endeavoured to inspire others with confidence, he was not without inquietude himself: knowing the talents of the three Châtillons, and particularly of the admiral, formerly his comrade in the field, but now his most inveterate enemy, he foresaw that if they were the conductors of the enterprise, they must have taken their measures so well that he should not be able to foil them without great difficulty and considerable danger. In order to learn whether this was the case, he had recourse to Catharine of Medicis, who preserved an appearance of intimacy and confidence with them. The queen-mother accordingly wrote to request their immediate attendance at court, as she wished to have their advice on a matter of the utmost importance. Although it does not seem probable that the three brothers, who were avowed partisans of the new religion, and inseparable friends of the prince of Condé, should not have been apprised of the conspiracy, yet the whole of their conduct tends to demonstrate that they had taken no immediate part in it, that they had not attended any of the assemblies at which the plot was formed, and that, following the example of the king of Navarre and the constable, they had determined to wait the issue of the business before they had declared themselves. They obeyed the summons from Catharine without the smallest hesitation, and that princess having conducted them to her closet, where they found the chancellor, informed them of the discovery that had been made, and conjured them by the friendship they bore her, not to abandon her at such a dreadful conjuncture: then addressing herself to the admiral, she desired him to declare, with that frankness and candour which she had ever remarked in him, whence the evil proceeded, and what remedy should be applied.

Coligni, after assuring her that he and his brothers would never forsake her, but would shed the last drop of their blood in her defence, were such a sacrifice necessary, observed that the only cause of the insurrection was the excessive rigour with which all who professed to live according to the purity of the Gospel were persecuted, without being permitted to justify themselves, or without any attention being paid to the offers they had so repeatedly made, of submitting to the decisions of a council, either general or national: that it was infinitely dangerous

to reduce a great number of men to the necessity of chusing between the service which in their opinion, they owed to God, and the obedience and duty they owed to the king.

This opinion was discussed in the council, and was so strongly supported, that the Guises did not dare to oppose it; but they took care, under pretence of preserving the royal authority from encroachment, so to word the edict, as to render it wholly inadequate to the purpose it was intended to promote. The king was made to declare, that, on his accession to the throne, having found several provinces of his kingdom already infected with the poison of heresy, as well through a crowd of preachers imported from Geneva, as from a profusion of dangerous publications read without precaution, he had thought it his duty to have recourse to exertions of vigour in order to check the progress of the contagion.

The edict was published at Paris on the eleventh of March; and on the preceding day the principal conspirators had assembled, according to agreement, at the castle of Fredonniere, situated at a small distance from Blois*. From the sudden removal of the court, and various other circumstances, they had no longer any doubt but that their secret was discovered, and that they should find their enemies prepared to receive them.

The duke of Nemours, leaving Amboise in the night with a company of light horse, took post near the castle of Noizai, where the troops from Gascony and Bearn were stationed. He surprised and carried off captains Raunai and Mazeres, as they were walking in one of the avenues, while the baron de Castelnau was left to defend the fortress. Nemours, leaving the greater part of his company before the gates of the castle, to prevent the garrison from escaping, conducted his two prisoners to Amboise. Castelnau ought to have taken this opportunity to have cut his way through the enemy; but as the castle of Noizai was one of the principal magazines for arms and ammunition in the possession of the conspirators, and as the loss of it would have rendered useless a great number of soldiers, who were to repair thither unarmed, in order to escape observation, he was loth to abandon it, and, therefore, contented himself with sending several messengers to La Renaudie, to advise him of the capture of his two companions, and of the danger which threatened him, unless he were speedily relieved. Nemours, however, soon returned with such a superior force, that Castelnau, finding his men totally disheartened, and deprived of all means of escape, at length consented to a conference. Nemours asked them what was the object of their taking arms, and whether they wished to rob the French of the glory they had ever enjoyed, of being more faithful to their sovereign than any other people upon earth?

Castelnau replied, that so far from renouncing that glory, they were labouring, in imitation of their ancestors, to deserve it; that informed of the danger to

* La Planche—La Place—La Popliniere—De Thou—Davila—Castelnau

which the king was exposed, they were going to present a petition to him, and to expose the perfidious machinations of two foreigners, who had already usurped his authority, and who carried their pretensions still farther.—“Ought subjects,” said Nemours, “to present a petition to their sovereign sword in hand?” These “swords,” returned Castelnau, “were only destined to open us a passage to the throne; our petition would have been presented on our knees, in the posture of supplication.” “If that be all you desire,” returned Nemours, “you may speedily be satisfied; give up your arms to me, and I pledge myself to conduct you, in safety, to the foot of the throne, where you shall have full liberty to prefer your complaints.” The duke’s proposal being accepted, the soldiers delivered up their arms, and were conducted to Amboise, where they were all thrown into prison. The other captains employed by the duke of Guise, were equally successful with Nemours; laying concealed in ravines and among the bushes, in places by which the conspirators were to pass, they carried them off with little resistance, and conducted them, in bands, to the town of Amboise. The most distinguished were put in prison; but the subalterns and privates were proceeded against in a summary manner, and hanged, either on the parapets, or else on long poles, fixed in the walls of the castle.

After a blow thus decisive, it was presumed that the conspirators would speedily return, provided a passage was left open for them. The chancellor Olivier, already deeply afflicted at the sight of so many executions, and perceiving that the town was still crowded with a multitude of unfortunate men, whose only crime was the too easy belief they had paid to some of their ministers, who had really persuaded them that it was only intended to present a supplicatory address to the king, remonstrated with great energy on the injustice of treating them as criminals, and on the danger of reducing them to a state of desperation. He desired that the king would grant fresh letters of remission to all who should return peaceably to their homes, and even promised to lend a favourable ear to their complaints and remonstrances. But the king, notwithstanding his devotion to their will, appeared restless and unhappy. In a transport of grief, he had one day shed tears, and exclaimed, with acrimony, in presence of the cardinal; “*What injury have I done to my people, that they should seek my life? I am willing to hear their complaints, and to render them justice: I no longer know what to think, but I am told that you are the only object of their resentment; I wish you were absent for a time, that I might know whether ’tis against you, or against me, that their rage is directed.*”

Young Ferriere-Maligni, knowing that La Bigne was a prisoner, and not doubting but that he would reveal the whole mystery, chose the best horse in the prince of Condé’s stable, and with the assistance of Desvaux, the prince’s equerry, who accompanied him for four or five leagues, left Amboise and took the road to Lyons. La Bigne, in fact, thinking himself released from his oath, by the death of the person at whose request he had taken it, decyphered all the manuscripts that

had been found in his possession, declared that the prince of Condé was the secret leader of the conspiracy, and that La Renaudie was only his lieutenant. He neither concealed the project for seizing or massacring the Guises, nor any of the measures which had been adopted for the execution of that design. He even added—either because such was the fact, or because he wished to please those on whom his life depended, and who were deeply interested in not appearing to have been the real objects of the conspiracy.

Although this deposition, of a man perfectly well-informed of the whole business, precise in all its circumstances, and exactly conformable to all those which had been before taken, was deemed of great weight, yet it did not appear sufficient to justify the prosecution of a prince of the blood. The king sent an order the next morning to the prince to attend his levee, accompanied by a prohibition to leave Amboise: at the same time the grand-provost arrested Desvaux, the prince's equerry, who, being interrogated on the subject of Maligni's escape, replied that, as that gentleman had the honour to live on terms of friendship with his master, who even acknowledged him for his relation, he had not thought it necessary to apply for *permission* to let him have a horse, and to accompany him as far on the road as he wished.

The prince, in obedience to the order he had received, attended the king's levee, when Francis told him, with an air of severity, that several of the conspirators had made oath that he was their leader; and should that prove to be the case he would teach him how dangerous it was to attack a king of France. The prince, without betraying any symptoms of fear or surprise, replied, that he had already learned from public report what his majesty had just revealed to him; that he only requested he would assemble that very day the members of his council, such of the princes of the blood, and of the knights of the order of Saint Michael, as were then at court, and all the foreign ministers and ambassadors, since finding himself publicly defamed by the malice of his enemies, he wished his justification to be equally public. While the prince was at the levee, the grand-provost went, by the king's orders, to search his house, where it was said a vast quantity of arms were concealed, and to examine his papers. No arms, however, were found, and the provost declared, that the papers contained nothing that could substantiate the accusation. The residence and papers of the king of Navarre's secretary were likewise searched and examined, by command of the cardinal of Lorraine, but with no better effect.

The prince of Condé went to the castle a few minutes before the council had assembled, and paid a visit to the queen-mother, with whom he found the cardinal of Lorraine: Catharine, deeply affected at the sight of the prince, told him that she did not believe a syllable of what she had heard to his prejudice.

As soon as the council was assembled, the prince entered the apartment, and in a manly speech justified himself from the accusations that had been preferred against him by men of suspicious characters, stimulated, no doubt, by the suggestions of his secret enemies, or intimidated by the threats of torture; if, he said, there

were one man in the whole world who would accuse him, not by indirect means, but in an open manner, of having shaken the fidelity of the people, of having urged towns to revolt, or of having either said or done any thing which could tend to excite a sedition, he would throw off his quality of prince of the blood to fight him on equal terms, till he should extort from him a confession that he was a liar and a coward. The duke of Guise, to whom this challenge seemed to be directed, although he had vehemently opposed the present proceeding, the event of which he foresaw, artfully observed, that the king ought not to suffer the reputation of a prince, so nearly related to the throne, to be affected, in the smallest degree, by the interested accusations of a few miserable wretches, who sought to diminish their own crime by transferring the principal guilt to persons of high distinction.

The baron de Castelnau-Chalosse, the most distinguished personage of the whole party, as well by his birth as his personal merit, was the last whose fate remained to be decided: Being called upon to answer the questions that were put to him, and threatened with the rack, he appeared confused, and, for an instant, remained silent; upon which the duke of Guise told him that he seemed to be frightened. "I do not deny it," replied Castelnau, "for what man, who was not totally deprived of sensation, could say that he was exempt from fear, when surrendered to the discretion of enemies implacable in their hatred, and thirsting for his blood? But give me my arms again, and then dare to repeat the same expression; or suppose yourself in my place, and then candidly tell me whether you would not tremble in every limb? The fear, however, with which you reproach me, will not, I hope, deprive me of the judgment and presence of mind necessary to ensure my justification."

Being known to have passed the greater part of his life at court or in the field, they could not imagine that he was in the least qualified for theological disputations. But here they were again disappointed, for in the questions which were put to him in regard to his religion, his answers were so opposite, and his replies so pointed, that his adversaries were completely foiled. The chancellor astonished, could not forbear the exclamation, that it was easy to perceive the baron had well studied his lesson. "Yes, Sir," replied Castelnau, "I have studied it well; you would be authorised to despise me, and I should think myself truly despicable, if I had embarked in a cause, in the event of which the salvation of my soul and the happiness of my country were interested, without previously satisfying all my scruples."—"But how happens it," said Olivier, "that you have thus suddenly become such an experienced theologist; for at the time that you frequented the court, you did not pay much attention to those controversies?" "That's true," returned the baron, "but does it become you to put such a question to me? Recollect the visit I paid you at your estate at Leuville; you then asked me how I had passed my time in prison; and when I answered, in studying the scriptures in order to understand the merits of those disputes which made so much noise, you expressed your approbation of my labours, and dispelled the few doubts that still remained on my mind: if my memory do not fail me, we then perfectly agreed in our

sentiments : how happens it that in so short a space of time, one of us has so far changed his opinion, that we no longer understand each other ? but you was then in disgrace, and really spoke what you thought : wretched slave to courtly favour, how dare you, merely to please a man by whom you are, probably, despised, thus betray God and your conscience ?”

As Olivier betrayed the most unequivocal marks of confusion at this reproof, the cardinal of Lorraine, came to his assistance, anxious to confound a man who appeared so firmly fixed in his principles ; but, contrary to his expectation, he suffered an acknowledgment to be extorted from him, which Castelnau called on the duke of Guise to witness. The duke replied, that it was not consistent with his profession to enter into disputes of that nature, and that he gloried in his ignorance on religious concerns. “ I am sorry for that,” returned Castelnau—“ for I have so good an opinion of you, that I durst swear that were you as well informed as your brother in these matters, you would make a better use of your knowledge.”

The presence of mind, the determined courage and unshaken firmness which Castelnau displayed during his trial, had fixed the eyes of the whole court upon him ; and great as was the danger of appearing his friend at such a conjuncture, three noblemen of the first rank, the duke of Longueville, the admiral Coligni, and the duke of Aumale himself, who, though a strong Catholic, bore not that hatred to the Hugonots which his brothers did, ventured to intercede in his favour ; and Catharine of Medicis joined in the same petition ; but the young monarch, tutored no doubt by the Guises, displayed a pertinacity unnatural at his age, and, remaining inflexible to their intreaties, confirmed the sentence. When that sentence was read to Castelnau, by which he was declared guilty of *leze-majesty*, he exclaimed—“ I call my judges to witness that the declaration “ is false ; unless to have opposed the tyranny of the Guises to the utmost of my “ power, be deemed an act of *leze-majesty* ; but, in that case, they should have “ begun, by declaring them kings.” He suffered decapitation, and met his fate with coolness and intrepidity : Raunai and Mazeres experienced a similar punishment : Briquebaut de Villemongis, another of the conspirators, when brought to the scaffold, dipped his hands in the blood of his associates, and raising his eyes towards heaven, exclaimed—*Heavenly Father, behold the blood of thy children, which thou wilt revenge.*

The prince of Condé, hurried away towards the place of execution by some pretended friends, who had undertaken to watch his words and motions, was not sufficient master of himself to conceal his emotions ; being reproached with this, he replied, “ I freely confess, that I feel for the fate of those brave officers who have done such signal service to the state under the two last reigns : I will even acknowledge that I am at a loss to conceive why none of the ministers should have represented to the king the prejudice which the state would sustain by such a loss : for if it should be attacked by any foreign power, they will probably repent the having deprived him of its best defenders.” These expressions were carefully re-

peated to the cardinal of Lorraine, who never forgót them: but the grief of the chancellor, who had been compelled, by his station, to become an instrument of vengeance to the Guises, was excessive: inconsolable, at having neglected to oppose, with sufficient vigour, the violent administration of the cardinal of Lorraine, he felt more deeply the reproaches of his own conscience, than those of the unfortunate victims whom he had consigned to execution: the acuteness of his feelings brought on a deep melancholy, attended with the loss of sleep, and followed by a burning fever, which, in a few days, reduced him to the brink of the grave. The cardinal, apprised of his situation, went to pay him a last visit, but Olivier, tired of constraint, turned his back on the minister, and in a few moments breathed his last.

The removal of the court to Tours, gave an opportunity to the prince of Condé to leave Amboise, and, notwithstanding the insidious attempts of the cardinal of Lorraine again to allure him to court, and his secret orders to arrest him on the road, he effected his escape into Gascony. The kingdom, meanwhile, was thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion: the Hugonots, in different places, seized on the churches and convents, and in contempt of the prohibitory edicts, publicly celebrated divine service: at Nîmes they drove the priests from the church of Saint-Stephen, during the celebration of mass, broke the images, and trod the consecrated wafer under foot.

The enmity entertained by the Hugonots against the Guises seemed daily to acquire fresh strength: satires and libels were distributed in great abundance, and one, in particular against the cardinal of Lorraine, attracted the public attention; it was entitled the *TIGER*, and contained a list of the acts of cruelty and perfidy perpetrated by that prelate, together with a scandalous account of his amours with a lady of distinction, his near relation, who, according to Brantome, had nearly died of grief in consequence of this publication.

The intelligence which the Guises continued to receive from the different provinces, where the minds of the people seemed ripe for revolt, and the adverse state of affairs in Scotland, induced them to renounce all the projects they had formed upon that kingdom, and to recall, with all possible expedition, the troops they had sent thither, whose presence in France had now become necessary to their own defence.

By the treaty of peace concluded with Elizabeth, it was stipulated, that the king and queen of France and Scotland should henceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom: that all titles and public acts in which that title had been employed, should either be altered or abrogated; that the farther reparation demanded by Elizabeth for the injury she had sustained in that particular should be referred to the decision of commissioners, to be appointed at a future period; and, lastly, that the king and queen should perform the promises they had made to their subjects in Scotland.

Meantime the Guises, resolved to engage the king and the queen-mother to

convoke; at Fontainebleau, not the states-general, nor even an assembly of notables, but an extraordinary council, which the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, the state counsellors, knights of the order of St. Michael, and masters of requests, should be summoned to attend, in order that those persons who were most interested in the welfare of the state would concur, if possible, in the adoption of some efficacious means for the restoration of public tranquillity, and in the determination to enforce the execution of such measures as they should deem necessary for that purpose.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, convinced that this measure was only adopted for the purpose of bringing them to court and securing their persons, wished to have the advice of the constable; they accordingly sent a messenger to him to say, that as all their captains were engaged in an expedition against Lyons, which they had every reason to expect would prove successful, they thought it would be dangerous to accept the king's invitation. The constable exhorted them to desist from their projected attempt upon Lyons, advised them rather to direct their efforts against the towns of Limoges and Poitiers, which would serve to cover the provinces in their possession, and might be defended with greater ease and convenience; but, he observed, that they should not have recourse to this violent proceeding until all other means had failed: he conjured them to attend the assembly, and to send word to their partisans to meet them on the road; at all events, he said, they would find their friends at Fontainebleau so well attended that nobody would dare to molest them. This advice, however, was rejected by the king of Navarre, from the conviction that, if the Guises intended to secure their persons, they would take care to prevent them from reaching Fontainebleau, the two princes, therefore, sent a courier with letters to the king and queen-mother, to excuse, on account of the shortness of the notice, and the length of the journey, their attendance at the council.

The council, however, met on the appointed day, when the debates were warm and animated: the admiral Coligni, presented a petition from the Hugonots of Normandy, professing their attachment to the king, and demanding a toleration of their religion; this petition, defended with zeal and ability by Coligni, was opposed with violence by the cardinal of Lorraine, who, in the course of his speech, observed that the king could not comply with the request of the Hugonots, without risking the salvation of his soul, and incurring the guilt of perjury: the final result of this meeting was the distribution of two circular letters; the first was addressed to the seneschals and bailiffs, who were ordered by the king to assemble without delay the provincial assemblies, for the purpose of electing deputies to the states-general, which were appointed to meet at Meaux, on the tenth of December; the second, to the bishops, enjoying immediate residence, and commanding them to meet at Paris on the twentieth of January to hold a national council, unless the pope should, in the interval, be induced to convoke, (agreeably to the promise he had made the king,) a general council.

The meanest and most dishonest artifices were now employed by the Guisès to get the prince of Condé into their power; and in this attempt they were seconded by Catharine of Medicis, who exerted all those arts of hypocrisy in which she was so eminently versed*. At length they succeeded in extorting from the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé a promise to repair to court, attended only by their usual retinue; and as the violent measures they meant to pursue would naturally excite great discontent among the nobility, they sought to secure their friendship, by the distribution of honours and rewards: the government of Touraine, Anjou, the Blaisois and Vendomois, was conferred on the duke of Montpensier; and that of the Orleanois, the Chartrain and Berry, on the prince of la Roche-sur-Yon: eighteen new knights of the order of Saint-Michael were created at the same time, and for the same purpose; and from this Era may be dated the decline of that illustrious order, which had subsisted, with great glory, for a whole century.

About the middle of October, the king, with an army of ten thousand disciplined troops, repaired to Orleans, and struck terror and consternation into the inhabitants of that town, who were strongly attached to the Hugonots. Meanwhile the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé set out on their journey, and Francis issued orders to the Catholic gentlemen who resided in the provinces through which they were to pass, to levy troops, disperse all assemblies, political or religious, and kill, without mercy or discrimination, all who should attend them.

Notwithstanding the prayers and solicitations of the princess of Condé, who threw herself at the king's feet, and implored his mercy in favour of her husband, Francis, with an unfeeling perseverance, unnatural at his age, pursued the necessary measures for bringing the prince to trial. A commission, composed of Christopher de Thou, president of the parliament of Paris; of James Viole and Bartholomew Faye, judges of the same court; Bourdin, attorney-general: and the secretary du Tillet, was appointed to interrogate him in prison; but the prince protested against the competency of the subservient tribunal, and appealed to the king in parliament. The appeal, however, was rejected by Francis; and the chancellor, with some members of the council, and all the knights of Saint-Michael and masters of requests who were then at Orleans, being added to the commission, the trial was pursued and the prince, being found guilty of leze-majesty, was sentenced to lose his head. The count of Sancerre, one of his judges, peremptorily refused to sign the sentence, and, when pressed to it by the king, replied, that any other command from his majesty should meet with instant compliance from him, but that he would rather lose his own head, than transmit to his children the shame of reading their father's name annexed to a sentence of death pronounced against a prince, whose descendants might possibly become

their sovereigns. But the refusal of this honourable old man made no impression on the king, who confirmed the sentence, and appointed the tenth of December, the day on which the states general were to meet, for the execution of the prince.

On the nineteenth of November, Francis, as he was attending vespers at the Jacobins, fainted in the church, whence he was conveyed senseless and motionless to his apartment; on the recovery of his senses, he complained of a violent pain in his ear, which was speedily followed by a burning fever, attended with symptoms of the most alarming nature. The Guises, thrown into the utmost consternation by this unexpected event, assembled their friends, some of whom were of opinion that they should extort from the king an order for the immediate execution of the prince of Condé, and the imprisonment of the king of Navarre, as the best means of securing a preponderance to their own party, but this advice was overruled by the cardinal of Tournon, not on the plea of justice or humanity, but from considerations of policy.

The king of Navarre, meanwhile, embraced the opportunity to court a reconciliation with the queen-mother, who, at the instigation of the duchess of Montpensier and the chancellor, concluded an accommodation with that prince, and consented to receive him and his brother into favour, on condition that he should renounce all pretensions to the regency in the event of the king's demise, and submit to a reconciliation with the Guises, who she assured him, had been nowise instrumental to the imprisonment of his brother; false as this assurance incontestibly was, she promised Anthony that he should hear it confirmed by the king himself. He was accordingly conducted to the royal apartment, where the feeble Francis, docile to the last, declared, in the presence of several witnesses, that he had caused the prince of Condé to be imprisoned of his own accord, and contrary to the advice of his uncles, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine*.

The king's disorder proved to be an abscess in the head, which, bursting, put an end to his existence on the fifth of December, in the eighteenth year of his age and the second of his reign. His body was privately conveyed to the royal vault at Saint-Denis, attended only by Lansac and La Brosse, who had been his governors.

* Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 583.

CHARLES THE NINTH.

A. D. 1560, 1561.] ON the death of Francis the crown devolved on his next brother Charles, then only in the eleventh year of his age, who accordingly received the oaths of the magistrates and great officers of the court, whom he confirmed in the possession of their places and privileges. The early age of the infant monarch incapacitating him from holding the reins of government, his mother, Catharine of Medicis, at first, assumed the authority, though not the title, of Regent, but after a short time she was compelled to relinquish a considerable portion of her power to the king of Navarre, who was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The states-general, summoned by Francis to assemble at Orleans on the thirteenth of December, were suffered, in consequence of a decision *that the king never died*, to meet on the appointed day*.

In the present temper of the kingdom it could not be supposed that an assembly so numerous, composed of members of different sects, would act with concord, uniformity, and effect: the gratification of private resentment, rose superior to concern for the public welfare; and party contentions, with all their base concomitants of hasty accusations and petulant invective, were permitted to disgrace the proceedings of a convention assembled for the noblest purpose—to rescue the nation from distress, by giving strength and stability to the laws, and happiness and relief to the people. The Hugonots complained of the injuries they had sustained, the persecutions they had experienced, and the hardships to which they were exposed; demanded a repeal of all the penal laws passed in the preceding reigns, and claimed a free and perfect toleration of their religion. The clergy of the established church were not less loud in their complaints, nor less urgent in their applications for redress; they accused the sectaries of misrepresenting their con-

* Legende du Cardinal de Lorraine—La Planche—Histoire Manuscrite de Francois II.—De Thou:

duct, of defaming their characters, and of sowing dissensions between the pastors and their flocks : they reproached them with exerting their superiority, in those places where they were strongest, to compel the Catholics to attend their meetings, to beat and mutilate the priests, to take forcible possession of the churches, to overturn the altars, to profane the sacred vases, and to inspire such terror into the regular clergy, that they did not dare to appear in public with any of the external marks of their profession. To redress these grievances, it was required, that all the penal laws against heretics should be rigidly enforced : that a *religious test* should be imposed, as an indispensable qualification for holding any office judicial, municipal, or political : and that the introduction of the money and inhabitants of *Geneva* into the kingdom should be strictly prohibited.

During the interval between the dissolution of the states and the meeting of the new convention, the kingdom was alike agitated by religious disputes and political intrigues. The queen-mother, anxious to secure the attachment of the Hugonots, caused letters-patent to be issued, by which the king forbade all his subjects, under the severest penalties, to insult each other on account of religion, and ordered all those to be released from prison whose only crime was that of having attended the conventicles, or complied with the other forms of the new religion, exacting only from such persons a promise to live *Catholiquement* in future ; and in case they should refuse to make that promise, they were still to be released, but on condition that they should leave the kingdom within a given time : the parliament was enjoined to re-publish the edict of Romorentin, without any restrictions whatever.

The Hugonots, meanwhile, held a synod at Poitiers, where they decided, that as the king was a minor, the states could take no measures for paying his debts, nor contracting any valid engagements whatever with him, until a council, chosen by the states lawfully assembled, should have been appointed to assist him with their advice : that those who now called themselves members of the council, had no right to assume that dignity, since their commission had expired with the monarch from whom they received it, and could not be renewed either by the new king, who was a minor, or by the queen-mother, to whom the law gave no such authority : that the chancellor himself should be warned to abstain from the exercise of his functions, as he did not hold his office either with the approbation of the states, or the consent of the princes of the blood : that, if government should refuse to comply with these demands, the deputies should abstain from all discussion whatever, and prefer an appeal to the future states-general, lawfully assembled.

This decision gave fresh vigour and energy to the intrigues of the court, where the partisans of either religion endeavoured to acquire a superiority ; the arrival of the prince of Condé, at this critical period, seemed to turn the scale in favour of the Hugonots : that nobleman had refused to leave the place of his confinement until the Guises were removed from court, but the cardinal of Lorraine having voluntarily retired to his diocese of Rheims, and the duke of Guise consenting to express his disapprobation of the violent proceedings against the prince, and his

belief of his innocence, Condé repaired Fontainebleau, where he was publicly justified from the charges which had been preferred against him, by a decree of the council; and he afterwards obtained a decision of the parliament of Paris, sanctioning that decree*.

The conjuncture appeared favourable for the promulgation of an edict that had been some time projected by the council; in which the king forbade all his subjects, under pain of death, without any hope of pardon, to insult each other by using the injurious appellations of *Papists* and *Hugonots*: or to violate the safety which every individual ought to enjoy in his own house, under pretence that unlawful assemblies were holden there; it ordained, that all prisoners confined on account of religion should be released; and that all exiles and fugitives should be permitted to return to France, where no one should be suffered to molest them, either in their persons or property, so long as they lived *Catholiquement*, and without giving offence; and if they violated these conditions, they should then be allowed to sell their effects, and retire wheresoever they pleased. The chancellor, knowing the disposition of the parliament of Paris, foresaw that they would oppose the registering of the edict; and in order to obviate this difficulty, he addressed it immediately to the magistrates of the inferior courts, who, by the edict of Romorentin, were appointed judges in dernier resort in all similar cases. The parliament were greatly incensed at this conduct, and, after protesting against such an irregular mode of proceeding, attacked, with greater violence than justice, the edict itself, and maintained the propriety of acting with vigour against the Hugonots, and of promoting their extirpation by encouraging informers†.

In the midst of these disorders Charles repaired to Rheims, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed, on the fifteenth of May, by the cardinal of Lorraine‡; who, availing himself of the opportunity when the king had just sworn, on the altar, to maintain the Catholic religion, and preserve the privileges of the clergy, represented to the queen-mother, in energetic terms, the state of oppression to which the church was reduced, and the necessity of immediately extricating her from a situation which foreboded her speedy ruin. At an extraordinary council holden at Rheims, on this subject, it was unanimously agreed that the best mode of providing a remedy for the evil complained of, would be to appoint an assembly of the prelates, to correct all the abuses which had crept into the Gallican church; and to admit, into such assembly, the most celebrated divines of the new sect, who should be at full liberty to defend their doctrine against the attacks of the Catholic theologians, in presence of the king himself.

But as it would be some time before this measure could be accomplished, it was deemed prudent to pass an edict that might, in the interval, keep the sectaries within bounds. One was accordingly issued—distinguished in history, by the appellation of *The July Edict*—by which all assemblies, public or private, at which

* Memoires de Conde—La Planche—La Popliniere—Du Thou.

† Reg. du Parl.—Mem. de Conde—La Popliniere

‡ De Thou—La Popliniere.

sermons were preached, and the sacrament was administered, in a manner contrary to the rites of the Romish church, were prohibited, under pain of confiscation of property, to all who should attend them. This edict, so different from the last, far from being adapted to the prevention of disorders, was calculated to promote them*.

On the twentieth of July, the prelates, in obedience to the summons they had received, assembled at Poissy, and soon after ten protestant ministers arrived at St. Germain, attended by two of the most celebrated divines of that age—Peter Martyr and Theodore de Bezé or Beza. The first had been a regular canon in the Romish church, then a professor at Strasburgh, where he married a nun; under the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was invited to England, whence he was banished on the accession of Mary; after which he returned to Germany, and was, at this time, first pastor of the church of Zurich. Bezé was by birth a Frenchman, of a noble family in Burgundy; being designed for the church, his parents had procured for him, at a very early age, two valuable livings†. At the age of thirty-two, satiated with voluptuous gratifications, and roused by a dangerous fit of sickness, he aspired to a different kind of celebrity, and openly espoused the doctrines of the reformed, which he had secretly imbibed at an early period of his life.

While the clergy were assembled at Poissy, the two other orders of the state had met at Pontoise, and, after various debates, on the subject of the revenue, it was at length settled, that the clergy should pay sixteen hundred thousand livres a year, till such time as the redemption of the king's domains, which were pledged for fifteen millions, should be completed. The admiral and d'Andelot experienced much greater difficulty in persuading the nobility and the commons to consent to an adequate contribution: at last, however, by representing how important it was to all who were interested in the progress of the reformation not to alienate, by a refusal, the mind of the queen, who, anxious to favour them, had promised to abrogate the *July Edict*, to grant the free exercise of the new religion throughout the whole of the kingdom, and speedily to make the necessary arrangements for bringing up the king, and her other children in that persuasion, they brought them to consent to the establishment of a new duty upon liquors, for six years, the annual produce whereof was estimated at twelve hundred thousand livres.

Thus, in order to accomplish her designs, Catharine made no scruple to contract two contradictory engagements in her son's name, at the same time; she retained Bezé and his companions near her person, and suffered them to preach within the precincts of the palace of Saint-Germain, whither an immense con-

* Beze—La Planche—La Laboureur.

† Besides his Latin Poems, Beze wrote several polemical works, most of which have long since been consigned to oblivion. The only one of these, which has been much noticed in later times, is his Treatise, "De Hereticis a Magistratu Puniendis," written on account of the execution of Michael Servet, a physician, who, in 1553, was condemned by the magistrates of Geneva, at the instigation of Calvin, to be burnt, for having written a book against the Trinity. The Calvinists, who could bestow commendation on the founder of their sect, for having procured the execution of a man, who differed from himself in one point of religion, could surely have no right to complain of the persecutions they experienced from the Catholics on the same account.

course of people flocked to hear them. She appointed the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, who secretly favoured the new doctrines, to the office of superintendant of the king's education; and that nobleman encouraged Charles and his brothers to read books published by the Hugonot's, and not only to be present at indecent farces, in which the ceremonies of the church of Rome were turned into ridicule, but to play parts in such exhibitions themselves.

As things could not possibly remain in this violent situation, it was determined, *deliberated* in the council, to begin by disarming indiscriminately all the citizens in the principal towns, and then to convene a certain number of deputies from the different parliaments, who, conjointly with the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, and other counsellors of state, should devise, for the prevention of insurrections, some means alike applicable to all the provinces. The prince of La Roche-sur-Yon was ordered to enforce the execution of the letters-patent, by which the Parisians were ordered either to carry their arms either to the Hotel de Ville, or to the arsenal; and the only resistance to be experienced was on the part of the Hugonots, who being objects of aversion to the inhabitants, and greatly inferior to their adversaries in number, expressed a reluctance to rely for protection on the faith of the public. But assured that their safety would be effectually provided for by other means, they at length complied, and their example was followed by the citizens of Lyons, and some other places.

The Guises, averse from these measures, and having no means of preventing them, since they were debarred all access to the king of Navarre, and since the queen-mother was entirely devoted to their enemies, once more resolved to retire from court: but their departure was attended with a circumstance which furnished their adversaries with arms against them, and left a strong impression on the mind of Catharine.*

The sermons of the Catholic clergy at Paris were, at this time, filled with invective against government, and with other inflammatory remarks, that strongly tended to the fuscitation of discord, the priests inveighed, in particular, against the patience of the citizens, in suffering the municipal guard, which was paid by themselves, to be employed in escorting the Hugonots, whom they represented as alike enemies to God and man.† The most violent of these fanatics, a monk, named John de Han, preacher of the church of Saint-Bartholemew, was seized in his convent during the night, by an order from the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, but the citizens, having assembled in a tumultuous manner, hastened to Saint-Germain, and compelled the king to release him.

A. D. 1562.] While the minds of the people were in this state of fermentation, the deputies from the different parliaments assembled at Saint-Germain, when the chancellor, in a long and able speech, remarkable for moderation of

* Mem. de Conde—La Poplinere—Beze—Brantome.

† Lettres de Pasquier.

sentiment, and admirably calculated for the purpose of conciliation, explained the object of the convention: "You must not forget,"—said that magistrate—"that you are not met to examine which of the two religions is best, but to ensure the public tranquillity, by removing the usual pretexts for tumults. Ought the exercise of the new religion to be tolerated agreeably to the requests of the nobility and commons, at the states of Pontoise? Or are we to regard, as a thing impossible, that men of different persuasions may live in peace with each other, and that a heretic can fulfil the duties of a citizen? These are the questions on which you are to decide."

After many debates, in the course of which no new arguments were employed, the queen-mother made a proposal, which was adopted by both parties: she declared that it was both her son's intention and her own, to live and die in the profession of the established faith, and not to suffer any attack to be made on it: that the king, therefore, meant that wherever the partisans of the new religion had seized upon the churches, they should restore them to the Catholics, without being permitted to build any others for their own use; that in consideration, however, of the offer they had constantly made of submitting to the decisions of a general council, and from a wish to give them time for reflection, he would consent that they should assemble unarmed, and in a peaceable manner, without the walls of the towns, in order to perform divine worship, under the immediate inspection of a magistrate: that this permission should only remain in force until the publication of the decrees of a general council, which should be considered as laws for all his subjects. The Catholics, inferior in numbers at this assembly, acceded to Catharine's proposal, in order to avoid a greater evil; and the reformed acquiesced, in order to acquire a civil existence, which, though restrained for the present, they hoped soon to be able to extend.

But notwithstanding this reserve on the part of the Protestants, Catharine was aware that she had already advanced too far to retreat, and she accordingly pursued with warmth the publication and execution of the late edict. It was registered by the parliaments of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Toulouse and Grenoble, without difficulty, because in those provinces where the commotions were most violent, and where the number of Hugonots almost equalled that of the Catholics, an immediate remedy was deemed indispensable*. At Dijon, on the contrary, it was unanimously rejected by the parliament, because the reformed religion had made less progress in Burgundy; and Tavannes, the governor, had taken upon himself to enforce the execution of the July-Edict. Catharine, however, persisting in her determination, appointed commissioners, whom she armed with all the plenitude of sovereign authority, to make all the refractory provinces comply. The resistance was strongest from the parliament of Paris, who made repeated remonstrances to the king, which, though founded on erroneous principles, containing maxims both false and pernicious, were not wholly destitute of wise and

* Beze—De Thou—D'Aubigne—Histoire de Provence.

judicious observations. In one of these they remark that—the magistrates, who are the representatives of the prince in the discharge of his most dignified functions, ought to be of the same religion with him, and there never existed a government in which this maxim was not inviolably observed. Even among the Turks, where Christians and Jews are tolerated, every public officer is a Mahometan. But after a violent opposition, the parliament was, at length, compelled to yield, and decreed—*That, in consideration of the urgent necessity of the case, and in obedience to the king's will, the edict should be registered and published, without approbation of the new religion.**

It was next agreed between Anthony and the duke of Alva, that the Spanish ambassador should, in his master's name, require the dismissal of the Chatillons from the council, and that this demand should be supported by the king of Navarre, and all the Catholics. The queen-mother was soon apprised of this resolution by the bishop of Limoges, the French ambassador at the court of Spain, and from the displeasure she evinced on the occasion it was supposed that the admiral might easily have persuaded her to reject such a proposal with all the contempt it deserved, and to come to an open quarrel with the king of Navarre. He deemed it, however, more prudent to make a voluntary retreat; and he accordingly asked and obtained, not without much apparent difficulty, permission to pass some time at his own seat, under the usual pretext of settling some family affairs. She expressed her displeasure in strong terms to the Spanish ambassador, observing that some one must have prejudiced her son-in-law against her, or he never would have ventured on a measure so contrary to a conduct he had been accustomed to observe towards her. She added, that she had granted permission to the admiral Coligni, and to d'Andelot, at their particular request, to absent themselves from the council, in order to attend to their own private affairs.

The duke of Guise, who had left the court towards the end of November, had recently accompanied his brother the cardinal to Saverne, where they had agreed upon a conference with the duke of Wertemberg, who had promised to bring with him some of his most expert theologians. The real object of this interview was to engage the duke and his colleagues, who were followers of Luther, to renounce all alliance with the French Hugonots, and thereby to disappoint the admiral and the queen-mother of the assistance they expected to receive from that quarter.

As the duke of Guise passed through the small town of Vassy, in Champagne, on his road to Paris, he stopped to attend the celebration of divine service: and being informed that a Protestant-meeting had, in contradiction to the late edict, been established in a barn, within the town, and very near the parish-church, he sent one of his officers, attended by two pages, to desire the minister would come to speak to him. On the approach of the officers, the door of the meeting-house was shut against them, and, on their knocking with considerable violence, some

of the Hugonots, who were then assembled at their devotions, went out to chastise them for an interruption which they deemed unseasonable and improper: a suffle ensued, and the duke of Guise, being apprised of it, hastened to the spot, attended by his troops. He was immediately assailed with a volley of stones, whence he received a slight contusion on the arm, and De Brosse, one of his officers, was severely wounded on the head: the soldiers, enraged at the sight, immediately fired on the Hugonots, then entering the barn, put numbers of them to the sword, before the duke of Guise could repress their violence: Some authors assert that only thirty of the reformed were slain, and about double that number wounded*; but others, with greater probability, maintain that the number of the killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and sixty†. The minister, wounded in several places, was conveyed to Saint-Dizier, where the duke preferred his complaint, and demanded justice against those who had commenced the attack. Having received information that the reformed were preparing to dispute his passage, and that captain Vaudrai-Saint-Phalle, was laying wait for him at Vitri, with six hundred men, he quitted the Paris road for that of Rheims, where he was not expected.

The news of the massacre of Vassi, as it was called by the Hugonots, was soon spread over Europe, and the party endeavoured, by means of this event, to render the duke of Guise an object of general execration.

As a religious procession was to take place on Palm Sunday, at which it was expected the duke of Guise would be present, some gentlemen of distinction among the reformed attended the consistory, and offered to poniard him, provided the church would avow the enterprize; but the ministers expressed their disapprobation of such a mode of proceeding, observing that acts of violence were only authorised in matters which concerned the public safety, and when the courts of justice were shut against them: that they had denounced the author of the massacre at Vassi to the queen, who had promised that justice should be done them; and nothing, therefore, should be attempted, till that business was brought to a conclusion.

The prince of Condé, finding his enemies so greatly superior, resolved to quit Paris; and he accordingly repaired to his seat near Meaux, where he was soon after joined by the admiral and his friends. The first object of the Hugonots, after failing in their attempt upon Paris, should have been to secure the king's person, which would have given them a great advantage over their enemies, who, in that case, would have been reduced to the necessity, either of acting simply on the defensive, or of committing the crime of rebellion, in attacking their sovereign. This attempt would have been attended with no difficulty, as the queen herself would have favoured its execution. But the Hugonots were averse from the adoption of a scheme that would have worn the appearance of violence; and thinking it better to provide a place of safety to which the queen

* Garnier.

† Mezerai.

and her son might voluntarily retire, they fixed their eyes on the city of Orleans, which d'Anelot, with his three hundred veterans, undertook to take by surprise.

The prince of Condé, intent on the reduction of Orleans, marched from Meaux, the same day on which the Catholic noblemen left Paris, and had occasioned a great alarm in the metropolis. The sudden appearance of a numerous body of cavalry, near the gate of Saint-Honoré, made the citizens fear that the prince had been secretly invited thither by the reformed, who had not yet discontinued their assemblies; and in this persuasion they flew to arms, and prepared to sustain a siege. The prince's object, however, was only to secure the bridge of Saint-Cloud, which commanded the road to Orleans; which city he did not reach till after d'Anelot had taken possession of it.

The constable had no sooner entered Paris, than he seized and imprisoned Ruze, who was general agent to the reformed churches. The king, on his arrival in the capital, promised the citizens to forbid all exercise of the new religion within their territory: the prohibition indeed was superfluous, for all the Hugonots immediately left Paris, and retired to Orleans.

That city now became a second capital in the kingdom, or rather the metropolis of an extensive and well-organised state, which was neither an oligarchy nor a democracy, although it partook of the nature of both those species of governments. The admiral was the founder of this state. The prince of Condé was unanimously chosen chief of the association, under the title of *protector and defender of the crown*: and the associates all swore obedience and submission to him, so long as he should continue to act as their chief, and to follow the advice of the councils, three of which were formed; the first, composed of the principal nobility, had the conduct of all military enterprises, negotiations, and other affairs in which secrecy and celerity were required: the second, consisting of ministers, elders, and officers of the second rank, was destined to regulate the police and all matters subject to a long discussion: the third, was formed of all such as were excluded from the two first, and its province was to deliberate on objects which concerned the whole community, such as the acceptance of a treaty of peace, or the approbation of a new regulation.

All these regulations, however, must have proved of little avail, unless some means had been devised for supporting and encreasing the army they had on foot. The private fortunes of the leaders were the more inadequate to this purpose, as they were now deprived of all their pensions and salaries, and even their estates were liable to be confiscated by an *arrêt* of the parliament. Four or five different modes of raising the necessary sums suggested themselves to the reformed: the first was a general contribution of the churches, to which the prince of Condé had recourse when he attempted to secure the capital; but their zeal had perceptibly diminished since the publication of the last edict, which granted them nearly all they desired: the church of Paris had, indeed, continued her supplies,

though with such a sparing hand, that the prince's first military chest contained only sixteen hundred crowns. He now dispatched couriers to the different provinces, and addressed circular letters to the two thousand five hundred churches in the name of which he acted, to apprise them of the change which had taken place in the situation of affairs, and to request a speedy supply of men and money: the second mode was to seize on the produce of the taxes, whenever they should find themselves sufficiently strong: the third, to pillage all the abbeys and monasteries.

As there could be little doubt, however, that the government, in the embarrassment to which it would speedily be reduced, would accept the offers repeatedly made by the pope and the king of Spain, and as it would be highly imprudent to defer taking precautions till reduced to the last extremity, it was determined to send agents to the different courts whence assistance might be reasonably expected, but with orders not to urge their solicitations until they should receive farther instructions; the prince, keeping only his wife and eldest son with him at Orleans, had the precaution to send his other children, with the lady of Roye, his mother-in-law, into Germany, to second the efforts of his negociators, and to serve as hostages for the repayment of any money that might be advanced him.

The prince's affairs were, at this time, in a prosperous situation, for he had no sooner made himself master of Orleans, than the inhabitants of Beaugenci, Blois, Tours, Angers, and Maus, immediately flew to arms, massacred or expelled the clergy and all the Catholics, who made any resistance: and as there were many rich abbeys and monasteries within the precincts of these towns, the Hugonots found means not only to maintain the garrisons, but even to pour considerable sums into the military chest of the prince of Condé.* Some larger towns, such as Poitiers, Bourges, and Angoulême, followed the same impulse, and their defection would have been succeeded by that of all the southern provinces, had not chance, rather than foresight, placed at the head of the civil and military administration of Guienne, a man, in disposition ardent, impetuous, violent and merciless; but vigilant, active, and indefatigable, a friend to order and subordination, and sincerely attached to his king and country.

This man was Blaise de Montluc, who had been bred up in the Piedmontese wars, and, after passing a considerable time in the camp, was ranked among the most valiant and able captains in the army.

In Dauphiné, where the revolution was almost general, the reformed were headed by a man, who proved himself a worthy rival of Montluc. This was the baron des Adrets, who had also served in Piedmont, where he had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards: after his release he preferred a complaint against the vidame of Pecquigni, to whose negligence or cowardice he ascribed his capture; but the authority of the Guises being interposed to deprive him of that redress

* La Poplinière—De Thou, &c.

which he demanded, he enlisted with their enemies, and retired to his estate in Dauphiné, where Montbrun and Mouvens appointed him to the chief command of the Hugonots. He placed himself at the head of some of the gentlemen of that country, who, with some citizens of Valence, conspired against La Motte Gondrin, the lieutenant of the province under the duke of Guise, and revenged their hatred of his severities by his death. While the queen-mother inclined to the Protestant-party, opposition to the power of their antagonists was, in instances of this kind, secretly connived at by her. The authority of Des Adrets being confirmed by the prince of Condé, and that officer having enlisted numbers of gentry and common people under his standard, he took the field with a considerable army. His very menaces terrified the city of Grenoble, which ejected its Catholic partisans, and destroyed the altars and images of the churches. All the other towns of Dauphiné, except Ambrun and Arainçon, followed this example. His name, already terrible, became every day more dreadful by his actions. Audacious in enterprise, and following close the terror of his first victories, he assaulted and took the town and castle of Pierreenlatte, stormed Bourg, obliged the town of Pont St. Esprit to open its gates to him, and made himself master of Boulenes. In almost every one of these places, the garrisons were put to the sword without quarter, and many of the soldiers hanged on the walls, or thrown headlong from the top of the rocks. Avignon trembled at his approach, but he turned back to Grenoble, which had made a treaty with Maugiron, the Catholic lieutenant of the province. Though it surrendered at discretion he for once shewed mercy. Absolute as he was tremendous in his army, he lodged six thousand troops in the city and suburbs, without any of the inhabitants having cause to complain of their violence; and boasted that he could turn them into lions, or sheep, at his pleasure. When Monbrizon was taken, and the castle capitulated, he drenched the streets with blood, and precipitated, or made several soldiers, along with the governor, Moncelar, toss themselves from the summit of the tower. His officers remonstrated against these cruelties, but could not prevent them. One of the unfortunate captives, whom he had ordered to jump from the top of a precipice, ran twice to the brink and there stopped short—Des Adrets reproved him for his slowness, and asked him why he should take two runs when his companions had only taken one—"Brave as you are, baron," replied the soldier, "I'll give you ten runs to it." This unexpected answer extorted a smile from the baron, and saved the man's life. The assistance he gave to the protestant commanders in Provence, by the defeat of a considerable body of forces, under the count De Suz, at Vaurias: the reduction of numbers of forts and castles upon the Rhone, and a variety of other enterprises, rendered the baron's military services as important as those of Montluc, and his renown in arms more remarkable. Perceiving, however, that the prince of Condé, instead of applauding him, had transferred to Soubise the chief command in Lyons, and that his reputation with his party declined, he entered into a treaty with the duke of Nemours; but, before the terms of accommodation could be settled, he was surprised and taken prisoner by Montbrun.

and Mouvans, and kept in custody till the termination of the first civil war. Lyons, in vain besieged by Nemours, remained in the power of the Protestants; and the count of Crussol preserved their footing in Languedoc.

Massacred
In Champagne and Picardy the Catholic party prevailed, and at Sens, Amiens and Abbeville the protestants were massacred without mercy, in return for the cruelties they had exercised in other parts, and for the plunder and profanation of the churches. In Normandy these violences were retaliated on the Catholic inhabitants: at Rouen the Hugonots expelled the parliament, and proscribed the established religion; while the ports of Havre and Dieppe, having followed the example of the capital, were entrusted, by the admiral, to the care of experienced officers, in whose zeal and fidelity he could confide.

of that kind
First time
of that kind
The Catholic chiefs having secured Catharine in their interest, suffered her to pass the summer, with her son, at Monceaux, that the unfavourable impressions excited by the idea of their being kept in the state of captivity, might be effectually removed. The mareschal de Brissac superceded the cardinal of Bourbon in the government of Paris, which he divided into different quarters, nearly equal in extent, leaving the citizens the choice of their officers, and assigning to each quarter its particular department and hours of service. By this judicious arrangement he justified the idea that had been formed of his military talents, though, at the same time, he did assential injury to the state, by giving a too vigorous constitution to a multitude, difficult to govern, and prone to revolt. It is certain, that after this establishment, the Parisians, enabled to calculate their strength, became more turbulent and untractable than before; and that from this epoch may be dated the origin of that offervescence which raged, with more or less energy, for nearly two centuries. At the first review of the city militia, the mareschal counted four-and-twenty thousand men, completely armed, and most of them fit to rank with regular troops.

of that kind
The Catholic army being assembled, and superior in numbers to that of the confederates, Catharine once more resolved to try the effect of negotiation, and for that purpose requested an interview with the prince of Condé, at the village of Thuri; but when pressed to explain what fresh terms she had to propose, she made a positive declaration, that the edict of January should never be re-established in the kingdom, and that her son was determined to allow the public exercise of no other religion than the Catholic. The conference was, of course, broken off. Another interview between the chiefs of the Hugonots, the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre, at the village of Talsi, was productive of no better effect; a letter from the duke of Guise to the cardinal of Lorraine, which fell into the hands of the prince of Condé, sufficiently proved the treachery of the triumvirs, who only sought to separate the associates, in order to crush them with greater facility.

On the twenty-seventh of July, the parliament of Paris pronounced an arret, which amounted to a general proscription of the Hugonots, by permitting all the Catholics in towns and villages to assemble in arms at the ringing of the bells, to pursue and destroy them: this arret was transmitted to the curates of parishes to

be read every Sunday in the churches ; and its publication occasioned exertions of cruelty disgraceful to humanity. In Tourain, the peasants rushed in the towns of Liquiel on the Indre, Cormeri, Loches, and other villages, where they committed every species of depredation ; and after tearing out the eyes of a Protestant minister, they burnt him at a slow fire. These barbarities, however, were frequently retaliated. When the priests and monks of Saint Carlais, taking advantage of the slender guard kept there by the Hugonots, rang their bells, and cut them in pieces ; De Coignée assaulted them on the retreat of their associates, destroyed most of them, and hanged two of their ringleaders in the church, where the signal had been given at the vespers.

The Catholic confederates having atchieved the conquests of several towns that, from the south-west, communicated by the Loire with Orleans, determined to cut off its intercourse with the Lyonnaise, and the provinces in a different quarter. The reduction of Bourges was their particu'ar aim. Elevated with their successful progress, they were desirous, in setting out on this attempt, to make the utmost display of all their civil authority ; for which purpose they prevailed with the queen-mother to bring the young king to the camp. Before they left the Bois de Vencennes, Catharine acquainted the prince of Condé, by a messenger, that he ought now to take his final resolution for an accommodation, on the terms proposed, when the king was ready to shew himself along with her in the Catholic army, when the foreign auxillaries had entered the kingdom for his service, and the parliament of Paris had declared the prince's party guilty of high treason. The prince's reply was spirited and firm : after recapitulating all the arguments he had before urged, on the ambition of the triumvirs, and the persecution of the Protestants, he observed, that it could not be forgotten by her, by whose order and entreaties he had raised his military forces, when the triumvirate were disposed to strip her of all authority, and the ambassador of Spain joined them in this design ; and that the whole world should soon know, by the publication of the letters under her hand, to which of the confederacies the name of rebels to the state could, with propriety, be applied. Though in the parliament's judicial condemnation of his adherents, by a gradation of arrets, the prince was always personally excepted, under the feigned notion of his involuntary detention from the court ; it did not prevent him from treating the exception as an insult, and from protesting, in a formal writ, against the legality of the whole judgment.

But the proceedings of the parliament had considerable effect on many of the prince's adherents, who, fearful of losing their estates, expressed an inclination to visit their native provinces. That Condé might have appeared to form a resolution which he could not avoid, he determined to send several of the chieftains with detachments of troops, into those countries whither they wished to withdraw, and to retire himself, with the remainder of his army, to Orleans. In consequence of this resolution, the count of Rochefoucaud was appointed to march into Angoulême and Saintonge, Soubise into the Lionnoise, Duras into Guienne, Montgomery into Normandy, and the prince of Porcain into Champagne.

The Catholic chieftains now had it in their power to carry on their military operations to the utmost advantage. The provinces where their adversaries were most formidable, had been already attended to by them : the duke of Aumale being sent into Normandy; Montpensier to Tourain; the count de Crussol into Languedoc; the chevalier de Montre, into Guienne and Gascony. While the king of Navarre went to escort their majesties to the camp, the army, under the conduct of the duke of Guise, had moved to Bourges. Being joined by the Swifs, it consisted of three thousand cavalry, and fifteen thousand foot. Ivoy, brother to Genlis, commanded the garrison of the city, which, being reinforced by the prince of Condé, amounted to two thousand infantry, and three troops of Arquebusers*. The defence was conducted with no less courage and vigour than the attack : frequent sallies were made from the town; and, when a considerable breach was effected in the wall, a rampart of earth, raised in one night's time, surprised and baffled the assailants. Having consumed the greater part of their ammunition, a convoy of artillery and military stores from Paris was expected, for the conduct of which the duke of Guise had detached four troops of horse, and six companies of infantry. The admiral Coligni having intelligence of its approach, marched in the night from Orleans, and attacked it near Chateaudun. Having surrounded the troops, he became master of the whole convoy; but the artillery horses having been carried off by their drivers, at the first onset, he was compelled to set fire to the powder and demolish the guns. Among others, Throgmorton, the English ambassador, was taken prisoner, on his way to the camp, and conducted to Orleans, where the prince of Condé treated him with the greatest respect. Meanwhile, the duke of Guise began to induce Ivoy, by promises, and an offer of the most honourable terms, to surrender; and, having no information of the defeat of the convoy, he listened too easily to the proposals. By obtaining a most precise and formal capitulation for the safety and free exit of himself and the troops, and even for liberty of conscience to the Protestants in the town, he thought to obviate all reflections against his honour; but this precaution proved insufficient to screen him from the reproaches of his party; upon presenting himself at Orleans, he was refused admittance to the prince, and was compelled to hide his disgrace in a private retreat.

When the Catholic chiefs had thus added the reduction of Bourges to that of the other towns whence Orleans might be supported, the capital undertaking of the siege of that city seemed to many, in point of expediency, preferable to all others, and not disproportioned to their military strength. But the opinions, in the council of war, were divided upon this head. It was urged on the one side, that Orleans being the main fortress of the adverse party, and their arsenal of war, occupied by the body of their gentry, and their two principal chieftains, a successful blow directed against it would at once crush the root of opposition; and that, from present circumstances, it appeared liable to such a decisive stroke, from the disasters that had befallen the circumjacent towns, from the dispersion of many of the leaders, and from the present imperfect state of its fortifications.

* De Thou—D'Aubigne.

It was known from the computation of their troops, compared with the extent of the bulwarks of the place, that they were sufficient to environ and assault the whole. It was added, that the siege of Orleans would not only strike the Protestants, in the provinces with terror, but disturb the route, and perhaps cause the desertion of their German auxiliaries, who would not be forward to expose themselves by supporting a party which would appear reduced to extremity. On the other hand, it was alledged, that the military force of Orleans, consisting of four thousand veteran troops, twelve hundred horse, and three thousand militia, trained to discipline, and inured to arms, would prove equal to half of the besieging army, and, though they might receive some reinforcements, that their want of many of the materials necessary for a regular siege rendered it an unreasonable and dangerous enterprise: that it became them rather to turn their thoughts upon Normandy.

That province had been embroiled by the contention of three factions for the superiority; one being headed by the duke of Bouillon, who inclined to favour the Protestants, without renouncing his connexions with the court; another by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in Lower Normandy, who was employed in supporting the duke of Aumale, appointed to supercede Bouillon in his government; and a third, which was the most powerful, consisting of the prince of Conde's partisans, and the determined Hugonots guided by the count of Montgomery. The duke of Aumale had already attempted the siege of Rouen, but his forces were insufficient for the undertaking. Matignon being obliged to retire to Cherbourg, applied to the duke of Estampes and Martigues, in Brittany, for their assistance, and obtained it. The parliament of Rouen, having retreated to Louviers, published its decrees, in imitation of that of Paris, for condemning all the Hugonots that could be seized, and for confiscating their property, which created a particular scene of animosity and cruel reprisal between the people of Rouen and those of Louviers.

The forts and posts in the vicinity of Rouen had been repeatedly taken and re-taken by the opposite parties. Those of Oire and St. Lo, of Caudebec, Quillebeuf, and Harfleur, upon the Seine, which were the most important, had, after the arrival of Estampes, surrendered to the Catholics. Meanwhile all practicable means for the defence of Rouen had been taken by Montgomery.

It would be foreign from the purpose of general history to record the particular events of every siege; in that of Rouen equal gallantry was displayed by either party, and the slaughter was dreadful on both sides: after an obstinate resistance, Mount St. Catharine was taken by surprise, which greatly facilitated the reduction of the town. Its capture, however, was retarded for some time, by the arrival of a reinforcement of English troops, who, in repelling the assailants, displayed the most obstinate valour; at length, the siege having continued a month, and the proposals to surrender being treated with contempt, the place was taken by assault.

The taking of Rouen, which is computed to have been attended with the de-

struction of four thousand men on each side, was followed by the death of the king of Navarre, who, during the siege, had received a musket-shot in the shoulder. Through his impatience of the necessary operation, or the unskilfulness of the surgeons, the ball remained unextracted from the wound: and he expired a few days after the surrender of the town. Henry, who was born at Peau in Berne, was only, at this time, nine years of age. He was educated by the queen his mother at Nerac, who, with her son and an infant daughter, had retreated from the court about the time her husband had declared himself a Catholic*. The queen-mother was apprehensive the king of Navarre's death might produce some disadvantage to the Catholic party, by his immediate vassals and partisans falling off to the other side. In the present minority of the king, and of the first prince of the blood, the prince of Condé might indeed have been supposed to stand in the room of his brother, and to be the only acting guardian of the blood-royal. But, when the political confederacies were already formed, and cemented by the animosities of the civil war, this consideration could have little influence to make a change.

As soon as the reduction of Rouen had appeared inevitable, Dieppe and Caen surrendered to the Catholics, who, after detaching a part of their army to blockade Havre, retired with the remainder to the vicinity of Paris. The general success of the Catholics elevated them with the hopes that the entire subjection of the Protestants would soon be accomplished. But the intelligence received, during the siege of Rouen, of the success of D'Andelot in his mission for German levies, gave a different aspect to the condition of that party, and appears to have been the principal inducement for drawing the army nearer the metropolis, and the center of the kingdom.

The exertions of Spifame, bishop of Nevers, and D'Andelot, the prince of Condé's agents in Germany, in conducting the difficult negociation with which they had been entrusted, deserved and obtained the warmest thanks of their party. At the diet of Frankfort, where Maximilian, son to Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans, Spifame, having obtained three several audiences of the emperor and his son, and of the electors, got the letters written by the queen-mother to the prince of Condé, the originals of which he produced, entered into the archives of the imperial chamber; and, by his address afterwards, the Rhingrave and count Rokendorf, who were in the service of France, were both put to the ban of the empire. The production of queen Catharine's letters, though necessary for the prince's vindication, excited her indignation against him, and fixed her more immovably in the interest of the opposite faction. The affected delays of two German captains, who had private reasons for spinning out the time of the levies, being overcome by Spifame, and the landgrave of Hesse engaged to exert himself in the business; D'Andelot was enabled to bring them to a rendezvous at Bacara in Lorraine, about the middle of October. His vigilance in keeping them from de-

* Brantome.

sertion for want of regular pay; his well-concerted marches; and his indefatigable labours (notwithstanding his violent attacks of a quartan ague contracted in the mountains) in directing and guiding the frequent and long circuits he was obliged to make in them, shewed the spirit of the man, and the abilities of the officer. Having feigned an intention of penetrating the direct way through Lorraine, he turned suddenly towards the left, and stretching over the difficult roads of Burgundy, he avoided an encounter with the marechal de St. André and the duke of Nevers, who had been sent to oppose his passage. He brought his whole compliment of three thousand foot in nine companies, and four thousand horse in twelve troops, to Montargis, and the neighbourhood of Orléans, in the middle of November. This reinforcement, augmented by a body of French gentry, who joined D'Andelot in his march, and fifteen hundred soldiers, collected by the count of Rochefoucauld and Duras, was not only sufficient to enable the prince of Condé to take the field, but occasioned his undertaking an enterprise no less injudicious in itself than it appeared to be disproportioned to his strength. This was an attempt to besiege Paris, which, it was evident, could neither be taken, nor forced to a capitulation, by his army.

The absence or dispersion of the Catholic forces in different quarters was thought sufficient to justify this hazardous step.

But the interruption he met with at Corbeil was more unfortunate. This town, situated on the Seine, almost equally defencels with the others, made resistance, and obliged him to begin a kind of regular siege of it, until some succours being thrown into it by the marechal St. André, the prince embraced the pretext of a conference proposed by the queen to withdraw from the assault. The Catholic forces were, by this time, assembled in great numbers, and the two armies, separated by the Seine, marched sometimes in sight of each other. That of the Catholics was drawn around the city and suburbs, while the prince pursued his route to Ville-juif, within two leagues of Paris. Though the hopes of gaining any advantage was now almost vanished, yet, resolved upon striking some intimidating stroke before he retired, he prepared for attacking the suburb of St. Victor. The effect it produced at first surpassed expectation. Six hundred light-horse, who had advanced beyond the ramparts, were driven back in such disorder, that carrying their terror along with them, the soldiers began to fly into the city, throughout which a vast consternation was immediately spread. The first president of the parliament, La Maitre, died of the fright, while the populace in confusion called on the troops to abandon the suburbs and shut the gates. The alarm, however, was soon composed by the disposition made by the duke of Guise for repelling the enemy. The prince drew off his forces, and divided them into three bodies, for the sake of lodging them in covered quarters. Their number amounted to eight thousand foot and five thousand horse. The Catholic chiefs, satisfied with guarding against their attack of the suburbs, answered their defiance to battle only by some cannonading and slight skirmishes.

By the departure of Genlis from the camp, who had resented the disgrace of of his brother Ivoy, for the surrender of Bourges, the prince of Condé believed his designs betrayed to the enemy, and therefore determined on a retreat.

He was pursued, for some days, by the Catholic army, and at length believing an engagement to be unavoidable, he made a forced march, with his main body, towards Dreux, a town on the confines of Normandy, with the view of making himself master of this post, which was admirably calculated for promoting the plan he had formed of preserving a communication between Havre and Orleans. The Catholic chiefs, who now approached the plains of Dreux, and saw, that, by a little expedition, they could oblige the enemy to fight, dispatched Castelnau to the queen to inform her that they had it in their power to bring the Hugonots to action, and only waited for orders. It was the unanimous opinion of the council that the decision of the question should be left to the prudence of the commanders.

The constable Montmorenci, who had brought the Catholic army to the opposite side, and encamped there unperceived by the enemy, forded the Eure in the night; and favoured by the moon, got his whole artillery moved to the unguarded villages. The noise of the drums and trumpets, which was heard when the prince's army began to be put in motion, served as a signal for the constable to range his forces in order of battle.

perceived Such was the disposition of the catholic forces, when first *perceived* by the commanders of the adverse army, which now consisted of from eight to nine thousand infantry, and from four to five thousand horse*. While, in the utmost hurry, the latter prepared for an action quite unexpected, D'Anelot, disabled by the attack of his ague from taking his post, moved forward on a baggage-horse, and reconnoitred the enemy. His opinion was to endeavour to pass without fighting, which might be done by leading to the left, and gain the village of Tréon, on the road to Chateauneuf. Immediately the prince of Condé, having joined his main battle with the van, conducted by the admiral Coligni, began to move forward according to his direction: But having now the enemy in full view, he advanced two or three hundred paces before he made his declination. The discharge of the constable's artillery, from the left wing, reached his foremost ranks, made some of his horse give way, and forced a part of the German Reiters to wheel into declivity. The prince, intent on their motions, no sooner *perceived* them thus exposed, than, without discovering what was before him, and leaving the count Grammont with his foot he turned with all his cavalry, and fell on the flank of the Swifs. Their battallion was successively pierced by Moui, and D'Avaret, who gave the first charge; by the prince's own squadron, and by the Reiters of his division. His brother, Gabriel de Montmorenci Montberon, the constable's fourth son, fell in this charge. In the mean time the admiral having marched forward with more deliberation, directed his attack against the constable's cavalry, and that part of his centre that stood firm. The volleys of cannon he received in advancing having occasioned no disorder, his vigorous charge proved effectual to van-

quish all that opposed him. A total confusion ensuing, the constable being unhorsed, and having his jaw-bone broken by a musket-shot, was made prisoner by some Reiters, from whose hands the prince of Porcien received him. No part of his main battle now remained unrouted but a few Swiss, who, at last, were obliged to retreat. The prince of Condé having rallied two hundred of the German troops, could not induce them to charge the enemy, but taking the same route the others had done, they left him in their rear, wounded in the hand, and dismounted, to be taken prisoner by Damville.

Though the battle was restored by the admiral, and the prince of Porcien, who, at the head of three hundred horse, and a thousand German Reiters, sustained the combat with such resolution, that the duke of Guise was left for a short space of time, with not a hundred cavaliers around him; the advantages gained by the Protestant chiefs were irrecoverably lost. Martigues advancing with an old battallion of foot which had not yet engaged, the admiral was obliged to draw off his French horse, who had broken or lost most of their lances. He made his retreat with so much composure, that he carried off his artillery, and most of his baggage to Neufville, about a league distance from the field of battle, where he passed the night. The duke of Guise, being in no condition to follow him, took up his lodging at Bleville. The slaughter of the Catholic army exceeded that of the Protestants, and the field was more fatal to the officers of rank. The *mareschal* Saint André was shot by Mezieres, whom he had induced to kill a kinsman of his own, that he might prosecute him, and obtain the confiscation of his fortune*. The duke of Nevers received a shot in the thigh, from the carelessness of his own equerry, in holding a pistol with the muzzle towards him, of which he died in a few days. Varicarville, equerry to the duke of Guise, understanding that the enemy intended to direct their principal efforts against his master, had obtained permission to wear his arms, and to mount his charger; an instance of fidelity that cost him his life.

By the flight of the right wing of the Catholics at the battle of Dreux, the speediest intelligence was conveyed to Paris of the total defeat of their army. The appearance of D'Offun (an officer who had, in Piedmont, acquired the appellation of *The Bold Soldier*) among these swift couriers, confirmed it beyond all contradiction. The Parisians were thrown into the greatest consternation, which continued to encrease, until the arrival of De Losses, who had been dispatched by the duke of Guise, with the certain accounts of his having turned the fate of the battle, and obtained a victory. Public processions were appointed, and bonfires ordered to celebrate the happy event: and the commission of commander in chief of the army, in absence of the constable, was immediately sent to the duke, with twenty-five collars of the order of Saint Michael, to be disposed of by his direction. Though from a sense of the reproach he incurred, D'Offun starved himself to death, his boldness became an ironical proverb.

* De Thou, p. 682.

The Protestant chiefs, who had beat one half of the Catholic army, taken the constable prisoner, and carried off some standards and booty from the field, were as much mortified at the discredit of being obliged to retire before their enemies, as at the discomfiture they had sustained. The admiral, who had, with signal bravery and conduct, disputed the honour of keeping the field with the duke of Guise, proposed, in a council of war, to attack him again the next morning. But the Germans, who had suffered least in the battle, declined such a sudden renewal of the combat. To prevent, however, in some measure, the unfavourable report of a defeat, the admiral drew up his troops in order of battle, and marched half a league towards the enemy, before he turned off to Gallardon and Anet, on the borders of La Beauffe. His high reputation immediately established him, by unanimous consent, in the principal command of the army, during the captivity of the prince.

While the queen-mother, for many weighty reasons, was desirous of a peace, the duke, in the midst of winter, urged the undertaking of the siege of Orleans. To avert or diminish the force of this impending blow, the admiral determined on an expedition into Normandy, with part of his forces, while the remainder might form a garrison sufficient for the defence of Orleans. Upon a review of the troops, he found that fourteen companies of French and German infantry, and four troops of the oldest French cavalry, could be mustered in the city. The body of the townsmen, too, could be depended on to second the troops with firmness and alacrity. D'Andelot, in conjunction with Saint Cyr, the governor, and Feuquiere, an excellent engineer, undertook the defence of that important place. While Coligni made incursions in Berri and Sologne, where he extended his quarters, the utmost attention was paid to the collecting of provisions, and whatever might contribute to the strength of Orleans.

A. D. 1563.] The siege of that city was begun by the duke of Guise, on the eighth of February. De Cypiere led on the first division of the Catholic army, and, after skirmishing parties, had proceeded to assail a part of the entrenchments defended by four companies of French foot, he was informed that the German Lanfquenets were observed to quit their post in disorder. Animated by the intelligence, and the arrival of fresh troops, he pushed another attack that way, by which the Gascon infantry, who made the only resistance, were almost surrounded, and a general confusion ensued. The duke of Guise having next possessed himself of the Ponterau, proceeded to take measures for battering the Tourelles, the besiegers acquired the command of the bridge, and the approaches to the town were in such a state of forwardness, that the duke of Guise had fixed on the morning of the nineteenth of February for delivering a general assault, when his death was fought and accomplished by the ignominious de Merei Poltrot. As the duke returned from the works, on the evening of the eighteenth, to his quarters, at the castle of Cornei, accompanied only by Rostaing, one of the queen's domestics, the assassin, watching his opportunity, shot him from behind with a pistol. The ball entering his body above the right shoulder, the

duke fell forward on his horse's neck, but did not lose his seat. The duke with difficulty reached his quarters, while Rostaing, in vain pursued the murderer, who was quickly out of sight. But the terrors that seized him, joined to the darkness of the night, rendered him incapable of effecting his escape. Having tired his horse with wandering, he was taken in the morning, at no great distance from the place where the murder was committed. As he immediately confessed it, and threw out aspersions against some of the Protestant chiefs, as having instigated him to the deed, it is requisite to explain the grounds of this calumny.

When Poltrot, who had been bred a Catholic; and turned Protestant, heard, at a conference holden near Vienne, by the baron des Adrets, that the king of Navarre was killed at Rouen, he sighed deeply, and said, "this one victim is not sufficient to atone for the public miseries; there still remains a greater sacrifice to be made." When asked what sacrifice he meant—"The mighty Guise himself," replied he; and stretching forth his right arm, and elevating his voice, "and here it is,"—added he—"that shall be raised to finish, by one act the scene of our calamities."

The confession extorted from him when put to the question, exhibited a confused mass of contradictions. There was not a single person he had named in his first confession, whom he did not, by turns, exculpate and accuse; and, in the midst of his torture, at last concluded with saying, that if the deed were yet uncommitted he would not scruple still to be the actor of it; he being conveyed to Paris, in a few weeks underwent the punishment appointed by the law for traitors.

The duke of Guise survived his wound six days, and, during that interval, displayed the most dignified composure and manly fortitude, which justified the representation given of his exit by the Catholic authors, as worthy of a Christian hero.

As the reins of government had now fallen entirely into the queen's hands, the resolution she had already formed for concluding a peace, could be prosecuted without restraint. The prince of Condé himself being favourably inclined to it, was farther instigated by various arguments she had used with him to promote the measure.

After various conferences, a treaty was at length resolved on. In the place of the edict of January, a more limited rule of toleration was accepted by the Hugonots. In all fiefs, holding directly of the crown, and which had the privilege of *Haubert*, or high justice, the barons and nobility were allowed the free and public exercise of the Protestant religion, for themselves and their vassals. In other fiefs, the proprietors, when they did not reside in towns or villages, subject to higher jurisdictions, were permitted to enjoy the same liberty in their own houses. In every bailiwick, having an immediate privilege of appeal to the court of parliament, a city or town was to be appointed, in the suburbs of which the Protestants might assemble for public worship; and in the places where they enjoyed it at the time of signing the convention, the free exercise of it was also to be retained. In the

city and liberties of Paris, and in all other parts of the kingdom not specified, they were prohibited to meet publicly; but private liberty of conscience was universally allowed them. The other articles respecting indemnities for the civil war, were conceived in the most precise and express terms. The whole particular stipulations, reduced to the form of an edict, signed by the king, and dated from Amboise, on the nineteenth of March, was ordered to be registered by the parliaments.

The treaty of peace, thus concluded by the prince, without being communicated to any of the foreign powers who had embraced the cause of the Hugonots, became the subject of some animadversions and complaints. The admiral, in whose absence the whole affair had been conducted, had great reason for dissatisfaction; but unwilling to appear as an enemy to the public peace, he not only desisted from his objections, but declared, that the treaty being brought to an issue, every one should acquiesce in it*.

The prince of Condé returned to court, where Catharine now reigned with unrivalled sway. Upon the death of the duke of Guise, the constable expected to have the office of grand-master of the household restored to him, and shewed some disgust at its being conferred on the young duke, by absenting himself a while from court; but he, at length, consented to accept the transfer of his government of Languedoc to his son D'Amville as an equivalent for the disappointment. Nothing now remained for the perfect restoration of tranquillity but the expulsion of the English, by the reduction of Havre-de-Grace.

Elizabeth testified her chagrin at the treaty of Orleans, by demanding from France the restitution of Calais, and declaring she was entitled to keep possession of Havre, until that important article of the general peace was fulfilled. The French court replied, that the clause of the same treaty obliged her to commit no acts of hostility against France, during the space of eight years; at the expiration of which time, the restitution of Calais, or a pecuniary redemption, had been, on that condition, promised. When the necessary preparations for a siege were made, the French troops marched from all quarters into Normandy; and, on the fifteenth of July, encamped before Havre.

The English troops in that town, commanded by the earl of Warwick, consisting, at first, of six thousand men besides seven hundred officers, had been already thinned by the ravages of a pestilential disease: the heat of the weather, and a dearth of provisions, increased the fatal effects of this dreadful disorder, and soon reduced Warwick to the necessity of capitulating on the honourable condition of retiring with the remnant of his forces. The whole terms of the treaty were settled, and hostages delivered for the performance of them, when sixty sail of English ships, under lord Clinton, appeared in the bay, steering towards the harbour. But Warwick having given notice to the admiral that Havre had

surrendered, Clinton cast anchor in the road ; and, having embarked the troops, immediately set sail for England.

Tranquillity being now restored to the nation, no means appeared to the chancellor so effectual for its preservation, as well as for the support and interest of royalty, as that of accelerating the solemn declaration of the king's majority. By Catharine's ready compliance with de l'Hopital's advice, and the assiduous application she gave to the settling both the domestic and foreign affairs of the state, it must be owned, that, at this time, she shewed herself abundantly capable of exercising, and not altogether unworthy of, that supreme authority in the government, to which, with excessive eagerness, she always aspired. By her prudence and address, the emperor's demands for the restitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were eluded in a manner that created no misunderstanding with the Imperial court. An opportunity was taken to retaliate the affront offered to the French ambassador, by seizing Throgmorton, who ventured, along with another envoy from Elizabeth, to return to France without passports. But in this step the manner of proceeding was such, as rather indicated an intention to punish the insolence of an obnoxious envoy, than to testify indignation against the court of England. There was a distinction made in the treatment of the two ambassadors, and the advantage was gained of excluding Throgmorton from the negociation, a point of no small importance to the commencement and happy progress of a treaty of peace.

It was resolved in the council, in pursuance of the previous determination of the queen-mother and the chancellor, to obtain a formal recognition of the king's majority, who had now entered his fourteenth year, and had consequently completed the term prescribed by the edict of Charles the Wise. This ceremony was performed, on the seventeenth of August, at Rouen, whither the court had repaired after the reduction of Havre. The preference given, on this occasion, to the parliament of Rouen, over that of Paris, was intended as a mortification to the latter.

When de Lanfac was sent to demand of the parliament of Paris the registration of the act of majority, and the other edicts, enraged at the slight that had been put upon them, they appointed deputies to remonstrate on this disparagement of their super-eminent jurisdiction. But they overshot their mark, it having been determined in the council to prevent a repetition of such conduct, by giving them a firm and authoritative repulse. The young king, instructed how to answer the deputies, first required the members of the council, who were present, to declare whether advice had not been taken about authenticating the act in the parliament of Rouen. When this was avowed, Charles assumed a commanding tone, and told them, " he would not bear that the magistrates of the parliament of Paris should now behave as they had done in his minority ; that " their original and proper function was to dispense civil justice, to which it became them to confine themselves, and no longer to cherish that ancient prejudice of being the coadjutors of royalty, the protectors of the kingdom, and

“ the guardians of the city of Paris; and that, having once remonstrated to him, “ it was their duty to think of nothing more than submission to his will.” But this was not sufficient to intimidate the parliament, which, after hearing the reports of their delegates, still debated the registration, and, being divided in opinion, appointed a new deputation to the king. Their resistance became a direct trial of the authority of the court. A grand council of the state was called to controul their obstinacy by a decree, which annulled their proceedings, and required them, under the penalty of interdiction from their office, to register the edict without any restrictory clause, and to erase the record of their arrogant procedure. The parliament then desisted from the dangerous contention, and submitted (on the twenty-sixth of September) to the king's command.

A. D. 1564, 1565.] The altercations which had arisen in the different provinces with regard to the tenor of the late edict, and the difficulties that occurred in putting it in execution, superinduced a determination of the council, that the king and court should make a progress through the greater part of the kingdom. It was conceived, that the appearance of the young sovereign would not only serve as a check to sedition, but verify and confirm the principles of loyalty and obedience to the government. To these motives, by which alone the chancellor was actuated, queen Catharine joined other views better suited to the political cast of her own mind: besides an opportunity of investigating the conduct of the governors of the chief cities and provinces, and making such changes among them as might be judged necessary, she had proposed a conference with her daughter the queen of Spain, on the confines of the two kingdoms, and proposed to hold interviews with some of the German princes. But before the court left Fontainebleau, ambassadors arrived from the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, the object of whose mission was to prefer an unanimous request to the king for the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, which had been closed about a month before. This application, so ill-timed and precipitate, appeared to the queen and the council to have been effected by the artful intrigues of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the zealous partisans of the papal power at court, who laboured to subvert the peace*. The conduct of the sovereign pontiff, with respect to the queen of Navarre, exhibited a convincing proof of the disposition of the court of Rome to expose the principality of Bearn as a prey to the Catholic king.

Though natural spirit and political circumspection induced the queen-mother to resist the concurrence of other princes to impose their admonitions on the government; though, perhaps, she was not insensible, that the present interposition of foreign courts was intended to encourage domestic faction, the scope and aim of her politics were so congenial to the principles of their system, that all the honour and advantage she contended for, amounted, in fact, only to that of pursuing it in her own way. This, doubtless, appeared to *her* a very material point, who had reason to be conscious and vain of her skill, in the artificial management of affairs.

Persuaded that, by the help of time, and the advantage of peace, she would be enabled to strengthen the power of the government, and give it vigour sufficient to encounter and crush all opposition from party; she endeavoured to attain her political ends under the appearance of promoting the public tranquillity and good of the state. Before she set out with the king on the intended progress through the kingdom, the treaty of peace with England was brought to a conclusion, and the articles of it were finished and presented to the king when he came to Troyes. The renewal of the league with the Swiss Cantons was also purchased at this time, with a large pecuniary subsidy. But queen Catharine was disappointed of her hopes of an interview with the king of the Romans on the confines of Lorraine, which was *alleged* to have been the principal motive of her journey thither. Catharine was equally unsuccessful in her attempt to bind the duke of Wirtemberg, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and Wolfgang, duke of Deux Ponts, who were Protestant chieftains, by the civil obligations of pensions from the king, to withhold their assistance from the Calvinists in France. There was only the marquis of Baden, and one of the family of Saxe, that condescended to become her stipendiaries.

In the king's circuit of the provinces of the kingdom, which commenced with the excursion through Champagne to the territories of the duke of Lorraine, almost two years were employed. In most places he visited, he was tormented with the alternate complaints of Catholics and Protestants. The deputies of Burgundy harangued the king against the extension of the late edict of toleration to their province. The Protestants preferred a general complaint of the violent opposition made in various parts to its establishment, and of the injurious treatment they experienced. These differences were seized by the court as a pretext for rendering the late edict palatable to the Catholics; and for this purpose another edict was passed at Roussillon, in which the liberty of the Protestants was considerably retrenched. The allowance of public worship to the possessors of the superior fiefs was interpreted to extend only to their families and immediate vassals, and to exclude all occasional partakers of the benefit thereof. The prince of Condé, who thought his honour concerned in maintaining the articles of it, transmitted to the court a remonstrance on the subject of the innovations, by which the edict was subverted. The answer given him, from its amicable and mild tendency, though not satisfactory, appeared to be dictated by the chancellor, who, by suggesting those emendations, studied to convince the court, that the Protestants might be tolerated, and at the same time restrained within such reasonable bounds as the government chose to prescribe to them. The procedure upon this maxim soothed the queen-mother, gave to the government that air of authority she required, and furnished her with a specious answer to the Catholic princes, who excepted against the pacification as derogatory to the honour of the crown.

Upon intelligence received of a confederacy being formed by the family of Guise, and some of their partisans, in consequence of a conflict that occurred between the cardinal of Lorraine and the marshal Montmorenci, at Paris, the

weakness and tremor of the court appeared. All the nobles present, being assembled before the king, were required to declare what they knew of secret cabals and combinations, which threatened disturbance to the state; and to subscribe an obligation never to engage in them, or take arms without his majesty's authority. After passing the winter in Languedoc, the court proceeded, in the following spring, to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Bayonne, where the queen of Spain was expected to arrive. The interview at Bayonne, took place on the the tenth of June, 1565.

A league of the Catholic princes having been proposed, a general alarm prevailed among the Protestants, who thought they beheld in the congress at Bayonne the image of what they dreaded. But what really passed there it is impossible to ascertain, as the accounts of contemporary historians are vague, uncertain, and contradictory. It then took its course to Nerac, in the queen of Navarre's dominions, and from thence, by various stages, to Blois, where it continued till the commencement of the following year, when an assembly of the notables was holden at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois.

A. D. 1566.] At this assembly, which met in the month of February, the chancellor, ever attentive to the welfare of the state, set forth the various defects and abuses which prevailed in the political government, and in the administration of the laws.

The assembly of Moulins concluded with the former compromise of the contention between the family of Guise and the Colignis'. The admiral purged himself, upon oath, from the imputation of being accessory to the duke of Guise's death, and the Guises shook hands with him in the king's presence.

Meanwhile the complaints of the Protestants, on the inexecution of the edict of toleration, continued to encrease; and Bouchet was deputed, by the nobility of that persuasion, to present to the king at Angoulême, a particular rescript of the injuries and grievances they suffered, and to enreat the prevention of a fatal recourse to extremities. No attention, however, was paid to this remonstrance. The re-establishment of the public exercise of the Catholic religion in Berne, and the viscounty of Foix, which the queen of Navarre had there restrained, was effected by the king's authority*.

A. D. 1567.] The prince of Condé had strenuously remonstrated against these proceedings, but the queen-mother found means to lull his suspicions, by professions of favour and marks of regard. It was impossible, however, long to deceive the leaders of the Hugonots, jealous of her conduct, and attentive to her motions; and, indeed, her usage of the prince of Condé himself, in his suit for the office of constable, which Montmorenci desired to resign, while it betrayed her aversion from his advancement, showed her partiality to the opposite party.

These circumstances, united with the fears of the Hugonots on account of the late interview at Bayonne, and others occasioned by the march of the duke of

Alva, along the frontiers of France, into the Belgic provinces, accelerated the renewal of civil commotions. Sensible of the alarm which this last event would excite, the queen-mother was prepared to obviate and silence it, by the utmost stretch of her political craft. Feigning an apprehension of the purposes of the court of Spain, and appearing to resent the approach of the Spanish forces to the borders of the kingdom, she adopted the language, and seemed to concur with the sentiments of the Protestant chiefs, and those who insisted on the necessity of putting the state in a posture of defence. A commission for hiring six thousand Swiss was given, and some troops being levied in the Lionnoise, were ordered to march towards the frontiers of Italy.

The security of the court, at this period, is the more remarkable, as the frequent warnings they received ought certainly to have put them on their guard.— At Lyons, the Protestants were suspected of having run a mine, some hundred paces under ground, along the principal ramparts of the city. When the duke of Alva began his march from Lombardy, Mouvans had raised eight hundred men, and thrown them into Geneva; and an attempt had even been made by him, to introduce, by a stratagem, a part of these soldiers into the strong town of Metz. It is said that Catharine, whose observations were chiefly directed on the admiral's motions, was the more deceived, by the report of one of her spies, with respect to the manner in which he saw him employed at Chatillon. Clad in a homely frock, with a pruning-knife in his hand, Coligni had mounted a tree in his orchard, and appeared like the peaceful inhabitant of the rural shades. The Protestant chiefs, convinced that the queen-mother had concerted measures for their destruction, resolved to make the first assault. The conduct of the duke of Guise, at the commencement of the late war, was deemed worthy of imitation: and it was accordingly resolved to make an attempt to secure the person of the king.

The court resided at Montceaux, a pleasure-seat of the queen's in Brie, when, (on the twenty-sixth of September) four years after the pacification of Orleans, this enterprize was planned and attempted. From the discovery of several parties of armed men, resorting to Chatillon, the queen-mother was thrown into the utmost consternation: and retiring with precipitation to Meaux, she dispatched orders to the Swiss to advance, without delay, to the assistance of the court. Rôfey, the place of rendezvous for the prince of Condé and his friends, was not farther from Meaux than Chateau-Thierry, where the Swiss were quartered, and their horse could, with greater celerity, perform the march. In this dangerous perplexity, Catharine had recourse to her usual subterfuge of a conference, during which the Swiss had time to reach the place of their destination.

Their arrival inspired the court with courage, and induced the queen to accede to the proposals of colonel Fifer, who offered to conduct the royal family in safety to the capital. The exclamations of the Parisians at the sight of the king, escaped from the hands of the Hugonots, and their reflections on the horror of the attempt, joined to Charles's own sensation of the violent indignity, added fresh fuel to the former combustions of the state, and heightened the rage of the parties against

each other. Such were the circumstances of the commencement of the second civil war in France.

The queen of England deemed this a proper time for discovering her inclinations to support the Prot  stant party : she sent an ambassador to renew the old demand of the restitution of Calais. To this unexpected requisition, France, however provoked, found it convenient, at the present juncture, to return a decent refusal. Elizabeth expected no more. It was also proper, that she should not appear too forward in engaging with them, who had not adhered to the terms of the league they had made with her ; while, by inviting the cardinal of Ch  tillon to the English court, it was evident she considered this conduct as a pardonable transgression.

The bold attempt of the Protestant chiefs to seize the person of the king, was considered as a signal, by the leaders of both parties, to collect their military forces. The prince of Cond   and his associates, instead of being dismayed at the failure of their first enterprise, not only kept the field, but acted offensively, with an intrepid spirit, that had the shew of superior strength. No sooner had the prince of Cond   seized a few posts on the Seine, and burnt a great number of mills between the gates of the Temple and Saint Honr  , than the Parisians began to utter complaints*. This made the queen-mother have recourse to her usual expedient of a negotiation, which only ended in mutual invectives.

To a train of delusive negotiations succeeded the open operations of war.—With about six thousand troops, the prince of Cond  , having secured the passage of the Seine. The alarm had no sooner been given by the Protestants, than the principal Catholic nobility began to muster their forces, and to conduct them to the metropolis. The different corps of the Swiss, and of the old and new levies of the French infantry, formed an army of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Besides volunteers, the city furnished a complete regiment. Having detached five hundred picked cavalry to harrahs the enemy for a day and a night, early on the tenth of November he began to move his whole force from the capital. As he passed through the gate, turning to those around him, “ This “ day”—said he—“ shall acquit me from the detractions of my enemies, and the “ calumny of the vulgar ; for either I shall return alive and victorious, or meet “ death in a field revengeful and bloody to the king’s foes†.”

Unalarmed at the great superiority of the royalists, the prince of Conde resolutely determined to meet them in the field ; the Protestant chiefs accordingly drew out their troops from their different posts, chose their ground in the plain of Saint Denis, and arranged their battalions with all the composure and intrepidity of men, about to engage in the most equal combat. The constable, who moved slowly from the city, was astonished at seeing them ranging their little army in order of battle.‡ The action began on the right by the discharge of

* De Thou.

† D’Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 9.

‡ De Thou—Castelnau.

the constable's artillery. Genlis, finding his division galled by the fire, ordered his lieutenant De Vardes to advance with a party, and charge the enemy. The repulse of this brisk attack having brought most of the cavalry to the side of the trench, they were there saluted with a sharp fire: at the same time Genlis opened his ranks, his foot advanced, and poured their shot on the enemy, while he again forming his line in order, proceeded with de Vardes to make a vigorous assault on the broken troops of the Catholics. The admiral perceiving that the action on the right had become general, put the troops in motion, and having apprised the prince of Condé of his intention, began to engage the enemy in the same manner as Genlis had done, by advancing his foot before his cavalry. By the regular fire the line of infantry made, and the impetuous charge which followed it, the troops on the left of the enemy were broken, and their horse wheeling on the regiment of Paris, a general confusion, approaching to a total rout, ensued. Immediately after this the prince of Condé pushed forward with his division to attack the constable's centre, which on the left lay open and exposed. He also marched his foot before him: but, as he advanced, the marechal, Montmorenci observing his aim, made a wheel to fall on the flank of his squadron. The prince, leaving his foot, and part of his line, to encounter the marechal, rushed, with great impetuosity, on the gendarmerie of the centre. Disorder already begun there, by the rout of the left wing, facilitated the impression of the charge. In a few minutes the main body gave way. The old constable, deserted by his troops, and wounded in the face, was seen exerting his utmost efforts for rallying the fugitives. Disdaining to surrender, when required by Robert Stuart (the Scotchman who had been accused of assassinating the president Minart) and resisting, with a vigour of body and spirit uncommon at his age, he dashed the pommel of his sword, which was broken, in his adversary's face, and knocked out several of his teeth: when a pistol-shot from behind pierced him in the reins, and soon after he fell to the ground. At no great distance, and almost at the same instant, the prince of Condé's horse being wounded, and falling with him, it was with difficulty he could be extricated from the danger which threatened him*. The marechal Montmorenci had, by this time, not only routed the detachment sent against him, but some troops of the left wing that were not broken rallying about him, he had already made a considerable impression on the admiral's squadron. D'Aumale and d'Amville, who had not engaged, being assured that the Swiss on the right still kept their ground, and that the marechal Montmorenci was victorious, hastened to advance their body of reserve from the rear. But while the hurry on one side to rescue the constable, and on the other the attention to recover and remount the prince of Condé, suspended the renewal of the combat, the approach of night put an end to the conflict. The prince drew off his troops to Saint Denis, and the marechal

* Brantome—D'Aubigne—D'Avila.

Montmorenci was only anxious to save the life of his father, who recovering his senses, asked why the victory was not ascertained by the pursuit of the enemy. He expired the second day after the battle.

Not more than three or four hundred men on either side perished in the action, which may justly be termed a draw battle; but the Protestants experienced the greatest loss, on account of the number of their officers who were killed: The fall of the count of Saux, the vidame of Amiens, and several others of eminent fame and dignity, considerably aggravated the loss of the Hugonots. The intrepid bravery of the prince of Condé's troops was witnessed by the Ottoman ambassador, who had taken his station with some of the courtiers in an adjacent tower: his surprise was testified by exclaiming—"If my master had only two thousand of these white scarfs to place at the head of the different armies, the universe would not stand against him for two years."

D'Andelot and Montgomery having refitted some pontoons on the Seine, and joined the army on the night after the battle, the Hugonots again dared their enemies to meet them in the field: their defiance not being accepted, the prince of Condé insulted the capital, by beating off the out-guards, setting fire to some mills, and extending his incursions into the very suburbs of Paris. Though during the blockade of Paris*, La Noue, by a rare instance of valour and conduct, had, with scarce a troop of soldiers, possessed himself of Orleans, and even reduced the citadel.

After some days repose in their quarters near Paris, they turned off to Montreau-faut-Yonne, whence they meant to proceed towards the confines of Lorraine. The prince of Condé led the van with his main battle, the admiral followed with the left wing; and D'Andelot, with all the musqueteers they could mount on horseback, covered the flanks and foraged for the army; De Moui, having the command of the light cavalry, closed the rear. After encountering various difficulties, and escaping from an attack of the royalists, on the seventeenth of December, at Sarri near Châlons, the prince of Condé was so fortunate as to accomplish the object of his expedition, by effecting a junction with the German forces.

On the death of Montmorenci, the duke of Anjou was, at the instigation of Catharine of Medicis, appointed to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, notwithstanding the repugnance of Charles to such a promotion.

A. D. 1568.] The flames of civil war were speedily enkindled throughout the different provinces of the kingdom, where continual skirmishes took place between the Catholic and Protestant chieftains: towns were reduced and detachments defeated on either side, but no conquest of importance was either achieved or attempted, until the prince of Condé, on the twenty-first of February, invested the town of Chartres, which was vigorously defended by the chevalier de

* D'Aubigne.

Liniers, with a garrison of four thousand men. After some ineffectual attempts to open a breach, the enterprize of turning off the river near D'Eure, was undertaken and executed by the Hugonots. The suspension of the corn-mills, which ensued from thence, and the scarcity of other provisions, would soon have reduced the city to the necessity of capitulating; but while Linieres, by his courage and conduct, protracted the defence of the place, a treaty of peace was on the twentieth of March concluded with the royal commissioners, by the cardinal of Chatillon, at Longjumeau. Upon the point of religion, the articles were reduced to a general head, that of the full restoration of the last edict of pacification signed at Amboise, without the restrictions afterwards annexed to it. The king being of age, there was no reference made to his future will and pleasure, but the edict was declared to be ratified until it should please God to unite France in the bond of one religion*.

Scarce three months had elapsed from the conclusion of this treaty, before an evident disposition in the court to renew the war was evinced. Catharine who delighted in exertions of fraud and dissimulation, laid a plan for seizing the person of the prince of Condé and the admiral, who had retired to their respective seats: but by the generous probity of the chancellor, and the military honour of the marshal de Tavannes, they were warned of their danger, and advised to accelerate their escape. Encompassed by a body of one hundred and fifty horse, they bent their course towards the Loire, which, by the accident of an uncommon dry summer, was found fordable near Sancerre. They had scarcely passed it, and endeavoured to secure their rear by posting a party commanded by Bois on the banks of the river, when Martinengues came up and attacked this feeble squadron, who were obliged to fly into the fortress of Boni, where they soon surrendered. A sudden swell of the river, regarded as providential by those who felt the advantage of it, concurred to prevent all immediate pursuit; and, on the nineteenth of September, having been previously joined by great numbers of their adherents, who flocked to them from all quarters, the Protestant chiefs entered the city of Rochelle, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

By the speedy arrival of the queen of Navarre, with her infant son Henry, the foundation of a firmer association of the blood royal seemed to be laid, and the Protestants prepared for war with more than usual confidence. A declaration was now published by the court, offering the king's protection to the Protestants, and a redress of grievances, if they would return peaceably home; but two rigid edicts appeared immediately after (on the first of October) in direct contradiction to those moderate professions. These edicts were registered with extravagant symptoms of joy, and a voluntary ratification of them, by a new-invented oath, was subjoined.

Henry, duke of Anjou, was now employed in preparing his army to march into Saintonge, where that of the Protestants, which, after the accession of Henry of

* De Thou—D'Avila,

Navarre to it, was called the army of the princes, had considerably increased in number and strength. D'Andelot, in his march to join the princes, seized Parthenay: Niort surrendered to his brother, the admiral; and Fontenai, taken by capitulation, added to their conquests*.

The duke of Anjou's army, augmented by the bands of the nobility, the Swiss brigade, and a great train of artillery, now consisted of twenty thousand foot, and about four thousand horse. The princes, on their side, besides the troops in garrison, mustered in the field to the number of eighteen thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. Never before did the contending parties oppose each other with such a formidable force, and appear so nearly matched. Though it was the middle of winter, both armies took the field. On the twenty-ninth of November their advanced guards approached each other, in the vicinity of Lusignan, and, by a singular accident, the camp-master on either side met at Pamprau to arrange their respective quarters. Both parties refused to quit the ground, though no advantage could be reaped by maintaining it: the respective leaders entered into the dispute with great eagerness: Martigues was soon dispatched with eight hundred horse to support the Catholics; while the two Coligni's, with somewhat more than half the number, hastened to oppose them. A party, sent by the admiral to reconnoitre the enemy, precipitately engaged: ignorant of each other's strength, the chiefs declined a general charge; and yet neither would retire. The admiral, first apprehending the risk he run of being attacked by the whole van, ranged his troops on the brow of a hill in order of battle; and their appearance on the eminence, while a party of them skirmished on the plain below, deceived Martigues in his opinion of their numbers, and induced him, under favour of the night, to secure his retreat. This rencounter was the prelude to the famous skirmish of Jazeneuil.

Some skirmishes afterwards occurred between the rival armies, but the extreme rigour of the season at length compelled them to put their troops into cantonments, after losing, each of them, four thousand men, chiefly from the inclemency of the weather†.

A. D. 1569.] Nothing of importance was attempted during the winter, by the provincial chieftains, who were separated from the main armies, except the siege of Sancerre, by a Catholic party under Martigues, and that of the abbey of Saint-Michael, by a body of Protestant soldiers. In the first, three hundred Calvinists, ill-provided with arms or ammunition, and having only Joanneau, an advocate, for their captain, defended themselves, for near six weeks, against a body of three thousand foot, and a troop of horse, under the command of Martigues, and other experienced warriors, who battered the walls with eight pieces of cannon. Nine hundred of the Catholics were killed, and, after various assaults, the siege was raised.

* D'Aubigne—De Thou.

† De Thou, lib. xliii. p. 878.

At the opening of the campaign, the duke of Anjou, having received an expected reinforcement of two thousand Rheiters, and a strong body of troops from Provence, was resolved, if possible, to bring the enemy to action; while the prince of Condé, on the contrary, whose reinforcement had not yet arrived, determined to avoid an engagement. The Protestants directed their march along the bank of the river Charente, which the Catholics, notwithstanding their utmost precautions, found means to pass unobserved in the night. There was no discovery of their motions till La Noue, before sun-rise, on the thirteenth, making the round of the different posts with fifty horse, perceived the blue standerd of Martigues waving in the midst of a squadron, which advanced towards him. By his retreat on full gallop, the admiral was soon informed of the enemy's approach. The pass of a rivulet was immediately secured, and the different detachments received orders to hasten to their rendezvous at Bassac*. As Martigues could not, without farther support, venture to push beyond the brook, and the safe passage of it required considerable force and caution, there was still sufficient time to make an orderly retreat with the van. But full three hours passed before the captains Montgomery, Pluviaux and others, could draw together their straggled detachments of horse, which had been previously stationed in the vicinity of Chateau-Neuf. La Noue, meanwhile, bravely maintaining, with some troops of cavalry, the vigorous charge of the count de Brissac and Martigues, who strove to encompass him, was obliged to yield his defence of the rivulet, and, overpowered with numbers, before he could reach Bassac, was thrown from his horse and taken prisoner. His soldiers, driven towards the village, were rallied by D'Andelot, who, with undaunted courage, advanced to the charge. This daring commander, after this short exhortation to his men—" *Act now as I do*"—was seen, immediately on closing with the enemy, to lay hold of the beaver of the duke of Monfalez's helmet with one hand, and with the other to discharge a pistol in his face, which laid him dead on the ground. By his bravery, Martigues was driven out of Bassac with considerable loss, and an opportunity given to the admiral to range the remainder of the van, when compelled to evacuate the village, in an advantageous ground behind it.

As not only Montpensier, with the whole left wing of the Catholic army, but also de Tavannes, with the German Rheiters, was on the point of charging the admiral, matters were brought to a critical and dangerous extremity, in which the resolution to sacrifice a part of his troops, in order to save the rest, hardly afforded the prospect of escaping. It was then a courier was dispatched to the prince of Condé, with intelligence of the situation of the van. That gallant commander, unused to linger when summoned to the field, and undismayed by danger when honour called for his exertions, took the brave and unfortunate resolution of hastening to the assistance of the admiral, with a choice body of cavalry, while the remainder of his army had orders to follow him, with all possible expedition. This reinforcement only consisted of seven troops of horse, amounting in the

* Castelnau.

whole to about three hundred and fifty men. As they drew up around him, and were told what he expected from the valour of men whom he considered as the flower of his army, the duke of Rochefoucaud's horse reared, and fractured the bone of the prince's leg. Superior to pain, with an undaunted countenance, suffered only with the glow of courage—"Remember," said he, "nobility of France, that Lewis of Bourbon this day verifies his motto, and esteems the condition in which he now goes to encounter the enemy for the sake of his religion, of you, and of France, a circumstance not unfavourable to his renown." In disposing his troops to the best advantage, in fighting with the most heroic courage, the prince displayed the most essential qualities of a soldier and a general.—After a charge by the prince of Condé, that exceeded any of the former instances of resolution, and by which Montpensier's van was repulsed, he was attacked on the flank by the duke of Anjou's main body, supported by de Tavannes and the Rheiters, which overwhelmed his slender battalion. Valour alone prolonged the resistance, till the prince, thrown from his horse, which was wounded, and able only to raise himself upon one knee from the ground, surrendered himself to D'Argens, to whom he delivered his sword. Being placed under a tree, Montéquieu, captain of the duke of Anjou's Swiss guard, coming up, and being told who he was, shot him through the head with a pistol. The infamy of this brutal assassination, which was generally abhorred in the Catholic army, was not solely confined to the person who committed it*. Brantome acknowledges that the duke of Anjou's intimates had encouragement to believe, that such a sacrifice would not displease him; and so far from concealing his satisfaction, he is said, upon hearing Cloud des Saintes' panegyric on his victory, (from which, by the bye, he could derive neither honor nor credit) to have entertained the design of erecting a chapel on the spot in which the prince of Condé was murdered; but the prudent intelligence of his governor, Carnavalet, prevented him from raising such a monument of his own infamy. Robert Stuart, the Scottish captain, was also killed in cool blood, by Honorat de Savoy, marquis of Villars. The body of the prince of Condé, thrown on an ass, was carried to the castle of Jarnac, and after being exposed to the view of the victorious army, was delivered to his nephew, who interred it with those of his ancestors at Vendôme†.

Though the battle of Jarnac lasted six hours, only four hundred Protestants perished on the part of the vanquished, but the fourth part of these were gentlemen. If, obedience to the orders they had received, the main body of the Protestants had marched up to the field, they would inevitably been involved in the defeat. But d'Acier, who commanded the infantry, having advanced to the village of Jarnac, and learned from the fugitives how things were situated, judged it proper to proceed no farther, and, having broken down the bridge, made a safe retreat to Cognac, a considerable part of the cavalry, by the same means, gained Saintes. The admiral with his brother, with a resolute band, taking an opposite course, made his way to Saint Jean D'Angeli.

* Fløge de Conde.

† Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 344.

The moment the queen of Navarre was informed of the event of the battle of Jarnac, she hastened to Cognac, with the two Henry's, her son, and the young Condé, the one fifteen years of age and the other sixteen. Her introduction, soon after, at Tonnay Charente, to an assembly of the Protestant chiefs, her affecting and animating speech to a muster of the officers and troops in the city, and the tender she made of the two youthful princes to succeed to the title and authority of their principal head, shewed at once her ardour to support the interest of her family, and her knowledge of the disposition of the admiral, and the other commanders, to concur with her wishes. An oath of fidelity to the prince of Bearn being taking by the troops at hand, and Saint Jean D'Angeli pitched upon for their retreat, and the security of their persons, the councils of war proceeded with little difficulty or interruption. Montgomery was detached to Angoulême, with seven troops of horse; while Piles, who brought a small reinforcement from Perigord, received orders to throw himself into Saintes. The duke of Anjou, as was expected, made an attack upon Cognac, in the hope of crushing the remaining part of the Protestant army, by one successful stroke; but D'Acier, who commanded in the place, with eight thousand foot, compelled him to raise the siege in four days. The duke then entered the Perigord, and reduced some trifling places with the loss of several of his best officers. At the siege of Mucidan, the gallant count de Brissac was killed. On the other side, after many hazards in the field, various encounters sustained, and military toils undergone, the brave D'Andelot, justly deemed one of the first commanders of the age, whose intrepidity had gained him the surname of *The Fearless*, was carried off by an epidemical fever at Saintes.

The hopes of the Protestants were revived by the arrival of Walsang of Bavaria, duke of Deux-Ponts, with a formidable army of German auxiliaries, amounting to seven thousand six hundred Rheiters, and six thousand Lansquenets; who, marching through the heart of France, reduced the town of La Charité on the Loire, and effected a junction with the forces of the princes on the banks of the Vienne, to the great disgrace of the Catholic army, which had been recently reinforced by two thousand foot, and fifteen hundred Rheiters, sent from Flanders by the duke of Alva. The duke of Deux-Ponts died on the eleventh of June, the day before this junction took place, of a quartan ague, at Chastus; having previously appointed Volrad, count of Mansfeld, to the chief command of his troops, and exhorted the German officers to perform with fidelity the service expected of them.

Though the royalists, independent of the reinforcement we have already noticed, had received, from the pope, a body of five thousand Italian foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the count of Sanctafiore, it was determined, in a council of war, that the duke of Anjou should remain on the defensive. With this view he pitched his camp at La Roche-la-belle, near Saint Irier in the Limoufin, where he formed such entrenchments, as, joined to the natural strength of his situation, might be well deemed inaccessible by a superior

force. A deep valley near a rising ground, encompassed with marshes, supplying on one side the place of artificial lines of defence, the greatest part of the artillery was placed there, under the custody of the Swiss battalions. All the troops were protected by the circumvallation, except two regiments of foot, which chose to take their station on the outside of the marsh, on ground only fenced by hedges and trees. Against these regiments the admiral, who had unexpectedly approached the camp directed his attacks, and thereby occasioned the combat of La Rochella-belle, (on the twenty-fourth of June) which was reckoned among the most signal skirmishes in the civil wars. Begun by the brave Piles, who threw himself, with some light troops into the midst of the enemy's infantry, and sustained, on the other side, by Strozzi, who then first acted as general of the French foot, the conflict soon became vigorous and of doubtful issue. Four hundred Catholic soldiers, and no less than two-and-twenty of their officers slain on the field, shewed the advantage their antagonists had gained, and the little quarter that had been given.

The count of Montgomery was now detached, with a small body of forces, to effect the reduction of Bearn, which had been seized by the count of Terride, the king's governors of Quercy; and he fulfilled his commission with such intrepidity and address, as greatly enhanced his military fame.

The siege of Poitiers was the first enterprise of importance attempted by the main army of the Protestants, after the battle of Jarnac; but the young duke of Guise, emulous of his father's fame, threw himself into the town, and by his resolute conduct inspired the garrison to an obstinate and successful defence. After losing two thousand men before the place, by wounds and an epidemical disorder, the admiral drew off his troops, and compelled the duke of Anjou to raise the siege of Chatelleraud, which he had recently formed. Conscious, however, of the superiority of the enemy's forces, he was studious to shun a decisive engagement; but the two armies meeting, on the thirtieth of September, at a short distance from the small town of Montcontour, his design was defeated by the impatient and uneasy temper of his own troops*.

Already had Coligni, with his vanguard, reached Saint Cler, within two leagues of Montcontour, and the chieftans La Noue and La Nore, detached with seven troops of horse and a party of foot, had taken possession of that village, when the duke of Montpensier, commander of the Catholic van, informed that La Noue, who brought up the admiral's rear with two hundred cavalry, and without apprehensions of an attack, redoubled his pace to fall upon him. La Noue, contrary to his usual diligence, had both deceived himself with respect to the distance of the enemy, and misinformed the admiral, who had charged him with the business of intelligence. Confident of the certainty of the report he had made, that there were only some flying parties of the enemy at hand, he re-

* De Thou, lib. xliv. p. 914.

ceived the first charge of Montpensier's troops as if he had been wholly a match for them, and boldly stood his ground, till Martigues came up, and cut off a fourth of his party, and put the rest to flight. But the duke of Montpensier neglecting to push his advantage with spirit and resolution, allowed the admiral time to form his van, and recover from the consternation into which his troops were visibly thrown. One error generated another. Montpensier's irresolution was mistaken for weakness, and it was presumed that he had not strength enough to resist an attack, if urged with vigour. In the first charge, which was well sustained, a considerable repulse was given to Martigues; but the duke of Montpensier being reinforced by the fresh troops of the main battle, the retreat became difficult and perilous. Clermont D'Amboise, unrecovered from sickness, and without his armour, and with only twenty horse, distinguished his valour, by defending the pass of a rivulet for a considerable space of time, against a great body of the Catholics. The action was now changed into a cannonade by the latter, which galled the German Rheiters, who kept their post on the bank. When their attempts to force a passage failed, and the fire of the cannon ceased, the admiral, under favour of the night, drew off his troops, and encamped between the rivulet and the Dive; thence he next day extended his quarters to Montcontour and the adjacent villages, where he was covered by the Dive, a narrow river, but not every where fordable. Such were the previous movements and combats of the two armies in the interval of three days before the general engagements ensued.

The two armies were drawn up in an open plain, destitute, on either side, of any natural advantages, and intersected only, at unequal distances, by a few easy declivities. The Catholics amounted to twenty-seven thousand men; the Protestants to eighteen. The former appeared to derive confidence from the superiority of their numbers, the latter from their hardy and determined courage. Composed to obedience and unanimity, and touched with the pathetic admonitions of the young princes, the German lansquenets, according to their constant custom, on the eve of battle, kneeled on the ground, and promised to fight and die like men of honour. Each of the armies was ranged in two great divisions, but so disposed, that they could all engage at the same time. The admiral's main battle, under count Nassau, was rather advanced towards Ervaux, before the left wing, which he commanded himself, and which stood more directly opposed to the enemy, as if he had still aimed at cutting short the combat by a retreat. To his usual practice of interlining his squadrons of horse with some foot of arquebusiers, he added that of covering the flanks of the divisions of the Rheiters, with a troop of French cavalry. The Germans, after their first rank had fired their long pistols, used the method of wheeling to the rear, in order to charge them again, which exposed them to be more easily thrown into disorder by the enemy. The side-long line of French horse, who stood firm, and fought chiefly with their lances and their swords, was a well-contrived remedy for this inconvenience. The troops, on both sides, equalled the bravery of their several commanders. After

the first charge, given by a part of the left wing of the Catholics, under the duke of Montpensier, by which La Mouy's horse were driven back on some of the infantry advanced before the admiral, the action on the left became general. The body of Catholic Rheiters, led by the Rhingrave, pushed forward in the opening made, and endeavoured to break the line of foot. Coligni, who had sent to count Nassau for a squadron of Rheiters to oppose them, led on, in the mean time, some French arquebusiers to the charge. The Rhingrave turned and faced him, and both of them advancing near thirty paces before their troops, discharged, at the same instant, their pistols at each other. The admiral's jaw was shattered by the Rhingrave's shot, while his own laid his adversary dead on the ground. Coligni concealed the hurt he had received, till being almost suffocated by the blood, he suffered himself to be led off the field. This accident did not prevent the total defeat of the Rheiters, which was accomplished by Volrad, count Mansfield, at the head of his Germans. Nearly the whole of the left wing of the Catholics was thrown into confusion notwithstanding the assistance of the duke of Aumale, and the marquis of Baden, who were detached from the main body to support them. The troops of both these generals were routed by Mansfield, and the latter of them was killed in the charge. As count Nassau now advanced against the duke of Anjou, the battle became furious and bloody: the duke's horse was wounded, his squadrons began to give way, and the Protestant troops repeated their shouts of victory. But the efforts of their courage, now strained beyond their numbers and strength, required that support which the Catholics still had in a body of reserve. It was the arrival of the Swiss, brought forward by the mareschal de Cossé, that changed the fate of the day. While three fresh regiments of the reserve withstood and repelled the thinned and drooping squadrons of the counts Nassau and Mansfield, they moved in close files to assault their hated rivals, the German Lansquenets. The broken Rheiters, having rallied around them, first pierced the ranks of the Germans, when the Swiss rushed in like a torrent, and completed their ruin. Here was the principal slaughter; of four thousand Germans, not four hundred were spared by the merciless Swiss, who continued to massacre them after they had thrown down their arms. A similar fate would have befallen a body of French infantry, that stood their ground beside the lansquenets, but for the timely interposition of the duke of Anjou, who, after some hundreds of them had been slain, called out, "Spare the French." After several vain attempts made by the chief commanders of the Protestants to reanimate their scattered troops, and to renew the fight, they found themselves compelled to provide for their own safety. While the fugitives fled to Parthenai and Niort, count Nassau, having collected a body of three thousand Rheiters, faced and repulsed the pursuers; then proceeded to Ervaux, where he crossed the river Thoue. The admiral's prudence, in securing, by some detachments, placed there before the battle, the passes of the defiles on that road, proved the safety of a considerable part of the routed army.

This was the only battle of the four they had now fought, in which the Protestants could be said to have been completely vanquished. By a moderate computation, near six thousand of their soldiers perished in the field, besides the havock made among the sutlers and followers of the camp, who were in arms. All the baggage waggons of the Germans, which were numerous, and almost all the equipage of the infantry, fell into the hands of the victors. La Noue and D'Acier were among the prisoners. The one was with difficulty rescued from slaughter in cold blood; and Sancta-Fiore was blamed by the pope for taking the other alive. About six hundred of the Catholic cavalry, chiefly Germans, were slain, and nearly as many wounded*; but they lost few of their infantry.

It was the peculiar characteristic of Coligni's mind, that it ever acquired fresh fortitude in adversity, and its spirit and sagacity invariably encreased in proportion to the dangers it had to encounter. The parliament of Paris had recently published an arret, calculated to stimulate the hand of the assassin, by which they offered a compensation of fifty thousand crowns, to any man who should produce the admiral, dead or alive.† Despising these ungenerous proceedings, Coligni was only intent on extricating his party from the difficulties in which their late defeat had involved them. He immediately sent off dispatches to England, to the Protestant princes of Germany, and to the Swiss cantons, with a representation of the issue of the battle, that lessened the idea of the disaster of the Protestants, while it implied a want of assistance in their present circumstances. It was resolved to garrison the three towns of Niort, Angoulême, and Saint Jean D'Angeli; while the chief commanders, conducting the young princes, along with the remains of the army, directed their course to Rochelle.

The duke of Anjou advancing, with his victories army, met with no opposition till he came to Niort, the defence of which was entrusted to La Mouy. That gallant officer exerted his usual courage on this occasion, but, on his return from a sally, he received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin, Louvriers Maurevel, who shot him in the reins with a pistol, and escaped, on a horse which Mouy had given him, to the Catholic camp. This blow had been designed for the admiral; but the wretch who undertook it having failed of his aim, endeavoured to make some amends for his disappointment, by transferring it to La Mouy, esteemed the next to Coligni in authority and interest among the Protestants. It occasioned the surrender of Niort, and the death of that intrepid chieftain, who expired, soon after, at Rochelle, whither he had retired for his cure. Aggravated with the circumstances of perfidious villainy and base ingratitude, the atrocious deed exposed the public sanction given to such attempts, by the parliament's arret against the admiral, the count of Montgomery, and the vidame of Chartres. The family of Guise, whose creature Maurevel was, acknowledged that, from motives of private vengeance against Coligni, they had

* Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 355.

† D'Avila—D'Aubigne.

instigated the assassin. It will afterwards appear, that the gratification of that revenge corresponded to the cabinet policy of the court, and that Maurevel was introduced to perform his part in the tragedy of Saint Bartholomew.

In the month of November the royalists came to the resolution of besieging the town of Saint Jean D'Angeli, and, in order to encourage the foldiers, the king made his appearance in the camp. Envious of his brother's military fame, Charles could not be hindered from shewing himself in the trenches, and from partaking of the labour and danger of the common foldiers. "With all my heart,"—said he—"would I consent, that my brother and I should reign by turns, and that he should wear the crown for six months in the year, while I took the command of the army." At Saint Jean D'Angeli the Catholics experienced a most daring reception: the town, the fortifications, and the garrison were of moderate strength*, but the resolution of the inhabitants, who were Calvinists, the presence of several valiant officers, and of Piles, who was chief commander, supplied the want of numbers and other defects. Though breaches were frequently made, yet the besiegers gained no ground, for entrenchments, at which men and women laboured continually rose to baffle the assault. An honourable capitulation was at length proposed, but Piles would hearken to no terms, till some assurances were given that a general treaty was on foot. That he might have an opportunity of knowing the resolution of the princes, with respect to peace or succours, a truce for ten days was agreed on.—In the night of its expiration, forty foldiers were introduced into the town, and Piles answered, to the demand of surrendering according to the conditions, that he was reinforced. The attacks were now renewed with additional fury: more than six weeks had elapsed, while the besieged still resisted, amidst the ruins, and the Catholics severely felt what their victory at last would cost them, by the fall of Martigues from a shot, and the carnage of many of their best foldiers. When Piles and valour could do no more, of a garrison which consisted of near two thousand men, nine hundred marched out, with their arms, colours and baggage. By the terms of surrender, they were bound not to appear in arms for four months; but the Catholic foldiers, in spite of their officers, having plundered their baggage, Piles, when escorted to Angoulême, declared himself acquitted of the capitulation, and soon marched to join the princes. The siege protracted to December occasioned diseases and epidemical sickness to ravage in the Catholic army; and when the town was reduced, the duke of Anjou found his loss amounted to full six thousand men. The troops immediately went into winter-quarters, and the duke of Anjou retired, with the court, to Angers.

As soon as the siege of St. Jean D'Angeli, was begun, the admiral had marched with expedition from Saintes into Quercy, passed the Dardonne, and placed himself in a position to co-operate with the advancement of the count of Mont-

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 18.

gomery, from Bern, on the other side of the Garonne, to join him*. By the seizure of Aiguillon at the confluence of the Lot with this last river, and the possession of Pont St. Marie upon it, he not only defied and bridled the excursions of the enemy from the confines of Guienne and Languedoc, but having, by his previous march to Montauban, first compelled the marechal D'Amville to raise the siege of Mazeres, and then forced Montluc to shut himself up in Agen, he began, and, in a short time, completed the construction of a large bridge of boats, over the Garonne. It was secured by piles and chains, and rendered passable to cavalry. But the troops, under Montgomery, laden with the spoils of the Catholics in Bearn, advanced so slowly, that the bridge, by the contrivance of a mechanic, was destroyed before their arrival. After Montgomery appeared, so much time was lost in ferrying over his troops, that the admiral saw it necessary to drop his design on Guienne, and turn back towards Montauban, in order to penetrate through Languedoc.

Meanwhile an attempt was made, by a strong detachment of royalists, to blockade Rochelle, which produced innumerable skirmishes. The honour of defeating this project was due to the gallant chieftain La Noue, who, after various achievements, in which he signalized his skill and courage, marched to besiege a fort, lately erected to cover Luçon, and cut off the communication of Rochelle with that quarter of Poitou. Puy-Gaillard, flushed with some recent advantages, and eagerly wishing for such an opportunity to fall on the main body of the Protestants, had formed the scheme of surprising them on their march. But La Noue discovered his designs, and turned them to his ruin. His little army, composed of several old battalions, and the flower of various garrisons, amounting to full six thousand men, was totally vanquished, with the slaughter of five hundred men and the captivity of a greater number. This victory paved the way to the re-establishment of the Protestants in the Pays d'Aunis, in Saintonge, and the borders of Poitou, though the brave atchiever of it, in besieging Fontenay soon after, received a shot in his arm, which, to prevent the effects of a gangrene, he suffered to be cut off. De Thou, in his description of the battle of Luçon, observes that La Noue, no less remarkable for modesty than courage, had altogether sunk, in his commentaries, the exemplary figure of his valour and humanity on this occasion. When the Lansquenets, in revenge for the cruelty they experienced at Montcontour, were putting all who fell in their way to the sword, he obliged them to give quarter. When Luçon capitulated, and a complaint was made by the Catholic commander of some baggage being taken, contrary to the terms agreed on, he made good the damage out of his own private fortune. Such behaviour was then as rare among the warriors, as reserve, equal to that of La Noue, in the display of their own actions, has proved uncommon in modern authors of memoirs†.

A. D. 1570.] The admiral, having been disappointed of fixing his quarters in Guienne, undertook, in the midst of winter, to traverse the kingdom by a

* De Thou.

† Anderson.

march from Mantauban, through Languedoc, to the mouth of the Rhone, and from thence, along the course of that river, and that of the Saone, to the entrance of Burgundy and the head of the Seine. This arduous undertaking he successfully accomplished, and, surmounting every obstacle that opposed his passage, after pillaging above fifty, and burning a hundred places, he astonished the court, which believed him entangled in a train of inextricable difficulties, and totally incapacitated from giving them annoyance, by the news of his arrival in the confines of Burgundy. He gradually approached to La Charité on the Loire, still occupied by a Protestant garrison; but his army, by disasters, desertion and disease, in a march of more than four hundred French leagues, during the course of eight months, with scarcely a week's intermission of fatigue, was worn out and reduced to half its former number. Recruited with some companies from Dauphiné and Geneva, and a party brought from La Charité by Briquemaut, it amounted not in foot and horse to five thousand men. Yet this small number of combatants, under the conduct of bold and experienced commanders, preserved the honour of their party, and forced peace to themselves and to France, by defeating the *mareschal de Cossé*, who attacked them, at *Arnay-le-Duc*, on the twenty-third of June, with thirteen thousand men, and twelve pieces of cannon. The attack lasted seven hours, at the expiration of which the Catholics allowed the admiral to march forward with his army, and pitch his camp between La Charité, *Sancerre* and *Vezelai*, three towns garrisoned by his confederates, which was the station he sought for the repose of his troops, the re-assembly of the scattered forces of the Protestants, and the revival of the war in the heart of the kingdom.

During these operations some overtures for a negotiation had been made by the court, but the refusal to allow the public exercise of the reformed religion, had hitherto prevented the conclusion of a treaty. When, however, the admiral's troops began to extend their excursions to the vicinity of the metropolis, a sudden alteration took place, and a solicitous disposition to peace, on the part of the court, appeared. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in the month of August, at *St. Germain-en-Laye*, containing forty-six articles. Besides the public exercise of the Protestant religion, unconfined by the restrictions of the edict of *Rouffillon*, and an amnesty conceived in the most ample terms, with a declaration of the nullity and repeal of all proscriptions, civil and criminal of the Protestants during the war, and a recognition of their privileges of admission into all employments and dignities civil and military; the Hugonots were allowed, in processes before the provincial parliaments, to except, without assigning any reason, against three judges in each chamber. In the parliament of *Bordeaux* they could object to four; and with respect to that of *Thoulouse*, on account of its most notorious bigotry and prejudice against the Protestants, authority was granted them to decline its jurisdiction, and carry their causes to any other parliament, or to the court of requests in *Paris*. But what distinguished this edict of pacification from every pre-

ceding one, was the assignment of the four cities of Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, to the Protestants, to be holden by them, for the security and the fulfilment of the articles of peace, for two years. It was not only published by registration in the court of parliament, but its punctual observance and execution were to be sworn to, by the lieutenants and presidial magistrates of the provinces. Such was the conclusion of the third civil war, and the tenor of the peace obtained by the Protestants in France, who having experienced, as Sully says*, several hard reverses of fortune, yet through the wise conduct of their chiefs, and the auspicious genius of Henry, king of Navarre, supported themselves with reputation and honour till this period, at which that instructive and valuable piece of history, his memoirs begin.

Soon after this peace, Charles united himself to the archduchess Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor, Maximilian the Second; an amiable princess, who, with the hand, obtained not the heart of her royal consort, which had been long engaged to his mistress, the beautiful Mary Touchet. Foreign states and princes considered the choice of the daughter of Maximilian for his consort, as a happy presage of the termination of the natural broils about religion, by a conformity to the wise policy and pacific conduct of that prince. Among other congratulations the king received one, presented by the envoys of the princes of the Augsburg confession, lately met at the Diet of Spiers, which was remarkable for turning chiefly on the propriety of the late edict of peace, and the benefit of religious toleration. Charles's answer was decent, and not unfavourable to act with vigour in maintaining the treaty, which he chose to call his own peace.

A. D. 1570, 1571.] The advantageous terms of this treaty, and the solemn professions which Catharine and Charles made to maintain it inviolably, did not soon throw the Protestant princes and chiefs off their guard. Experience had taught them circumspection, and they scarcely dared encourage the hope of finding sincerity where they had so often met with deceit. Willing, however, to judge of the truth of those amicable declarations from facts, they kept together in a body, and chose Rochelle for a retreat, and the place of their common consultations†. During their residence there a variety of circumstances occurred to rouse their apprehensions and prove their jealousy. It afforded them grounds for reflection, that the secret articles of the pacification were not yet registered in the parliament; that the marquis of Villars, an inveterate foe to the Protestants, was appointed to the lieutenancy of the province of Guienne, of which the prince of Navarre was governor; and that queen Jane, his mother, was excluded from the possession of one of her towns. Other complaints which presently arose on the opposition made by the Catholics in some places to the freedom of the Protestant worship, and the renewal of former insults by them, would soon have made an additional impression, that might not have been so

* Memoirs, lib. i.

† Matthieu—Sully.

easily effaced. But the king appeared peculiarly anxious to remove every subject of discontent: he sent the mareschal de Cosse and La Proutiers, master of requests, to Rochelle, with ample instructions to obviate contests about the explication of the edicts, and to consult with the Protestant chiefs about the properest methods of enforcing its general observance. Such obsequious attention, which they had never before experienced, tended to blunt the edge of their complaints. De Cosse performed his commission to more advantage, from the favourable idea the Protestants entertained of his character: the encouragement he gave them to hope for every equitable concession from the king, and the representation he made of the favourable turn of the politics of the court, were credited; and that part of his message, which respected the marriage of the king of Navarre to Margaret, Charles's sister, appeared to be a confirmation of those assurances. Having, by this introduction, smoothed the way to friendly intercourse, the mareschal returned to court, whither he was soon followed by Teligni, Briquemaut, and the counsellor de Cavagne, whom the princes had appointed to sound the dispositions of the ministry, and to prosecute the full execution of the articles of the edict.

These deputies had every reason to be contented with the reception they experienced from the king, whom they found employed in checking the restless spirit which the civil war had engendered by the most vigorous and determined measures. When intelligence was received that the Protestants at Rouen had been attacked by the soldiers as they were going to the conventicle, Charles waited not for solicitation, but directly proceeded to do justice against the offenders. The mareschal Montmorenci, attended by a president and other judges of the parliament of Paris, being dispatched, on purpose to take cognizance of the riot, the ringleaders of it were punished with death; others fined; and a capital sentence was denounced against all who fled. On several other occasions the same favourable disposition appeared: De Villars's commission of lieutenancy was suspended, and assurances were given that the queen of Navarre, and the prince her son, should be allowed the full exercise of all their rights and privileges.

Of the sincerity of these proceedings the proposed marriage of the king's sister to Henry the young king of Navarre, and the alledged design of entering into a war with Spain, seemed to afford plain and incontestible evidence. De Biron grand-master of the artillery, whose conduct during the war, as well as his general character, rendered him an acceptable negotiator, was commissioned by the king to repair to Rochelle, and make the formal proposition of the first of these points to the queen of Navarre, and to declare his intentions about the second. The arguments he was instructed to insist upon, with respect to the match, were such as not only tended to remove difficulties, and subdue scruples, but to produce a conviction, in the minds of the Protestant chiefs, that the king's aim and motive in it were entirely amicable. Charles, indeed, expressly declared that he bestowed his sister upon the prince of Navarre with a view to render the

connubial tye a general one, to attach all the Hugonots to his government, and to banish their apprehensions concerning the immutability of his edicts of peace. The refusal of Pius the Fifth to grant a dispensation for the consanguinity, instead of slackening his intention, served rather to move his spleen against the court of Rome. Even the princess Margaret's known inclination for the duke of Guise, animated Charles to a pitch of resentment against the favoured lover, whose presumption he thought might lead him to offer an indignity to the house of France*. In a fit of indignation he presented two swords to bastard of Angoulême, requiring him to take one of them and kill the duke of Guise, or expect his own death by the other. His rage however was calmed by the speedy marriage of the duke to the widow of the prince of Porcien. The chief pretence urged for breaking with the court of Spain, was the recent death of Elizabeth, sister to Charles and wife to Philip, whom that inhuman monster, after he had caused his son, the unhappy Don Carlos, to be poisoned, was strongly suspected of having sacrificed to his jealousy. Queen Catharine persuaded the Protestant chiefs that she had thus an interesting motive to concur with them in hating the Spanish monarch, and revenging upon him the miserable death of her daughter.

The articles of the contract of marriage between Henry and the princess Margaret were speedily arranged: the dowry to be given with the princess was three hundred thousand crowns, valued at fifty-four sous each; and the queen of Navarre resigned to her son the rents of the county of Armagnac, and twelve thousand livres out of her own jointure lands. On the part of the king every thing was facilitated. A brief conceived in fuller terms, to remove the objections of the cardinal of Bourbon, was obtained from Gregory the Thirteenth, who now succeeded to the pontificate, upon the death of Pius the Fifth. It was even known to be the king's intention, that part of the nuptial ceremony, required by the Roman ritual, should be dispensed with.

In consequence of the nuptial compact, the intercourse of the Protestant chiefs with the court, became more unreserved and frequent; and even the admiral, and the more prudent leaders, who were still inclined to circumspection and reserve, began to be moved to confidence by other considerations. The connection which Charles affected to enter into with the court of England, where queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou was solicited, first by the cardinal of Châtillon, and then by marshal Montmorenci; his employment of Gaspar Schomberg in Germany, to court the alliance of duke Casimir and some other princes, and to solicit levies for the war in the Low Countries; and some military preparations that seemed to be made both by sea and land, for a rupture with Spain, were considered as unequivocal demonstrations that the king was determined to shake off the fetters of the bigotted party at court, and laboured earnestly to assert his own in-

* Mathieu, p. 333.

dependent authority in the government of the state, and to consult the interest and honour of the nation. It was upon this judgment of Charles's intentions that Count Lewis of Nassau repaired in disguise, along with some of the Protestant chiefs, to Blois, where the court then was, in order to inform the king of the state of the war in the Netherlands, and to persuade him with what advantage he might now engage in it. His reception was favourable; and the answer given by Charles about the war, artfully served as a proof that he wanted not inclination, but encouragement and freedom to act in the manner the count and his partisans wished him to do. Charles signified, that however well disposed he might be to adopt their political plan, not only the difficulties that might attend the enterprise of the Spanish war, but his own situation with respect to proper confidants in that business, embarrassed him; and therefore, as a previous and necessary step to his final resolution, he desired to have the assistance and counsel of the admiral Coligni. The peculiar circumstances of this chieftain required that such address should be used with him. As the pillar of his party, during the whole course of the civil war, more the object of resentment, and more dreaded than any other, and one against whom the family of Guise still maintained an avowed enmity, he had the strongest reasons to be cautious how he ventured his person at court and in the capital. Esteemed and respected by foreign princes, he had inducements, both from ambition and interest, not to be precipitate in engaging himself with the court; but to preserve during the public peace, a kind of independency, which while it was most consistent with his personal safety, would secure the attachment of the Protestants to him, and strengthen their party. But in circumstances thus critical the admiral was swayed by his principles of patriotism, which rendered him ever anxious to serve his king and country. He yielded therefore to the concurring entreaties of his friends, the marshal de Cossé and Montmorenci, who joined with count Nassau in persuading him to dismiss his remaining apprehensions. Having taken his resolution, he left Rochelle and repaired to the court at Blois, in the month of September; whither the queen of Navarre, soon after, prepared to follow him, in order to put the finishing hand to the marriage treaty.

The queen of Navarre, her children, and all the Protestant chiefs, experienced from Charles and his mother, the most flattering reception; the king in particular spoke of the noblemen of that party in the highest terms of commendation. The admiral he always addressed by the endearing appellation of father, and took upon himself the task of reconciling him with the princes of the house of Guise: nor were his actions less expressive of friendship than his words: a hundred thousand livres, as an indemnification for his private losses in the late war, were assigned to Coligni, and, by a special grant, he was allowed a year's revenue of the rich benefices that belonged to his brother, the cardinal of Châtillon, who had recently died in England. The admiral's seat and rank at the council table was also restored to him, and the king seemed to depend on his

advice both with regard to the alliances to be formed and the measures to be taken, in consequence of the pretended resolution to declare war against Spain:" such was the deep laid-scheme of deception now practised by Catharine and her son, that Sully justly calls it, "an almost incredible prodigy of dissimulation:" and such indeed it must have been to have completely imposed on a man of Coligni's sagacity and penetration.

A. D. 1572.] In the midst of these auspicious appearances, the queen of Navarre was seized (at Paris, whither she had repaired to provide for the solemnity of her son's nuptials) with a disorder, which, in the short space of five days, put a period to her existence: her death is, by all the Protestant historians, ascribed to the effects of poison, administered in a pair of scented gloves, prepared for the purpose, by Rene, a Florentine, perfumer to the queen mother; but this is strenuously denied by the Catholics, and the testimony of De Thou and Matthieu, who mention an internal abscess as the cause of her dissolution, appears to be conclusive.

While Charles, who had secretly permitted the levying foldiers, under Genlis, and La Noue, for the service of the prince of Orange, still, under various pretences, evaded an open declaration of hostilities with the Spanish monarch, accounts were brought of the entire defeat of that auxiliary band, by the duke of Alva's forces. Affected with this intelligence, and believing that, in such a crisis, he might push the king to an absolute determination for war, the admiral repaired to Paris, whither he had been solicited to come by letters from his majesty.

But Coligni was unable to impart to many of his associates the confidence he himself reposed in the sincerity of Charles; to their vague admonitions, however, conveyed both in words and writing, the gallant veteran replied, in a manner that evinced at once the fortitude and integrity of his heart. "The peace is made," said he, "and I have taken my resolution to trust the faith of the king; and will rather be dragged through the streets of Paris than have recourse again to a civil war." Credulity, influenced by such sentiments, must command our admiration, while it encreases our abhorrence of the wretches who were so base as to impose on it. In one of the remonstrances, sent to the admiral by some of his adherents, he was called upon to reflect on that authorized maxim of the church of Rome—that faith was not to be kept with heretics. Queen Catharine was represented as the true progeny of Rome, and the disciple of Machiavel: her son, trained up in the same principles, was said to emulate her vindictive spirit, and to have sworn never to forget the attempt of the Protestants at Meaux, that in spite of their subtle conduct, it was alledged, they had sometimes betrayed their dissimulation; of which, what was heard to pass between Catharine and the king, upon the queen of Navarre's arrival at Blois, was a manifest proof. "Have I not"—said Charles—"acted my part well?"—"Admirably!"—replied his mother—"you have begun, but you must continue it to the end."—"I will not finish."

—returned Charles, with horrid execrations, to the use of which he was greatly addicted—“until I bring them all into the toils.”—Coligni, excusing the violent stile of these remonstrances, gave a calm reply, while the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, to whom they were also addressed, treated them with a degree of scorn and contempt.

The brief granted by Gregory the Thirteenth, for the marriage of the king of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, being arrived, the ceremony was performed, by the cardinal of Bourbon, and according to the agreement was neither altogether after the Popish nor the Protestant form*. A variety of magnificent entertainments which followed the marriage for several days, diffused the relish of social joy and festivity, in the participation of which, not only all the sparks of former discord seemed to be quenched, but a happy pledge to be given of the future union of the jarring parties, and of the tranquility of the state. But the dark designs, for promoting which Catharine and Charles had so long bent the efforts of their dissimulation, were now brought to a crisis. Their scheme of drawing the principal leaders of the Protestants to Paris, had, by means of the nuptials, and their delusion of the admiral, succeeded almost beyond their hopes. Above seven hundred of the nobility and gentry of that persuasion, the flower of their chieftains, who followed the young king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the admiral, to the court, were now lodged in the city or suburbs, disarmed, unprepared, and incapable of resisting the force, that might be suddenly raised against them.

The assassination of the admiral was the first stroke of vengeance resolved on by the detestable junto of Catharine and her son; and the duke of Guise, who was known to harbour an inveterate enmity to Coligni, was the person appointed to conduct this infamous transaction. Louvriers Maurevel, who had already been employed by Guise on a similar occasion, willingly accepted the commission, and repaired to the place appointed by his *worthy* patrons, for the perpetration of the deed. The admiral, on his return from the Louvre to his own apartments, had to pass by the cloister of the church of Saint Germain L'Auxerrois. At this place, within the house of Ville-Mur, one of the canons, who had been preceptor to the duke of Guise, the assassin had fixed his station; and, on the morning of the twenty-second of August, as the admiral passed the house, at a slow pace, (being employed in reading a paper that was presented to him on the way), Maurevel fired his arquebuses at him, loaded with two bullets, one of which tore a finger off his right hand, and the other lodged deep in his left arm. While all who attended him were stricken with amazement, Coligni coolly pointed to the window whence the shot came; and having directed Piles and Monnins to go and acquaint the king with what had happened to him, and got his arm bound up, he walked home, supported by his domestics. To some who expressed their apprehensions that the balls might be poisoned, he said, with perfect composure, “Nothing will befall me but what is the pleasure of God.” The painful operations of wrenching off his shattered finger, with a blunt instrument, and of extracting the bullet from his arm, he endured with undisturbed looks, and an admirable firmness.

Many of the Catholics expressed their utter detestation of this atrocious attempt; and the king being informed of it, while playing at tennis with the duke of Guise, evinced the strongest emotions of rage, and throwing down his racket, exclaimed, "Shall I never have peace? Shall I always be exposed to new troubles"? Then retiring to the Louvre, he swore he would find out the assassin, wherever he lurked. Maurevel, however, had eluded the search of the admiral's attendants (who had instantly forced open the door of the house) and having a fresh horse prepared for him—from the king's stables, as Sully asserts—at the gate of Saint Antoine, effected his escape from the city.

The Protestants were thrown into the utmost consternation, and the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, with several of their followers, repairing to the palace, implored the king's permission to leave the metropolis, where they were hourly exposed to the merciless fury of their unprincipled enemies. But Charles attempted, by execrable oaths, and every expression of resentment, to convince them how deeply affected he was with the commission of the crime, and how resolutely bent upon punishing every one that might be found accessory to it, as well as the perpetrator himself; assuring them, that the enquiry and acts of justice he would insist upon, should be such as might be exemplary in the state, and fully satisfy them and the admiral, who was the sufferer; adding, that it was fit they should stay in Paris to be witnesses of his conduct. The queen-mother was equally loud in her expressions of abhorrence, and her threats of revenge. The measures taken for the discovery of the assassin, and the king's public declaration of his sentiments, convinced the princes of his sincerity, and, though it did not remove the grounds of their apprehensions, left them no reason for insisting upon their resolution of leaving Paris.

Coligni received a visit from some of the Catholic chiefs, and afterwards from the king himself, attended by his mother and brothers, when the same declarations which had been made to the princes were renewed. A general consultation of the Protestant leaders was holden soon after, on the subject of providing for their common safety; at which the vidame of Chartres and several others insisted on the necessity of their immediate removal from Paris, to some place of greater security*. But this resolution was too successfully opposed by Teligni, whose arguments prevailed with the majority. A message, however, was sent, in the admiral's name, to the king, informing him, that the temper of the Parisians, which was always violently biased against him and his friends, now appeared to be such as to render some extraordinary precaution necessary for restraining them from acts of violence; and the appointment of a guard about Coligni's lodgings was proposed as a proper expedient. This imprudent proposal, which tended to put the admiral in the immediate power of his enemies, was cheerfully acceded to by the king and the duke of Anjou. Cossens, captain of the royal guard, attached

* D'Aubigne.

to the duke of Guise, was ordered to take his station, with a company of picked men, before the house where the admiral lodged, (at an inn in the Rue Betisy) and, to prevent suspicion, a few Swiss belonging to the king of Navarre's body guard, were intermixed with them. A farther advantage was yet taken of this injudicious request: it was desired by the king, that for the better protection of the admiral, the Protestant nobility should be lodged in the neighbourhood. The city officers were appointed to provide apartments for them, and public proclamation was made, prohibiting all Catholics, under pain of death, from approaching them.

A second consultation, however, was holden by the Calvinists, and the admiral again pressed to retire, but, steady to his purpose, Coligni rejected the solicitations of his friends; and to their arguments replied, "By a retreat, I must discover either my fear or my distrust. By the one my honour would suffer, by the other, an injury be done to the king. I should be again compelled to have recourse to a civil war; and my choice is, to die rather than behold the miseries." "I have witnessed, or endure the distresses I have already sustained." The conference about quitting Paris being thus resumed, the vidame of Chartres, and many others of his opinion, having declared their fixed resolution to retire to the suburbs; intelligence of the debate among them, and of the uncertainty how it might conclude, was carried to the queen-mother, by one of the Protestant chiefs, supposed to be Bouchvananes, on account of his intimacy with her.

In consequence of this intelligence, a secret council was immediately holden at the palace, at which the proposal for the horrid massacre which ensued, is said to have been made; but being strenuously opposed by the count de Retz, who painted it in its proper colours, no resolution was adopted, and the council broke up. But, after some private consultation between Charles and his mother, the former called back his counsellors from the gate, and told them, that there was an end of his government, unless the proposal that had been made was adopted, and that he should hold all such as disapproved the measure, to be disloyal.

The measures already taken facilitated the execution of this abominable enterprise, the accomplishment of which was fixed for the next day, which was the feast of Saint Bartholomew. The duke of Guise, whose retreat from court after the admiral was wounded, together with the king's affected indignation against him, had been made use of to deceive the Protestants, was again called upon to act his part*. In the mean time, to irritate the populace, a report was industriously circulated through the city, that the king had sent for the marshal Montmorenci from Chantilly, whither he had retired, and that he was expected in Paris with a large body of horse to quell the citizens. Their agitation became perceptible in the streets, where they assembled in crowds; while the loads of arms, and bands of soldiers that passed to the Louvre, provoked their commotions. The king of Navarre was told by Charles, with the utmost shew of amity and confidence, that

* De Thou—D'Aubigne:

Anno
1572



El. Singleton del.

Douglas sc.

*Catherine of Medici extorting from her Son Charles IX
the order for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.*

Philadelpia. Published by J. S. Stewart & Co. July 24th 1797.



in the present state of affairs, it was necessary to be upon their guard against the turbulence of the people; and that it was fit he should not only keep all his domestics about him in the Louvre, but that he should call others of his most trusty attendants to lodge there in case of any tumult. Teligni, who heard various alarming reports, interpreted every thing favourably, concealed part of them from the admiral, and confirmed him in his fatal security. After Cosselin's guard was doubled, and the night was far advanced, the duke of Guise, having permission from the king, called some captains of the Swiss and French companies of guards, and informed them that the hour was come, in which the king was determined to avenge himself of a race of men, odious to God and his church, and offensive to human society; that a small exertion of their obedience and courage was necessary to the accomplishment of this object, which would atchieve what numerous battles had failed to effect*. He then ordered them to range their soldiers on both sides of the palace, and to suffer none of the prince of Bourbon's servants to pass without the gates. A command was then delivered by Guise to Charron, president of the chamber of accounts, and lately admitted to the office of provost of the merchants, to assemble the officers of the city militia in the town-hall, and, after issuing orders for arming their people, there to wait for farther instructions. The late provost-marshal was employed to communicate the import of the king's orders to the aldermen and burgeses, who were told "That it was his majesty's will and decree to make an utter extirpation of the rebellious Hugonots, against whom they had now full liberty to use their arms: that orders would be immediately dispatched, for the same purpose, to the other cities of the kingdom, to which the Parisians ought to set an example, by neither sparing nor concealing any of the impious tribe: that, to avoid confusion, and to distinguish themselves from their adversaries, sleeves of white linen should be worn on their left arms, and crosses of the same in their hats: that torches and lanthorns should be lighted in the windows of every house; and that they ought to proceed quietly, and avoid all noise, until the signal to begin the work should be given, by sounding the great bell at the palace." All the necessary orders being thus issued, the murderers, at the dead hour of midnight, took the stations assigned them; and the files of soldiers, drawn up in the different streets and cross-ways, only waited for the expected signal to fall with fury on the Protestants.

As the fatal hour drew nigh, Charles is said to have been goaded by the stings of remorse, and to have betrayed such fear and irresolution, that all the art of his mother was requisite to extort from him an order of the assassins to begin their dreadful business. "Shall the occasion"—said the blasphemous Catharine—"that *God* presents, of avenging the obdurate enemies of your authority, be suffered to escape through want of courage? How much better is it to tear in

* D'Aubigne.

“pieces those corrupt members, than to rankle the bosom of the church, the “spouse of our lord?” This impious exhortation expelled from his bosom every sentiment of humanity, and, his eyes glared with rage, he thus pronounced the horrid mandate—“Go on and let none remain to reproach me with the “deed.* Having thus obtained her aim, Catharine anticipated the fixed hour of the signal, which was given by ringing the bell of the church of Saint Germain de L’Auxerrois.†

The duke of Guise immediately issued forth, with a select party, to perpetrate the murder of the admiral, and meeting some Protestants in the streets, who had been alarmed by the sound of the bell, a firing of pistols ensued, which being heard in the palace, Charles’s terror and irresolution returned, and a message was dispatched by Catharine to countermand the duke of Guise, which she well knew would arrive too late, and be totally disregarded. Already had that princely assassin beset the admiral’s lodgings, the gate of which being shut and guarded would have required some time to force open; but Cossens having demanded admittance in the king’s name, La Bonne, who kept the keys, having no suspicion of what was going forward, admitted him, and was instantly stabbed. Some of the king of Navarre’s Swiss soldiers flew to the inner gate, and endeavoured to barricade it. The noise awakened the admiral, who, unused to apprehension, believed it to be only some riot of the populace, which the guard would soon quell. But the clamour encreasing, and several shots being fired in the court, he rose from his bed, and covered himself with his night-gown, when he was soon convinced, by his attendants, who hurried to his chamber, that the worst was to be feared. Being few in number, and most of them only domestics, their pale looks and trembling gestures denounced the immediate fate they expected. “This instant,”—exclaimed one of them—“God calls us to meet “death.” “It is enough”—said Coligni—“that I know it.” He leaned for some moments against the wall, while the minister Merlin prayed. Then with a countenance undismayed, “Away,” said he, “my friends, save yourselves, if “possible: now I have no need of your help; to that of God I have commended “my soul. But let not your unprofitable stay be mourned by your wives and “children, as a sad infelicity, occasioned by your attendance upon my exit.” All but two of them, whose fidelity to their master rose superior to the fear of death, fled into the upper rooms of the house. In a few minutes the door was burst open, and a groupe of seven armed ruffians entered the apartment. Besme, a German, stepped before the rest, and flourishing his sword, exclaimed “Art “thou Coligni?” “I am,” replied the admiral, with a steady voice and firm countenance, “and you, young soldier, ought to respect my grey hairs. But “come on,” said he to Besme, “do what thou wilt, thou canst shorten my life “but little.” At that instant he received the villain’s sword in his breast, which

* Mathieu. † Mezerai.



ADMIRAL COLIGNY.

Published by James Stewart & Co. May 30th 1797.



rather courted than shunned the blow, and a repetition of stabs soon deprived him of life, which he yielded up without uttering a groan. The assassins themselves were stricken with the invincible intrepidity of his spirit; and one of them, whose name was Attin, declared, that never had a man been seen to brave such a death, with so much magnanimity. His body was thrown from the window into the court-yard, where the duke of Guise waited to enjoy his dastardly triumph. Having wiped the blood from the face, he exclaimed, in a tone of exultation, "We have begun well, my friends, let us proceed to complete the rest with courage; it is the king's command, we obey." Immediately the alarm-bell of the palace was rung, and the populace were roused to spread the massacre. The admiral's body being found by these Parisian blood-hounds, it was maimed, gored, and dragged through the kennels, and, after serving at intervals as the pastime of their fury, for two days was suspended on the gibbet of Montfaucon. But neither the inhuman massacre of Coligni, nor the horrid indignities committed on his corpse, have, says Le Gendre, effected the smallest diminution of his fame, or tarnished in the least the merit of a character, illustrious for those qualities and virtues, which have formed the heroes and the patriots of all nations. The body of Coligni, half consumed with fire, was, under favour of the night, conveyed to the vault of the Montmorencies at Chantilly, and from thence transferred to the family vault of Chatillon.

The massacre continued, with unrelenting fury, among the Protestant chiefs, who were assaulted by the assassins, when destitute of all means of defence, and were inhumanly butchered by a dastardly crew who had often fled before them in the field. The count de Rochefoucaud had passed the early part of the night with the king at the Louvre, where the pleasant sallies of his wit and facetious humour had entertained the courtiers, and disposed Charles to save him*. Believing, when the chief of the assassins knocked at the door, and said he had a message to deliver from the king, that it was some frolick intended by his majesty, he opened it, and spoke in a humorous strain to those who answered him by drawing their poniards, and plunging them into his bosom. Teligni, unsuspecting to the last, endeavoured now to escape over the roofs of the houses; but being discovered, he was dragged down, when the sweet engaging form which nature had given him, made a momentary impression on the assassins, who stood, with looks of suspense, before they gave the fatal blow. At the same time perished the counts of Revel and Quellenec, with the barons de Lavardin, Beaudisner, and Pluviaux, and others of distinguished valour, driven through the streets by the duke of Anjou's guards, and massacred in the view of the windows of the Louvre.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were awakened, about two hours before day-break, by a band of soldiers, who rushed into their chamber in

* Brantome, tom. iv. p. 10.

the palace, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the king, unarmed. They were, by Catharine's orders, led through vaults and dark passages, lined with troops, who shook their spears at them as they passed along. In the mean time, the cries from without were dismal and terrifying; while all that party of their friends and followers, who were invited to take up their abode in the Louvre, were precipitated from the windows, or dragged forth in crowds to be assassinated in the court-yards. Here, Saint Martin, Pardaillan, Beauvois, and the gallant Piles, with many others, suffered death; while the indignant expressions of the last, as he cast a look on his murdered companions, were thus uttered aloud. "Are these the testimonies of the king's faith; of the peace he hath sworn; and of all the gracious promises he hath made? But the Almighty God will revenge such monstrous perfidy.*" Leiran, besmeared with blood, and desperately wounded, found his way into the queen of Navarre's chamber, and threw himself upon the bed of that princess, who ran forth screaming, and met with such objects in her way, as made her fall into fits, from which she was with difficulty recovered, and conducted by Nansey, captain of the guards, into the apartment of the duchess of Lorraine. Her husband and the prince of Condé, after whom she enquired with great eagerness, had been introduced into the king's chamber; when they were thus addressed by Charles, in a tone and accent fierce and imperious—"To day, I revenge myself of my enemies, and such I may justly reckon you to be, who have supported them by the authority of your names, and your presence among them. Nothing but a respect to my blood deters me from inflicting the same punishment on you. But this regard hath its conditions. When I pardon your past conduct, I require and insist on your immediate renunciation of that impious faith which contradicts mine, and teaches you to affront heaven, and insult my authority." The king of Navarre's was given in a low and embarrassed voice, but in terms that promised submission. But the prince of Condé boldly testified his discontent at the indecent violence used with them; complained of the breach of honour in this treatment; and declared, that his fear of death was not so great as to render him an apostate from his religion. Charles, provoked by his resistance, called him obstinate, seditious, a rebel, and the son of a rebel; and threatened that he should suffer the death of a traitor, if, in three days, he did not yield obedience. "Remember"—said the merciless tyrant—"It is Mass, Death, or Bastile." Upon the apparent compliance of the king of Navarre, Charles granted him the lives of the count de Grammont, de Duras, and Bouchavannes; and a few others were saved at the earnest application of his sister of Navarre.

In a former part of our history we have shewn of what horrid acts of barbarity the Parisians, when instigated by hatred, bigotry, malice, or revenge, could

* Matthieu—Sully.

be guilty. Their present rage and ferocity had nothing human in them. Wherever their ruffian bands were led by the municipal officers, their track was marked by violence, bloodshed, and brutality: neither age nor sex was spared: pregnant women and helpless infants were alike sacrificed to their barbarous fury. Brion, the venerable preceptor of the prince of Conti, was murdered, while clasped in the arms of his infant pupil: Francis Nonpar de Caumont was massacred in his bed between his two sons, one of whom was stabbed by his side, but the other, concealing himself under the bodies of his father and brother, fortunately escaped.* Briffonet, niece to the bishop of Meaux, a woman of exemplary manners, projected an escape from the city in disguise, with her young daughter in her hand, and followed by Epina the minister, in the habit of a domestic: but being discovered in the attempt, and refusing to abjure her religion, she was stabbed with iron rods, and thrown, half-dead, into the river, where floating on the surface, the watermen pursued her as their prey, and put her to a slow and lingering death.

Upon the first noise of the tumult, a report was carried to that party of the Protestant chiefs, who, by the advice of the vidame of Chartres, had fixed their quarters in the suburbs of Saint Germain, that the populace had taken up arms. The sound of the bells and the shouts of the mob confirmed the intelligence. Anxious and doubtful what might be the ground of the insurrection, they continued long in suspense, and from some persuasion that it was promoted by the Guises, against the will of the king, they were on the point of passing the river, to assist in supporting his authority and defending their friends. The morning, however, soon dispelled their error, and shewed them the river covered with boats full of soldiers coming to attack them, and Charles himself, from the windows of the Louvre, firing his carabine upon some wretched fugitives; and scarce did time and astonishment permit them to escape with precipitation from their blood-thirsty pursuers.

For three days the massacre was continued with unabated fury: it is certain that the populace would have readily proceeded to the destruction of those who were said to favour the Hugonots, as well as of the Hugonots themselves; and that the queen-mother might have consummated her diabolical scheme, by instigating them to assault the Montmorencies, as friendly to the admiral; but intimidated from proceeding so far, on account of the marechal Montmorenci, and other obvious reasons, she allowed the popular outrage to take its course. From the dread of it many Catholics had to be on their guard; and de Brion, who commanded in the arsenal, ordered two culverins to be placed at the gate, and put himself in a posture of defence.

After various instances of violence and slaughter committed upon the Catholics, and when the carnage became noisome, an order was published by the king,

* Sully.

requiring all the citizens to retire to their houses, and not to stir from them under pain of death. What remained still to be executed was intended to be performed by a more regular process of the king's guard through the city. But the sanguinary rage of ferocious people were more easily excited than restrained; and the violence and plunder on the second day, nearly equalling those of the first, it only subsided by degrees. The destruction of about six thousand Protestants, of which five hundred were nobility, may be reckoned the fatal issue of this dreadful massacre, which called was by some, *The Parisian Matins* as the massacre in Sicily, in 1281, had been denominated *The Sicilian Vespers*.

That the massacre of the Hugonots was the result of premeditation will scarcely admit of a doubt, though the historians differ most essentially in their accounts of its origin. Some maintain that the plan of it was concerted between the queen-mother and the duke of Alva, at the conferences at Bayonne: others fix the period of its conclusion immediately previous to the last peace made with the Hugonots after the battle of Amai-le-duc; and the third class say that no resolution had been taken on the subject till a few days before the deed was perpetrated. The different statements and opinions have been carefully collected and impartially discussed by father Griffet, who thus concludes his researches:—"Let what will be said to the contrary, men will with difficulty be brought to believe that this horrible massacre was not a premeditated business, and that the peace concluded with the Hugonots, the professions and marks of confidence lavished on the admiral de Coligni, were not so many snares and artifices employed with a view to deceive and destroy them. It is possible that the last measures adopted for their extermination, may have been resolved on only a few days before their execution; it was then that the number of victims, the choice of the assassins, and the day of the massacre, were fixed in the secret councils (holden at the Louvre); but it appears certain that the project was formed at the time of the peace and of the proposal for marrying the sister of Charles the Ninth to the king of Navarre.

The king vainly hoped to retrieve his honour by the pitiful subterfuge of a disavowal. In the letters patent which he sent into the provinces he endeavoured to throw the whole of the blame upon the Guises, and ascribed the massacre to their hatred of the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this subject to England, Germany, and Switzerland, and other neighbouring states, were all conceived in the same terms. The Guises, however, having obtained their chief aim, began to be sensible of the dishonour and danger attending such an accusation, which, at a future period, might render them obnoxious and accountable, and positively refused to acquiesce in this determination. The duke of Guise, indeed, after the murder of the admiral, had rather repressed the king's rage*, and instead of imitating his ferocity, had saved D'Acier, brother to the count de

* D'Aubgine,

Cruissol, and some others of the nobility. Having exerted this political lenity, while Charles had exposed himself by the natural violence of his temper, the Guises now left him to find what pretence he could, to extenuate the infamy of a scene, to which they, with the assistance of Catharine, had chiefly promoted him.

There is no doubt but the queen mother and her council made the king comprehend the bad consequence of his disavowal; for, at the expiration of eight days, his sentiments and language were so much changed, that he held a bed of justice in the court of parliament, and ordered the registration of other letters-patent, by which it was declared, that nothing was done on the twenty-fourth of August but by his express commands, issued for the purpose of punishing the Hugonots, to the principal leaders of which party a capital crime was imputed, in order, if possible, to give the name and colour of a just execution to that detestable butchery. As Coligni's papers had been seized by the queen-mother's orders, hopes were entertained of finding some memorial on which to ground an article of impeachment against him; but his manuscripts only served as an honourable testimony of his integrity. In the brief he had drawn up on the subject of the Spanish war, he remarked to the king the evident interest which England had to undertake the defence of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands; and the danger that would accrue to France, by the English, her ancient enemy, gaining footing in that country. To provoke the spleen of queen Elizabeth, who had maintained a close correspondence with the admiral, and to incense the duke of Alençon at his memory, these private notes were communicated to them. The answer made by Elizabeth and by the duke was much the same: "It was manifest"—they said—"whatever they might object to the admiral on account of these advices, that the king had no reason to complain, since they had marked his attachment and zeal for his majesty's interest and service." The king when requested by Pibrac, the attorney-general, to pass a formal edict upon the point, only declared he would issue his orders about it. But the process against the admiral and his accomplices was immediately instituted, and the sentence of high-treason was, soon after, executed upon his effigy with all the appointed forms of infamy. A jubilee, or public thanksgiving for the happy discovery of the pretended plots of the Protestants, was two days after proclaimed in the city; and, by another edict, the day of St. Bartholomew was ordered to be annually solemnized by religious processions.

The orders dispatched into the provinces upon the eve of St. Bartholomew, produced their fatal effects in most of the cities and great towns in the kingdom. At Meaux, Orlains, Troyes, Lyons, Bourges, Rouen, and Thoulouse, and many other places, the cruelties of the Parisians were emulated; and thirty thousand people, according to the lowest computation, were murdered in cold blood. But though the king's infamous orders were too generally obeyed by the commanders and magistrates in the different towns, some honourable exceptions must be made,

and the names of those patriots whose generous exertions tended to preserve the lives of their countrymen be recorded in the page of history. To Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, it was owing that only one Protestant was killed in the whole province of Burgundy. When the king's letters were brought, by la Mole, to Claud of Savoy, count of Tende, governor of Dauphine, he insisted that these orders, so contradictory to what he had received a few days before from his majesty, could not come from him: and that he would adhere to his first instructions as most becoming the king. Tho' he died in a few days, his lenity and resolution, being imitated by Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, proved almost an entire protection to the Calvinists of the province. In Auvergne, St. Heran, the governor, a man trained up in the violence of civil war, declared, when he looked upon the orders, "that they were such as he could not obey, unless " the king himself were present to give them." Tanneguy-la-Veneur exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the massacre at Rouen, but wanted power to restrain the fury of the populace; and several of the deputies in the governments of the Montmorencies acting with similar moderation from a conformity to the sentiment of their constituents, prevented or controuled the appointed slaughter. But the answer made by the viscount de Ortez, governor of Bayonne, to Charles, who had written a private letter to him, is peculiarly worthy of notice: " You must " not, on this point, expect obedience from me. I have signified the orders sent " from your majesty to the inhabitants of the town, and the troops in the garrison; " and I found them all ready to act like good citizens and brave soldiers; but not " one hangman among them". After it was known, by various expresses from the lieutenants in the provinces, what confusion was occasioned by the massacres, the edict to prohibit all insurrections and violences was published. As in one clause of it, the king's will was said to be not to derogate from the edicts of peace: and in another, that the religious assemblies of the protestants should be restrained, several of the governors were at a loss how to interpret its import, and proceeded differently, according to their particular dispositions and attachments.

Charles, tho' he occasionally expressed great uneasiness at the scene he had occasioned, and though the agitation of his mind had a visible effect on his constitution, was yet incapable of feeling that deep remorse which proceeds from a full conviction of having acted wrong. He still continued to insist on the immediate conversion of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who having made the abjuration of their errors and received absolution, appeared with their families at high mass. The king and court rejoiced at their victory, as the special fruit of Bartholomew. The cardinal of Bourbon, observing that the king of Navarre had the appearance of attention while mass was performed, said to Bellievre, " Think you not that my nephew is sincerely converted to the church?" No" replied the other—" I plainly see that he bears, with great difficulty, his present " constraint."

When intelligence of the massacre was received at Madrid, the most extravagant symptoms of joy were evinced by the court of Spain. Philip wrote a congratula-

tory letter to Charles on the subject, and offered public thanksgivings to Heaven for the destruction of his enemies. The courier, who carried the dismal tidings to Rome, was rewarded by the cardinal of Loraine (who had long resided in that capital) with a thousand crowns; and a decree was immediately formed in the conclave for a jubilee to be celebrated throughout Christendom. After a procession had been made to St. Mark's church, and all the customary demonstrations of joy were exhibited in the city, the cardinal walked in procession to the church of St. Lewis, where, performing mass himself, he said, "that the prayers and vows of Gregory the Thirteenth and the members of the sacred college might now be seen to have produced stupendous effects."

The court now believed they had effected the total extinction of the Protestant party. There were only four cities in the kingdom that dared to receive some dispersed bodies of the fugitive nobles and their families, who, after the destruction of their principal leaders, seemed to carry only consternation and despair along with them. Of the four towns granted for the security of the articles of the pacification, Montauban and Rochelle only remained in the power of the Hugonots. When Refnier, who had escaped the massacre, through the lenity of de Vefins, his personal enemy, presented himself, with a small troop of horsemen, at the gates of the first of these places, he found the inhabitants in such confusion and dismay, that he could no prevail on them to stand on their defence; until he had defeated, by a wonderful effort of desperate courage, a party of four hundred of Montluc's soldiers. Though the flight of the most numerous parties being directed to Rochelle, the concourse of fifty gentlemen, as many ministers, and about a thousand soldiers, appeared to claim the protection, and animate the courage of the townsmen, yet the fleet commanded by the baron de la Garde, and Strozzi, hovering in their bay, and the land forces drawn together in their neighbourhood by de Biron, convinced them of the dangers they would incur by any act of disobedience to the court. As la Chastre had also been ordered with some troops to draw near to Sancerre, it was believed by the king's ministers that the precautions they had taken, joined to the general surprise and terror, would be sufficient to obtain the possession of these towns, from which only resistance was apprehended.

A. D. 1573.] But the expectations of the court were frustrated, and both these towns prepared for a vigorous resistance. Sancerre, after having suffered all the horrors of a famine, never equalled but in the siege of Jerusalem by Vespasian, obtained an honourable capitulation, by which the troops were allowed to march out with their baggage, and liberty of conscience and impunity were secured to the inhabitants. Rochelle resisted all the efforts of the duke of Anjou, who went in person to besiege it, for seven months, during which time many eminent commanders and officers among the Catholics lost their lives. The duke of Aumale, Cossens, Goa, and Vergani, a celebrated engineer, were killed, and

in the end sixty captains were reckoned to have perished by wounds or diseases. Though informed of his election to the crown of Poland, and advised of the promise given by the bishop of Valence—the French envoy in that kingdom—to grant the Rochellers advantageous terms, the duke of Anjou still thought of shewing himself, to the last, the indisputable vanquisher of the Hugonots. Being at last required by the king to conclude the military operations on any plausible terms, and having narrowly escaped a mortal wound, which one of his domestics warded off at the expence of his own life, a treaty was concluded, in its conditions advantageous to the besieged; while after the employment of an army of fifty thousand men against them, and the destruction of half of them, it could only be considered, on the Catholic side, as a specious cover to the king's honour and to that of the duke of Anjou. It comprehended, along with Rochelle, the two cities of Nîmes and Mountauban as her confederates. By its articles, reduced to the form of a royal edict, the free exercise of their religion was permitted to the Protestant inhabitants of these towns, together with the restoration of the Catholic worship in the churches where it had been suppressed. The gentry, or possessors of fiefs-nobles, who had born arms in those places, were allowed to celebrate marriages and baptisms in their houses, in companies not exceeding ten persons; and all abjurations forced by penalties being declared null and void, the Protestants every where were indulged with liberty of conscience. The privileges of these towns remained secure and undiminished; the king only claiming the power of appointing governors, without obliging them to have other garrisons than their own, or insisting on building citadels without their consent. Four hostages from each of these cities were to be sent to the king; by whom a general amnesty was granted.

From the passionate desire which queen Chatharine had to see her favourite son proclaimed a sovereign, and from the no less eager, though more secret, wishes of Charles to rid himself of one, whom he regarded as the rival of his reputation and authority in the kingdom, the consideration of the public disquiet was for a time suspended, and all the thoughts of the court and ministry were engrossed by the preparations for the reception of the Polish envoys, in a manner suitable to the honour of both nations. The bishop of Langres was dispatched to receive them at Metz; and, on the fifteenth of August, they arrived at the gates of Paris. The French court had not, for many centuries, beheld so splendid an embassy. Their whole train of cavalry amounted to near three hundred of which, more than the third part were gentlemen, besides the twelve chief delegates. Their aspect, dress, and equipage were no less a novelty to the Parisians, who gazed on the large size of their bodies, their long beards, their grave and stern countenances, the rich furs on their habits, and the brilliant furniture of their arms and horses. The chief nobility of the court and the magistrates of the city went forth, in procession, to meet them, at the gate of St. Martin, which was decorated in the same manner as on the king's public

entrance into the capital; and through it they were carried in fifty chariots, painted with various devices. It was remarkable that the Polish gentlemen could all speak Latin, many of them German and Italian, and several of them express themselves with propriety in French; while, among the whole chief nobility of the court of France, there was none who understood the Latin language, though, at that time, the foundation of all literature; and the baron de Millau, and Castelnau Mauvissiere, were ordered to attend the court as the only two gentlemen who had this qualification, the want of which now appeared to expose the fashionable ignorance of the courtiers.

After their introduction to the queen-mother, the ambassadors, in their most pompous equipage, made a procession through the streets, to offer their submission to the duke of Anjou their sovereign. A course of sumptuous feasts and entertainments attended these visits, till the grand ceremony of presenting the decree of their king's election took place. After Henry, in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, had sworn to the conditions enacted by the diet of Poland, it was performed, with the utmost magnificence, in the spacious hall of the palace, where Charles, being seated under a canopy, with his brothers and the royal family at the Marble Table, and all the nobility and officers of the state placed according to their rank, while the trumpets flourished, the Polish delegates were introduced, and advanced towards the throne, two of them bearing on their shoulders a silver chest, in which decree, having an hundred and ten seals affixed to it, was deposited. This shew of state was followed by another still more costly, which was the triumphal entrance of the king of Poland by the gate of Saint Antoine. Upon this occasion the queen-mother, who gave the entertainment in the garden of the Thuilleries, contrived to embellish it with a kind of theatrical representation, suited to the taste of those times. When the tables were removed, suddenly, from behind a curtain, appeared, hovering in the air, a huge rock, crusted with silver. In its niches sixteen nymphs representing by their different ornaments the several provinces of France, played upon various musical instruments, and recited harmonious verses and songs in praise of the new king, and the ensuing felicity to his reign; then, descending to the ground, they presented Henry with their peculiar tributes, and forming themselves into rows, exhibited whatever was curious or graceful in the French dances. The Poles, notwithstanding their natural gravity, seemed highly pleased with these gay diversions, and had reason to be satisfied in general, with the grandeur and liberality of the court of France.

The king of Poland left Paris, on his way to his new dominions, on the twenty-first of September; while Charles repaired to Villers-Contrez, where he first perceived the symptoms of fresh tumults in the state. Two sets of deputies from the provinces followed him thither, and presented their several petitions. The Protestant commissioners from Languedoc were they one, and those of the nobles of Dauphiné and Provence the other. The petition of the former re-

spected the toleration of their religion, and the security of all who professed it; and that of the latter insisted on the suppression of some late taxes. From their conjunction at this time, in demands equally disagreeable to the court, the prevalence of animosity and turbulent counsels, both among the Calvinists and Catholics, and the confidence those parties had in some powerful support, were sufficiently manifest. The import and style of the demands of the Hugonots shewed they were not afraid of offending the court. Though destitute of their former conducters, and of the authoritative names of the princes of Bourbon, by which union and good order had been preserved in their designs, they had, in a great measure, supplied this defect, by the two great confederacies of Nîmes and Montauban, which divided all the power of their adherents in Languedoc into two governments; the viscount Saint Romain being elected chief of the one, and Paulin of the other. By the communications of their counsels and resolutions they had strengthened their partisans; so that all important questions came to be determined by them as a body. As that of conforming to the capitulation of Rochelle, and other matters contested between them and the Catholics, required to be discussed, the king had permitted a general meeting of their nobility and ministers at both these cities. Elevated with the apparent recovery of their former vigour and importance; flattering themselves with the reports of the intercession of the Polish ambassadors for them; and believing that the removal of the duke of Anjou from the kingdom would produce a change in the measures of the court to their advantage, they had convened at Nîmes, upon Saint Bartholomew's day, to deliberate about the general submission to the terms of the late edict of Rochelle. At this meeting it was not only agreed to testify their disapprobation of the edict, but their remonstrances against it bore all the marks of indignant and resentful remembrance of that day of the year in which they were framed. No treaty or composition with the court, yet insisted on by the Protestant chiefs during the civil wars, equalled the conditions of their present petition. After declaring that the treacherous massacre at Paris had so far sapped the foundation of the public faith, that they could not, without particular securities, safely rely upon it, they demanded the general and public toleration of their religion, without distinction of places or persons; the retention of the cities they held, with the addition of two more in every province, to be furnished with garrisons of their soldiers, maintained at the king's expence: the establishment of courts, composed of judges of their persuasion; the reservation of the tithes paid to the Catholic clergy, for the maintenance of their ministers; the prosecution and punishment of the authors and contrivers of the massacres, with various other articles of the same nature and tendency; which so much amazed the queen-mother, that she declared—"If the prince of Condé had been alive, and master of half the cities in the kingdom, with an army of twenty thousand horse and forty thousand foot, he would not have presumed to propose them." This paper was signed and delivered to the king by Paulin,

Gourdon, Verlac, and Cavagnac Yollet, who now placed themselves at the head of the Hugonots. These men, who thought themselves entitled to act upon principles of resentment against the government, which had broken the ties of honour and faith with them, had put the affairs of their party in such a state, in the remote and extensive quarters they possessed, as rendered them formidable. Instead therefore, of a harsh or imperious reply, as might have been expected, the king thought fit, in the present conjuncture, to give them a mild, though élusif one, by referring them to the mareschal D'Amville for redress in some grievances of which they complained. The petition of the Catholic nobles of the other provinces was answered much in the same manner, by promises of a future diminution of the Tailles. From this period may be dated the more general diffusion of a spirit of disaffection to the government among the Protestants, and such a disregard of all the ties of allegiance as exceeded all former instances that occurred during the civil wars. Not only were the massacres considered by them as an apology and a justifiable motive for embracing any opportunity of revolt, but the manifest disaffection of a great number of the Catholic nobility proved an instigation to it.

A. D. 1574.] By the election of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland, the important post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom had become vacant: and his brother, the duke of Alençon, who now exchanged his title for that of Anjou, aspired to the possession of it. But his views being frustrated by the interposition of his mother, that prince entered into a correspondence with the Protestant chiefs, and projected his escape from the court. The latter were, indeed, already in arms; some of their old provincial leaders, as Montbrun, Montgion, Le Cafe, and others, having begun their excursions in the remoter districts, where the truces were seldom maintained between them and the Catholics. By the confederacy of Languedoc, and La Noue's declaring himself convinced of the necessity of taking arms the commotions soon became more general. Rochelle made some scruples, which, however were speedily removed by an attempt that was made, by certain adventurers, who were believed to act under the authority of the queen-mother, to surprize the town. Though the king—who was now in a very bad state of health—disavowed any concern in this breach of the peace, the suspicions of the Rochellers were confirmed by the declarations of the prisoners they took. It is certain that, though Catharine could not assume all the royal authority, she ventured so far, on account of the king's indisposition, to act on her own plan, that the Montmorencies and their party as well as the protestants, had every thing to fear from her absolute sway in the state, upon the event of the king's death. It was generally credited among the latter, from private informations sent them from the malecontents about the court, that the massacres would be renewed at this juncture. In this temper, and under these apprehensions* the general insurrection of the Hugonots, cal-

* D'Aubigne.

led the rebellion of Shrove-Tuesday, took place. Besides what they held in Languedoc, it was attended with the seizure and revolt of many towns and places in Saintonge, Dauphiné, and the Vivarez, and, by the count of Montgomery's return from England into Normandy, extended into that province, and some other districts. It was La Noue's advice to fix upon that festival for the execution of the enterprize, as the pleasures in which the Catholics then indulged themselves afforded an opportunity to attack them unawares, and the event proved the advantage of it. But that part of the design, which connected with the escape of the duke of Anjou, was defeated. Though, in consequence of a determination entered into by Thore, the viscount Turenne and others, who were in habits of intimacy with the duke, to put his resolution to the test, Guitri, an experienced captain, with two hundred of the best appointed cavalry took his station in a neighbourhood of Saint Germain-en-Laye, the mutability of the duke of Anjou was such, that La Molle, either still fearing it, or desirous to augment his credit with the court, in the view of turning it afterwards into the service of his master, thought fit to reveal the circumstance of his intended flight to the queen-mother. Her surprise was great; and to encrease the king's alarm, she effected the utmost consternation. After causing a search to be made through every corner of the castle for hidden assassins, and assuring the king that the astrologers had bid him beware of Saint Germain, she pronounced his stay there to be unsafe, and hurried the whole court to Paris, and from thence to the Bois des Vincennes. Here the king of Navarre and the duke was detained, though not as prisoners, yet under watch, and without the liberty of leaving the castle. They were also obliged to publish their disavowal and detestation of this conspiracy, that their secret friends might believe they were deserted by them. Thore and Meru (brothers to the marshal Montmorenci) with some others, privately withdrew; and the prince Condé, being occasionally absent at Amiens, found means of escaping with them afterwards into Germany.

The queen-mother was careful to improve this plot to her purposes. In the languishing condition of Charles's health, the quick and sensible impressions it made upon him were altogether favourable to her procedure, and she so exaggerated the informations she pretended to have received about the nature of the conspiracy, that the presidents of the parliament, Thou and Hanneguin, were commanded by the king to enquire into it, and prosecute, with the utmost diligence and severity, all that could be discovered to have any knowledge in the treasonable design. In the mean time, the duke of Anjou, repenting of his unsteadiness and facility, which reduced him to the state of a prisoner, and the king of Navarre, justly conceiving apprehensions about Catharine's practices against him, had formed a fresh design in Easter-week of escaping in disguise. A discovery of this being also made, the queen-mother was enabled, by means of Brinon, who had become one of her spies and informers, to give a new turn to the accusations and the whole process. Being introduced as an evidence, he

accused La Molle, and the count de Conconnas, a Piedmontese, who was also a favourite of the duke of Anjou's, and a number of other partisans of the malecontents, some of whom were immediately apprehended and brought to trial. The two noblemen above mentioned, with one or two more, after undergoing a severe examination, were, upon doubtful evidence, condemned, and immediately beheaded.

But the queen-mother's aims reached higher than to the impeachment and death of some of the inferior partisans of the duke of Anjou and the malecontents. She had an eye to the apprehension of those whom she considered as the most formidable leaders of the faction. Though Thore, Meru, and others had escaped, the mareschals de Montmorenci and Cosse remained within the grasp of her power; and, notwithstanding there were only such vague and trivial accusations against them as could not found a plausible charge, it was enough that they were suspected as abettors of the conspiracy. Charles, the more liable to mistrust, and to yield to her dictates, the more his spirits were wasted, was easily prevailed on to agree to the measures of securing their persons. To conceal the intention,* they were only ordered to attend the king, and they obeyed without taking the alarm. The quarters assigned them in the innermost part of the castle created suspicion, and they were advised by their friends to provide for their safety by a retreat, which they could easily have accomplished: but, restrained by a sense of honour, and confident that his enemies could make nothing of their charge against him, Montmorenci would not extricate himself from the hazard at the expence of his reputation; and De Cosse adhered to his sentiments. In three days they were made prisoners by D'Auchi, captain of the king's guard, and carried to Paris, and from thence to the Bastile, in the midst of the exultations of the Parisians; who from enmity to the Montmorencies, and the moderate Catholics, readily agreed to furnish an additional guard of eight hundred men, during the time of their imprisonment. Upon the same day guards were placed about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou; and queen Catharine, willing to make every thing secure, and to lose no part of her triumph, had taken measures for depriving the mareschal D'Amville of his government, and seizing his person; but the grounds of suspicion given him, by the arrival of D'Acier, now duke of Uzez, in the province, who had lately attached himself to the court, and was his adversary, and by some packets intercepted, had so forwarned him of his danger, that he immediately possessed himself of Montpellier, and three other towns in Languedoc, without making any declarations. Saint Sulpice and the secretary Villeroy being sent by the court to him, under colour of accomodating the dissensions of the province, he by various pretexts avoided an interview with them, till Martinengues came with the king's orders to seize him, and to forbid the military officers every where to obey him. But

* D'Aubgine,

being, by this time, advised by his friends at court of the fate of his brother, the marechal, he prepared to oppose the execution of these menaces, and to stand on his defence.

The measures necessary to be taken for quelling the insurrection of the Hugonots completed the absolute sway of the the queen-mother, by giving her the direction of three armies, which were immediately ordered to be formed in Normandy, Poitou, and Dauphine, and to be commanded by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in the first of these provinces, by the duke of Montpensier, and his son in the others*. The count of Montgomery's attempts upon Normandy being chiefly dreaded, the attention of the court was directed to frustrate his design of seizing some of the maritime towns, the effecting of which would open a passage for English or other foreign succours, and might expose the kingdom by the revolt of places so contiguous to the capital. Upon that side, therefore, the greatest diligence was used to draw together the best troops. But Colombiere and Guitri having surprised Saint Lo and Domfront, the count landed at the former of these places, and soon made himself master of Caranten and Valognes. While they were occupied in strengthening the fortifications of these places, Matignon, having with the utmost expedition assembled his forces, advanced into Lower Normandy; and after making a feint of turning towards Valognes, suddenly pushed the van of his army to that side of Saint Lo which communicated by the river with the sea, and soon shut up all passage from the town, either by water or land. Montgomery, unprovided with forage for his cavalry, and sensible that his defence of a weak town might frustrate all his other projects, resolved to force one of the enemy's posts, and to retire to some place where he might act with greater effect. Having encouraged Colombiere to make the best resistance he could, he sallied out with a hundred and fifty horsemen in the night, broke through several guards and entrenchments of the royalists, and, with scarcely the loss of a man, reached Carentan, whence he passed to Domfront, to meet some Protestant gentry lately arrived there from the interior parts of the province. His departure caused a council of war to be holden by the Catholic commanders, in which it was deliberated whether they ought to continue the siege or follow him; and Matignon, whose instructions directed him to consider the capture of Montgomery as a main object of his enterprise, procured a determination that, without raising the siege of Saint Lo, such a large detachment should be made from the army, as would be sufficient to invest Domfront, or any of the other towns to which he might retire. This unexpected measure proved successful. By the expeditious march of six hundred cavalry and two regiments of foot, conducted by Saint Colombe, and followed by another body of troops under Matignon himself, the count, having no intelligence of their approach, was surprised in Domfront, where he had scarce

* De Thon.

two hundred soldiers to form a garrison, and among them several of the gentry, unwilling to share his hazardous fate, began to parley with the Catholics, and desert to them. In this extremity, Montgomery performed all that could be expected from his experience and valour, and, after defending the town for some days, made his retreat into the castle. Here he sustained an assault, and repulsed the enemy with considerable slaughter, and the loss of Saint Colombe, and some other officers of note.

An anecdote recorded of one of them marks the spirit and gallantry which prevailed among the warriors of those times. Having received a shot in his head, which deprived him of speech, he went into the nearest tent, and made a sign to have a pen and paper brought him, and sitting down to write a letter to his mistress with his blood, he died the moment he had finished it. By this time almost every one of Montgomery's companions, as well as himself, had received wounds, and their number was daily diminished by desertion: unable, therefore, to hold out any longer, he, at length, surrendered to the enemy. D'Aubigné affirms, that the count had only ambiguous promises of life and a safe dismissal given him, while other historians assert that the promise was absolute. To trust the smallest ambiguity was, in his circumstances, improper, and unworthy of his fortitude; he had reason to be convinced of what he ought to have done when the Catholic forces returned to the siege of Saint Lo. Being prevailed on by Matignon to solicit Colombiere to avoid the grand assault, and accept of honourable conditions, this resolute chieftain, disdaining to be reduced to the same situation in which he saw the count, reproached him with not dying like a soldier in the breach, rather than be exposed to suffer like a criminal. "It becomes you, indeed,"—said he, in an ironical tone—"to propose your behaviour as a pattern to me, when mine will now be of no service to you. But I shall take care to teach my companions how they ought to die." He, accordingly, took his station in the middle of the breach—now seventy paces in length—with his two sons on each side of him; one of them being twelve, and the other ten years old. The character of the man, as well as of the brave commander, was discovered in this action. "In yielding my life to God,"—said he to those around him—"I at the same time offer to him what I hold dearest in the world. It is better for them to die undishonoured and uncorrupted with their father, than to fall into the hands of the reprobate tribe, who may pervert them." A ball having pierced his head, he soon fell, and the breach was speedily abandoned by his followers. Compassion, however, moved the Catholic soldiers to save the lives of his forlorn offspring. His death was lamented by his party as a general misfortune; and the reduction of Saint Lo being soon followed by that of Carantan and the other forts, the war was terminated in Normandy, and the count of Montgomery carried in triumph to Paris; where he was soon after beheaded.

It appears that the queen-mother, at this juncture, had made the seizure of the princes and chief lords, whose opposition she feared, her principal object; and

it is also said by D'Aubigné—though the frequency of such accusations requires that they should be received with great caution—that she tried to end her military operations by a recourse to the base methods of assassination: for which purpose it was believed, that Maurcel, and one Saint Martin, were sent into Poitou, to make an attempt on the life of La Noue, which failed. In this province the duke of Montpensier having collected a number of Catholic chieftains, with their followers, detached Puy-Gaillard to invest Taillefont, while he advanced to form the siege of Fontenai. The first of these places being taken, the duke had the advantage of besieging the latter with his whole force. But the brave Saint Etienne commanded in it, who, by the bold sally he made into the Catholic camp, and the repulse he gave to the first assault of the besiegers, cooled their hopes of speedy success. At the same time La Noue, who had forces sufficient to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, though not to engage the Catholic army, appeared in the neighbourhood. From the alarm taken, it was proposed to draw off some cannon from the batteries against the town, to secure the camp from an attack; when Montpensier received letters from the queen-mother, requiring his immediate attendance upon the king, whose life was thought every day to be in imminent danger. The siege, therefore, was raised.

In the mean time, the war was continued with little intermission in Languedoc, where the strength of the Protestants was most entire; and in Dauphiné, where they had possessed themselves of many places of importance. The flight of the prince of Condé to Strasburgh, where he publicly renounced his late forced abjuration of the Protestant religion, contributed to maintain the civil commotions, and animate the Hugonots to trust their fortune to the decision of war, rather than to the experienced treachery of the court. He gave them assurances that, after his father's example, he would devote himself to the support of their cause, for which purpose he was then endeavouring to procure auxiliary troops from Germany, in hopes that the levy-money promised by them would be remitted. Thoré's letters to the marshal D'Amville were no less calculated to excite him to an open rupture with the court, and to revenge the treatment of their brother as a violent stretch of arbitrary power that denounced the intended ruin of their whole family. Though the marshal, naturally slow, and averse from appearing in opposition to the authority of the government, still employed the language of peace and submission, it was evident from the general aspect of affairs, that, notwithstanding all the queen-mother had done for destroying the party of the malecontents, and repressing the insurrection of the Protestants, the flame of war and discord was too far kindled in the kingdom, to be extinguished by the utmost exertion of her power and policy.

The most unequivocal symptoms of the king's approaching dissolution had, by this time, appeared, and it is evident he was aware of it himself, by allowing letters patent to be transmitted to the governors of the provinces, requiring them to obey the orders of his mother, as being vested with his authority, during his present

indisposition. With this concession, though for some time expected by Catharine, he had hitherto declined to gratify her; and by yielding it only in the extremity of his disorder, he shewed a jealousy and distrust of her usurpation over him, which she had too long exercised. His nomination of her, by a formal deed, to the regency of the kingdom, in the event of his death, and during the absence of his brother, the king of Poland, was still deferred, till the thirtieth of May, when he was seized with the most violent pains. The conflict between his youthful strength and the fatal power of his disease, threw him into the most violent convulsions, during which the blood issued through the pores of his skin, in almost every part of his body. He expired in the evening of the day in which the letters of regency were framed, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

Impetuous, violent, choleric, vindictive and cruel, Charles disgraced by his actions the throne of his ancestors; yet, when the frailty of human nature is considered, some extenuation must be allowed even for the *vices* of youth. No parent's fostering hand had sown the seeds of virtue in his infant mind; all those generous feelings which are the sources of true benevolence, and give dignity to man, were carefully suppressed by an unnatural mother, whose chief object was to render her son a prodigy of dissimulation. In the execution of this detestable plan, she, too fatally, succeeded; and she lived to behold the dreadful effects of her own wickedness.

The negative virtues of sobriety and temperance Charles certainly possessed: his apprehension was quick: his discernment acute: his elocution nervous and masculine: and in all the martial exercises of the age, he is said to have been eminently skilled. He had a taste for the fine arts, which appeared incompatible with the moroseness and cruelty of his temper: he not only rewarded the genius of the poet Ronfard, but wrote verses in his praise, not inferior to those of the master he admired. He also compiled a book on his favourite amusement of the chase.

Charles caused a smith's forge to be erected in his palace, where he amused himself with the fabrication of gun-barrels, horse-chains, and other pieces of smith's work. He piqued himself on his talent of imitating, with the greatest nicety, the various coins in circulation, such as the crown, the double ducat, and the testoon. When he shewed one of them to the cardinal of Lorraine for his approbation; "Ah, Sir,"—said the prelate—"you can do whatever you please, for you always carry your pardon in your own pocket."

For some time before his death he is said to have expressed the deepest remorse for the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and for the other acts of violence to which he had been instigated by his mother. On his death-bed he displayed the sentiments of a king, anxious for the welfare of his people. He spoke feelingly of the situation of princes during their minority; and said, "that he was better pleased to die without an heir, than to leave the kingdom to an infant, at a time when France stood in need of a man to redress her numerous calamities." By his queen,

Elizabeth of Austria, he left a daughter, who survived him but a short time. By his mistress, Mary Toucher, daughter to a lieutenant of the police at Orleans, he had one son, who first enjoyed the title of grand prior, and afterwards that of count d'Auvergne. Charles was entombed with little ceremony; and before the funeral convoy reached Saint Denis, it was deserted by all the followers, except Brantome, and four other gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and the guard of archers.

In the last year of the reign of Charles the Ninth, the revenues produced only eight millions, six hundred thousand livres; the mark of silver being seventeen livres, and that of gold two hundred.

HENRY THE THIRD.

A. D. 1574.] CHARLES, by his widow Elizabeth, left only one daughter, who survived him about four years, and Elizabeth herself retired into the dominions of her father the emperor Maximilian; while Catharine assuming the power which the deceased monarch's last words had conferred on her, displayed those abilities which arose in proportion to the emergency of her situation. She closely guarded the king of Navarre, and the duke of Alençon, with the marshals de Montmorenci and de Cossé; she negotiated a truce with the Hugonots, raised new levies among the Swiss and Germans, dispatched repeated messengers to hasten the journey of the king of Poland, and, impatient of delay, set out for the city of Lyons to meet him.

On receiving the welcome news of his brother's decease, Henry secretly quitted Poland, and hastily fled from the throne to which he had been so lately elected; before the tidings were publicly known, or his designs could be impeded, he had reached the frontiers of Germany, and was entertained at Vienna by Maximilian with magnificence; thence he directed his course through the territories of the Venetians, rested a few days in Turin; and a little more than three months from the death of Charles, embraced his mother at Lyons, and received from her hands the reins of government.

In his early youth Henry had displayed the promise of uncommon abilities; his manners were insinuating, his person graceful, his countenance beautiful; and his people regarded with the most partial expectations the hero of Jarnac and Mont-



HENRY . III.

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contour; but the meridian of his fame was ill calculated to correspond with the lustre of his dawning glory, and his subjects soon discerned a monarch, irresolute, inconstant, indolent, and voluptuous; mingling devotion with sensuality, and alternately governed by the licentious minions of his court, or by bigoted priests who assumed the direction of his conscience.

Though he released from confinement the king of Navarre, and his brother the duke of Alençon, he still continued to observe their steps with the most vigilant jealousy: but the cares of government were only considered secondary to those of love; his passion for the princess of Condé blazed forth with increase of violence. Reason, decency, and honour, in vain opposed its progress, and Henry was already determined to dissolve the marriage of Mary with the prince of Condé, and to raise her to his bed and throne, when his designs were broken by the unexpected stroke of death; that princess, in the pride of beauty and youth, suddenly expired; while the royal lover, devoting himself to all the luxury of sorrow, attested the ardour of his affection, by remaining several days insensible to the language of consolation, and obstinately rejecting whatever food was offered him.

From this trance he was awakened by the representations of his ministers, and the first act of sovereignty was to restore to the duke of Savoy several places which the French still retained in Piedmont. But the impolicy of this measure was forgotten in the superior imprudence of his resolution to prosecute the war against the Hugonots. The cardinal of Lorraine, whose fatal counsels influenced the irresolute mind of Henry, survived not to behold the scenes of slaughter which he had planned; and the marshal D'Amville, informed of the royal determination, boldly erected the standard of opposition, and supported in Languedoc the principles of Calvinism. The prince of Condé previous to the death of Charles the Ninth, had escaped to Strasburg, and abjured the Catholic religion; he now returned to join the forces of the confederates; while the duke of Alençon, inflamed by wild ambition, deserted the court and armed against his brother.

A. D. 1575.] Amidst the storms which threatened his throne on every side, the king was crowned at Rheims by the cardinal of Guise, and the next day bestowed his hand on Louisa, daughter to the count of Vaudemont, of the house of Lorraine. The war with the Protestants was maintained with various success. The duke of Guise acquired fresh laurels by the defeat of a considerable body of German auxiliaries; but Lesdiguières established himself in Dauphiné, and the queen mother, alarmed at his progress, released the marshals de Cosse and Montmorenci, and prevailed on the latter to negotiate a truce. It was concluded for six months only, and the towns of Niort, Saumur, la Charité, Mefieres, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Coignac, were surrendered to the reformed, as pledges for their security; while Henry endured a fresh mortification from abroad, by the determination of the Polish diet to chuse a new sovereign, and to place the crown on the head of the prince of Transylvania.

A. D. 1576.] In the late commotions, the king of Navarre had affected to remain an unconcerned spectator; he now seized the favourable moment of flight, escaped to his government of Guienne, and openly professed again the tenets of Calvinism; the duke of Alençon again resumed his intrigues; the prince of Condé appeared at the head of a numerous body of Germans; and the boundless ambition of the duke of Guise, who commanded the Catholic army, was equally formidable to Henry with the daring designs of the confederates. Thus alike fearful of victory, or defeat, he subscribed a peace, by which the reformed were allowed the free exercise of their religion, with the restriction of not preaching within two miles of Paris, or any place where the court resided; chambers of justice were erected in every parliament, consisting of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, the memory of Coligni and his associates were honourably restored, and the safety of the Hugonots was confirmed by the cession of eight fortified towns.

To gratify his brother, the king had ceded to him the countries of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, with the title of duke of the former: the prince of Condé was to have the government of Picardy; Lesdiguières, and d'Amville in Dauphiné and Languedoc assumed an haughty independency; the Germans, raised by prince Casimir, were permitted to live at free quarters in the bishopric of Langres; and Henry beheld, with indignation, great part of his dominions parcelled out amongst his Protestant subjects, and their formidable allies; but a more fatal blow to his authority originated in the jealousy of the Catholics, who, irritated by the late favourable conditions granted to the Calvinists, formed themselves into a league, and chose as their protectors the pope and the king of Spain. Henry, though sensible of the melancholy degradation, by the advice of his ministers, declared himself the head of this association, and by the importunities of the leaguers was soon compelled to rescind the late edict of pacification.

A. D. 1577, 1579.] While the king was immersed in sensual enjoyments, his subjects experienced all the miseries which attend a weak and divided administration. The religious enmity of the Catholics and Hugonots was repeatedly suspended by treaties, which as they were made without faith, were broken without hesitation. But amidst the scenes of dark intrigue and open violence, which for three successive years dishonoured and afflicted the kingdom, the virtues of the young king of Navarre attained to maturity, and burst forth with an increase of lustre which eclipsed his rivals, dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and confirmed the hopes of the Calvinists, whose religious tenets he professed. In the treaty of Nerac, he had baffled the artifices of the vily Catherine; and on the subsequent violation of that treaty, he surprised the town of Cahors; forced open the gates; and though the governor, with undaunted courage, maintained, during five days, an obstinate and unprecedented conflict in the streets, the valour of the king of Navarre triumphed over every difficulty, and planted at last the banners of his party on the ramparts of that city.

It was not alone in France that religious rancour had kindled the flames of civil war. The gloomy light was beheld with horror through the Netherlands; and the unrelenting Philip, seconded by the zeal of the duke of Alva, had involved numbers of his Flemish subjects in exile, torture, and death. The illustrious birth and memorable services of the counts Egmont and Horn, could not preserve them from an ignominious fate; and the prince of Orange only escaped the perfidy of his sovereign, and the stroke of the executioner, by an hasty retreat into Germany. He soon returned to arouse his countrymen to the defence of their civil and religious freedom; and the Flemings, oppressed by the superior forces of Spain, sought new resources in foreign alliances, and addressed themselves to the duke of Anjou. The sovereignty of the Low Countries was too splendid an allurement to be resisted by a prince vain, rash, and ambitious; his ardour, at the same time, was inflamed by the hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth; and the queen of England, desirous of resisting the tyranny of Philip, yet cautious of committing herself to open hostilities, embraced the opportunity, by the most flattering declarations, of exciting the duke of Anjou to the defence of the Flemings.

A. D. 1580.] But before the duke could embark in this enterprise, it was first necessary that he should at least suspend, if not extinguish, the flames of civil discord which raged through the kingdom of France. His proffered mediation was readily accepted by Henry, who by alternately professing to patronise each, had lost the confidence of both factions, and beheld his Catholic subjects range themselves under the banners of the duke of Guise, while the Protestants avowed their open attachment to the king of Navarre. Both had exhausted their strength in various efforts, without either acquiring an ascendancy; and a treaty was quickly concluded, notwithstanding the opposition of the prince of Condé, which confirmed the former edict of pacification, and left the Protestants in possession of the cautionary towns for six years.

A. D. 1581.] The duke of Anjou had scarcely unfurled his standard, before it was joined by the flower of French chivalry; and at the head of twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, he marched to the relief of Cambray, which was invested by the army of Philip, commanded by the prince of Parma; that prudent general retired at the approach of this new antagonist, who entered Cambray in triumph, was saluted by the inhabitants as the protector of their freedom; and after reducing Cateau Cambresis, embarked for England, to solicit the hand and support of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1582, 1583.] From that queen he received the most gracious reception; and though her prudence afterwards retracted the promises which she had been betrayed into by his flattery and importunity, she furnished him with a considerable sum of money, and a numerous fleet, to second his enterprises in the Low Countries. He was reinforced from France by the duke de Montpensier, and the marechal Biron, with a body of seven or eight thousand men; but his own ca-

price and perfidy disappointed the ambitious hopes which he had entertained ; and he resolved, by making himself master of those towns into which his troops had been admitted, to oppress that liberty which he was summoned to protect. His designs could not escape the penetrating eye of the prince of Orange ; his treacherous attempt on Antwerp was repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants ; the gates of the other cities were shut against him ; his troops were assailed by famine and disease ; and though the prudence of the prince of Orange affected an apparent reconciliation, the duke of Anjou, with a broken constitution, retired to France, deserted by his friends, and derided by his enemies.

A. D. 1584.] Though Henry ever afterwards regarded with contempt the abilities and designs of his brother, his own conduct was equally destitute of decency, policy, or judgment. He bestowed on his favourite, the duke of Joyeuse, the supreme direction of affairs, and raised him to an alliance with the throne, by uniting him in marriage to the sister of his queen. Balls, banquets, and religious processions, consumed those treasures which might have been successfully employed in repressing the rising influence of the king of Navarre and the duke of Guise ; the latter by his intrigues had drawn from his retirement the duke of Anjou, who, transported with the hopes of retrieving his lost reputation, entered into the views, and engaged to second the plans of the house of Lorraine ; but ever fickle and capricious, he soon repented of this new enterprise ; he flew to court, prostrated himself at the feet of the king, and revealed the conspiracy in which he had embarked. Henry received him with tenderness, and dismissed him to Chateau Thierri, where a rapid decline soon terminated a life, stained by levity, perfidy, and profligacy.

The death of the duke of Anjou disconcerted, but did not extinguish, the daring projects of the house of Lorraine. The three brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guise, with the duke of Mayenne, openly placed themselves at the head of the league, and inflaming the people with the dread of an heretic sovereign, avowed their resolution to transfer the pretensions of the king of Navarre to his uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon, a zealous papist, but who, incapable from age and weakness of holding the reins of government himself, was to deliver them into the hands of the duke of Guise. Henry was soon apprised of the intentions of the confederates, by the duke d'Epemon, who shared his favour with Joyeuse, he pressed the king of Navarre to reconcile himself to the established church, and as next prince of the blood, to remove the only objection that could be urged against his succession ; but the king of Navarre was deaf to the arguments of d'Epemon ; and though his friend Pleissis Mornay, by publishing his sentiments, confirmed the Hugonots in their opinion of his constancy, he unfortunately afforded a plausible pretence to the league, who openly reviled their sovereign as treating with heretics, and entered into a close alliance with Spain ; by a treaty, signed at Joinville, they agreed, in return for certain pecuniary supplies, on the death of Henry the Third, to acknowledge the cardinal of Bourbon as king, to enforce the council of Trent through France, and to reduce Cambray to the yoke of Philip.

The court of Rome entered into the views of the confederates, and sanctioned by her holy authority the ambition of the Guises. The impatience of their new ally the king of Spain, compelled them to take the field before they had assembled their adherents; with a feeble army, scarce exceeding five thousand men, the duke of Guise occupied Verdun, but was repulsed from Metz by the vigilance of the duke d'Epemon. The loyalty of the mareschal Matignon preserved Bourdeaux; and though Marseilles was surprised by the league, it was next day recovered by the arms of the royalists. Had Henry at this moment resumed that spirit which he formerly displayed in the fields of Jarnac and Moncontour, he might have established his tottering throne, and chased the duke of Guise from his dominions: but alternately the slave of pleasure and superstition, he was no longer capable of any great or arduous enterprise; he concluded a peace on the most dishonourable terms, with those very rebels whose presumption he might have chastised; and agreed, at the imperious voice of the duke of Guise, to compel the Protestants to restore the cautionary towns that they had received, to annul all edicts in their favour, and to devote his troops and treasures to the service of the league.

A. D. 1585.] With terror and astonishment the king of Navarre heard the fatal conditions, which menaced his own succession, and placed an empty sceptre in the hand of Henry. That monarch soon experienced that the most fatal event of war ought to have been preferred to an ignominious peace. His capital could no longer be considered as his own. A council of sixteen citizens of Paris, nominated by the influence of the duke of Guise, insulted their sovereign, and filled the streets with confusion. A gleam of hope broke in from the court of Rome; Sixtus the Fifth, who had succeeded to the apostolical throne, launched the spiritual thunders on the heads of those who had presumed to arm against the crown. But governed only by a temper turbulent and assuming, he increased the public anarchy by excommunicating soon after the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and all their adherents. The Protestants weakened and oppressed sought shelter in Guienne and Dauphiné; and the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, embraced as their only means of safety the calamities of war. The latter, after having in vain attempted to relieve Angiers, was forced to disperse his troops, and with difficulty escaped to England.

A. D. 1586.] Five armies levied in the name of the king threatened with their numbers to overwhelm the small band of Protestants. The most numerous was entrusted to the command of the duke of Mayenne, who entered Guienne, and harassed his forces in the fruitless pursuit of the king of Navarre; three more, led by d'Epemon, Joyeuse, and Matignon, were equally unsuccessful. But the duke of Guise extended his fame and conquests in Champagne and Burgundy, and confirmed by his exploits the confidence of the league. Yet the people loudly murmured at the new taxes which were imposed for the continuance of the war. The return of the prince of Condé with troops and money from England, and his subsequent success in Saintonge, allowed them not to expect a speedy conclusion of

it; the marechal Biron, indeed, recovered several places from the reformed, but he maintained at the same time an austere reserve towards the leaguers; while d'Amville, who, by the death of his brother, was become marechal Montmorenci, assumed in Languedoc the tone of independence, declared himself the head of a third party attached to the ancient constitution in church and state, and while he stiled the Protestants heretics, he treated the leaguers as rebels.

A. D. 1587.] Each day diminished the remnant of authority which the king continued to possess, and encreased the difficulties of his situation; on one side the Germans and Swiss prepared to pour their forces into France and join the troops of the king of Navarre; on the other Henry equally dreaded the leaders of the league, and considered the duke of Guise his most formidable enemy. His favourite Joyeuse, accompanied by the flower of the French nobility, was defeated and slain at Coutras. In that action, which first crowned the Hugonots with decisive victory, the king of Navarre displayed all the qualities which distinguish the soldier and the general; but his inability to support his troops prevented him from improving his advantage; he was compelled to disband his forces; and with the impatience of a lover, he hastened to lay his laurels at the feet of his mistress.

The prince of Condé soon after expired at St. Jean d'Angeli of poison: a crime which was imputed to his consort, but whose innocence was vindicated by a public trial.

The Germans and Swiss, hopeless of joining their allies, fixed and received the price of their retreat; and the inhabitants of Paris, delivered from the dread of foreign invasion, determined to reduce Henry to the most mortifying insignificance, and to vest the sole administration in the hands of the duke of Guise. In pursuance of this design, they presented a memorial, in which they required the king to declare openly for the league, to revive the council of Trent, to establish the inquisition, and to extirpate heresy. Though Henry could not entirely repress his indignation, he yet promised to consider their requests. But alarmed at their insolence, he observed with a vigilant eye their conduct, and meditated vindicating his dignity by surprising the whole council at once; from this design he was dissuaded by Catharine; and his imprudence in severely reproaching and boldly menacing a faction which he suffered to escape with impunity, served only to inflame the enmity of the leaguers, who now summoned the duke of Guise to their support.

A. D. 1588.] Contrary to the express command of his sovereign, the duke of Guise entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and demanded an audience of the king. Incapable of refusing, yet deeply wounded by repeated insults, Henry recalled his former resolution, and declared that the moment of interview should be the last of his presumptuous subject. The tears and remonstrances of Catharine again interposed. The indignant features of the monarch proclaimed the conflict within; he sternly accused the duke of sedition, treason,

and the most daring designs against his life and throne. The duke of Guise, sensible of his danger, endeavoured to disarm his rage by submission; he was suffered to retire in security; but convinced of the hazard he had incurred, and hopeless of any sincere reconciliation, he immediately determined on the most decisive measures.

The angry countenances of the Parisians betrayed the secret emotions of their minds, and foretold the approaching tempest. Six thousand of the troops, whose fidelity Henry could depend upon, had received orders to enter the capital. Their ready appearance was the signal of general insurrection; the citizens by myriads quitted the instruments of their peaceful occupations to assume the weapons of war. The guards were astonished, overwhelmed, and disarmed; but amidst the tumult, while Catherine engaged the duke in an artful negotiation, Henry quitted his palace, escaped through the garden of the Thuilleries, and surveying his capital with the eye of offended majesty, declared he would never enter it again but through a breach in the walls.

From Paris Henry retired to Chartres, and publicly appealed to his subjects from the insolence of the duke of Guise, and the tyranny of the leaguers. He was answered by manifestos which breathed the spirit of sedition inflamed by religious rancour. Yet while the mutual accusations of both parties seemed to allow no other decision but that of arms, the mediation of Catherine was again accepted, and Henry was once more in appearance reconciled to a subject whom he hated and feared. The firmness of the parliament, and the levity of the Parisians, had influenced the duke of Guise to listen to terms of accommodation; while Henry was impressed with dread by the formidable preparations of the king of Spain. By the articles of the new treaty, the duke of Guise was constituted lieutenant of the French armies; the cardinal of Bourbon was declared first prince of the blood; and the severest penalties were denounced against the subjects of France who had presumed to deviate from the ancient and established church. On the conclusion of the treaty, the duke of Guise waited on the king at Chartres, and was received with marks of respect and confidence that seemed to proclaim the most sincere reconciliation.

Yet amidst these public testimonies of regard, Henry continued to nourish a latent thirst of vengeance, and was determined to inflict on the duke the just but tardy punishment of his presumption. Exasperated at the ignominious concessions into which the counsels of his mother had betrayed him, he for ever excluded her from his confidence. He assembled the states at Blois; and though he beheld himself surrounded by the partisans of the league, he addressed them in a bold and animated speech, displayed the distress to which he was reduced, and glanced at the seditious practices of the house of Lorraine. Language so unexpected struck the duke of Guise with astonishment; he remonstrated strongly against the insinuations it conveyed, and Henry was compelled, before it was circulated abroad, to soften the most obnoxious passages.

To this mortification succeeded intelligence the most alarming: he was informed that his aspiring subject held a secret and treasonable correspondence with the duke of Savoy; he perceived that the states were determined to declare the king of Navarre by name incapable of the succession; and that his own repose, and the tranquillity of the kingdom, could only be established by the death of the duke of Guise. He summoned in this exigency the few friends in whose fidelity and secrecy he could trust; the number and quality of them convey to us some idea of his forlorn situation; and the cabinet council of the sovereign of France was composed of the marshal d'Aumont, Nicholas and Lewis d'Angennes, and Beauvais Nangis. The first advised the king to arrest the princes of Lorraine; but Henry was sensible that such an attempt would only serve to inflame subjects too powerful for restraint; and the rest concurred in encouraging him to extinguish the ambition of the duke of Guise with his life.

In the execution of this design, Henry displayed the same calm dissimulation as had characterised his brother Charles; Grillon, who commanded the royal guards, and who was celebrated for his personal courage, was first applied to to strike the fatal blow; but with a dignity of mind equal to his valour, he replied that his rank and services allowed him not to play the executioner. "I will challenge the duke," continued he, "and if permitted, endeavour to kill him fairly with my sword." The king received his refusal with a good grace; and only recommended to him secrecy. He now fixed on Loignac, the first gentleman of his bed-chamber, who readily accepted the commission, and was joined by a select number of Gascons whom the duke d'Epernon had introduced for the immediate protection of the king's person.

Yet the adherents of the duke of Guise, ever anxious and vigilant were soon apprised that some dark design was meditated, and their leader was repeatedly admonished that he stood on the edge of a precipice. But relying on that fortune which hitherto had invariably attended him, and impressed with a strong but mistaken idea of Henry's timidity, he determined to attend the council he was summoned to. As he entered the cabinet of the king, through a long and gloomy passage, he was assailed by the daggers of Loignac and his associates. Six poniards at once were plunged in his bosom; and exclaiming with a deep groan, "My God, have mercy on me!" he fell breathless on the floor.

Thus perished Henry duke of Guise the victim of his own inordinate ambition. Though his talents appear not to have equalled those of his father, his courage, magnanimity, and insinuating address endeared him to the citizens of Paris, over whom his influence was uncontrolled. His brother the cardinal of Guise, more violent, but less enterprising, was involved in his destruction; and Henry the moment he was informed of the fate of the former, passed into the apartment of the queen-mother, and acquainting her with the event, added, "I am now a king, madam, and have no competitor, for the duke of Guise is no more." Catherine, without blaming or commending the action, only coldly asked, if he had considered the consequences.

A. D. 1589.] That princess had been for some time confined to her bed by a severe indisposition; accustomed to the supreme direction of affairs, her haughty temper could ill brook the reserve that for some time the king had maintained towards her: the pangs of disease were rendered more intolerable by the agitation of her mind: As her end approached, her eyes were opened to a just sense of the insidious policy which she had so long and so fatally pursued; in her last moments she exhorted Henry to reconcile himself to the princes of his blood, particularly the king of Navarre, whose sincerity she declared she had constantly experienced; and to restore the tranquillity of France, by allowing the free exercise of the Protestant religion. In her seventieth year she sunk into the grave, and escaped by a timely death beholding the destruction of her last and favourite son.

The king was soon convinced how necessary it was for him to adopt the dying councils of Catherine. On the fate of the Guises, the crowd that had attended him to Blois hastily dispersed; the multitude abhorred him, the majority of his nobles were combined against him, his favourites on whom he had profusely lavished his treasures deserted him, and the clergy whom he had blindly revered publicly reviled him. All zealous Catholics were armed against him; the citizens of his capital rejected his authority, and chose the duke of Aumale as their governor; the doctors of the Sorbonne openly absolved his subjects from their allegiance; and the council of union, composed of forty members, assuming a sovereign power, constituted the duke of Mayenne, brother to the late duke of Guise, lieutenant-general of the state royal and crown of France: a dignity pompous, absurd, and before unknown; their zeal would even have extended to him the title of king, had not this caution induced him to decline the dangerous pre-eminence. Rouen, and the greatest part of Normandy declared for the league; Lyons, Thoulouse, Marseilles, Arles, and Toulon, with the provinces of Brittany and Auvergne embraced the same party; the Spanish ambassador repaired to Paris, and nourished by his gold the factious councils of the capital; while pope Sixtus the Fifth fulminated his thunders against the assassins of the duke of Guise, and involved the king in the sentence of excommunication.

While Henry forlorn and desponding contemplated the gloomy and distracted prospect before him, a ray of hope broke in from the honourable and disinterested attachment of the princes of the blood; these hastened to devote to his service their lives and fortunes; and their example was followed by the dukes d'Epemon and Nevers, and the mareschal Montmorenci; a reconciliation was effected between the kings of France and Navarre; and the former invested in Tours by the duke of Mayenne, after defending the suburbs with the same gallantry as he had displayed in early life, was relieved by the latter, who pressed forwards with his troops to his assistance, and disdained when he joined the royal standard to extort from the necessities of the king any conditions for his own advantage. Large

levies were diligently raised in Switzerland and Germany ; yet the mind of Henry, amidst the hope of returning fortune, seemed continually oppressed by the spiritual censures of the court of Rome ; and it required the utmost address of the king of Navarre to animate his drooping spirits : “ Let us, fire,” said that prince with his usual vivacity, “ march to Paris, and if we are victorious, we shall be easily absolved.” The council was approved—their superior forces, joined by the Swiss and Germans, swept the revolted towns in their progress ; and swelled by success to near forty thousand men, on the last of July they invested the capital of France.

The duke of Mayenne, with four thousand regular soldiers, endeavoured to confirm the courage and constancy of the inhabitants ; but Henry urged the siege with incessant ardour ; within the walls the royalists were still numerous ; and Paris must soon have been reduced to acknowledge the authority of her sovereign, had not the punishment which her seditious and turbulent citizens had so long provoked been averted by the dagger of assassination. James Clement, a Jacobin friar, and native of Sens, of strong passions but weak intellects, had eagerly listened to the treasonable and daring discourses which the popular preachers of the league daily thundered from their pulpits. A disposition, naturally gloomy and fanatical, was inflamed to desperation by these intemperate harangues ; and either impelled by that sanguinary superstition that strongly marks the times, or prompted by persons of superior rank, who viewed in the return of Henry their own destruction, he determined by one fatal stroke to extinguish the enemy of the pope, and of the Catholic religion. With a passport procured under false pretences from the count de Brienne, one of the king’s generals then a prisoner, and a letter forged from the president Harlay, who at that time was confined in the Bastile, he set out from Paris for St. Cloud, the royal quarters ; on the road he met the attorney-general, and informing him that he had some important intelligence to communicate to the king in person, he was entertained by that officer at his house, who also engaged to procure him an audience of Henry.

The next morning he was accordingly introduced to the king, to whom he presented his letters ; but while Henry was attentively occupied in the perusal of them, Clement suddenly plunged a knife, that he had concealed in his sleeve, in the bowels of his unhappy sovereign. The wounded monarch instantly drew it out, and twice struck with it the assassin ; the attorney-general, with a blow of his sword, extended him on the floor ; and the imprudent zeal of two of the royal guards immediately dispatched him.

Henry at first had flattered himself that his wound was not mortal ; but frequent faintings soon convinced him of his approaching end, and he prepared to meet it with a fortitude and composure worthy of his high situation. He summoned to his presence the king of Navarre, whom he tenderly embraced and declared his lawful successor ; he exhorted the nobility to acknowledge and support their new sovereign—and expired the next morning in the sixteenth year of his reign, and



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the thirty-ninth of his age. In him was finally extinguished the race of Valois ; and his widow Louisa, of the house of Lorraine, after lamenting the untimely fate of her consort, whose tenderness she had invariably experienced, retired, amidst the distractions of her bleeding country, to linger through a life of twelve years of blameless obscurity.

HENRY THE FOURTH.

BY the death of Henry the Third, the sceptre of France was transferred from the house of Valois to that of Bourbon, and placed in the hand of Henry the Fourth, the first monarch of that family. The religious commotions which so long had agitated France, had afflicted also great part of Europe. The prudence of Elizabeth had, indeed, secured the internal tranquillity of England—but the tempest had raged with redoubled violence in Scotland—the amiable, but unfortunate Mary, who had sought shelter in Britain from the fury of a rude, haughty, and turbulent people, inflamed with sanguinary zeal for the doctrines of Calvinism, had, after the farce of a public trial, perished on the scaffold the victim of the female jealousy of Elizabeth. To avenge her death, the king of Spain filled his ports with naval preparations ; but his fleet, which from the size of his ships, and the ample manner in which they were equipped, obtained the name of the Invincible Armada, was defeated by the lighter vessels and superior dexterity of the English ; and the remnant of an armament, on which the treasures of the Indies and America had been profusely lavished, shattered by the winds and waves, and pursued by the triumphant navy of Elizabeth, escaped with difficulty into the ports of Spain.

To the vast continent of America, discovered by the daring genius of Columbus, and reduced to subjection by the arms of Cortez and Pizarro, Philip had some time since added the dominions of Portugal. The people of that country had first of all the Europeans despised the narrow and beaten tract of navigation, boldly committed themselves to the wide expanse of the ocean, established their colonies on the coast of Africa, founded new cities in Asia, and planted Brazil, in America, a valuable settlement of which they still retain possession. But their monarch Sebastian, impelled by frantic zeal and romantic valour, had perished waging a fruitless war in Africa against the disciples of Mahomet ; his crown passed to his

uncle Don Henry, a cardinal and a priest; and on the death of Henry, the pretensions of Philip, seconded by the armies of Spain and the experience of Alva, triumphed over the feeble efforts of his competitors, and annexed the kingdom of Portugal to the dominions of Spain.

But this accession of strength had not enabled that monarch to subdue the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, and to bend to the yoke the stubborn minds of the Flemings. A people naturally obstinate and persevering, were confirmed in their opposition by that very cruelty which had been exerted to reduce them; their habitual phlegm was quickened by the fire and commanding genius of William prince of Orange; several years had now been consumed in the important conflict; and Philip, exasperated by resistance, extended his enmity to the reformed beyond the limits of his own dominions; he regarded with dread a Protestant prince on the throne of France; and was determined closely to connect himself with the chiefs of the league; while Elizabeth, intent on extirpating the Catholic religion from every country in Europe to which her power and influence could reach, was prepared to support a king whose religious principles were similar to her own.

A. D. 1589.] Such were the state and inclinations of the two most powerful potentates in Europe, when the stroke of assassination dismissed Henry the Third from a turbulent and ignominious reign. His successor, Henry the Fourth, who had completed his thirty-fifth year, and was equally adorned with all the splendid qualities of mind and body, eloquent in council, intrepid in action, fertile in resources; a great general, an undaunted foldier, and a penetrating statesman, beheld in a moment a prospect presented to his view, which, as it might kindle the ambition of the coldest, was sufficient to damp the ardour of the most aspiring spirit. The crown of France, his right by descent, was the object of his hopes; but innumerable objects still opposed the peaceable possession of it. He was indeed, at the head of a considerable army, but the greatest part of his troops, as well as of his subjects, consisted of Catholics; his capital was in the hands of a faction formidable by their numbers, and daring in their designs: his coffers were empty; and the most fertile provinces of France acknowledged the authority of the league.

The Swiss guards, with their colonel Sanci, first saluted Henry as their sovereign; the mareschal Biron assured him of his fidelity; the principal Catholics, Bellegarde, D'o, Chateauvieux, d'Entragues, and Dampierre, who had attached themselves to the fortunes of the late king, were induced to declare themselves in favour of the present; but the duke d'Epemon, under pretence of resenting the little deference that was shown to him, retired with the troops more immediately under his command, and first communicated to the camp the contagious spirit of disaffection.

The duke of Mayenne, in Paris, was, on this critical occasion, at least as much embarrassed as Henry; but in a situation the most delicate, he conducted



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himself with dignity and judgment, and justified the favourable opinion which his party entertained of his abilities. He declined the dangerous title of king, which he was earnestly solicited to accept; he rejected a proposal that was made to offer the crown to Philip of Spain; but at the same time he exhorted the people of France to live and die in the Catholic religion, and as the king of Navarre was an heretic, to acknowledge as their sovereign the cardinal of Bourbon.

The desertion of the duke d'Epemon was soon followed by that of the most zealous Catholics; and Henry, sensible of the daily diminution of his forces, retired from the walls of Paris, and slowly directed his march toward Normandy. The governor of Dieppe opened the gates of that city, and readily admitted his sovereign; the officer to whom the league had entrusted Caen, displayed the same disinterested loyalty; the acquisition of two places strongly fortified, and provided with numerous garrisons, which might long have resisted the efforts of the royal army, was highly acceptable to the king; who was now able to preserve a free communication with England, the only power he could depend upon for effectual assistance.

The duke of Mayenne was equally conscious of the importance of the revolted towns; the zeal of the Parisians profusely supplied him with every pecuniary aid; he drew large levies of soldiers from Lorraine; at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, he advanced towards Normandy, and threatened to overwhelm the royal forces, scarce amounting to seven thousand, and to restore Dieppe to the authority of the league; his superior numbers in either enterprise must have insured success, had he rapidly pressed forwards; but naturally cautious and slow in all his motions, his dilatory march afforded Henry leisure to shelter himself under the walls of Arques. In that position he was attacked by the duke of Mayenne, who, after several ineffectual attempts on the intrenchments of the royalists, was compelled to retire with the loss of above six hundred men. The satisfaction of Henry at having repelled so formidable an antagonist, was heightened by the welcome intelligence, that the Swiss cantons, the republic of Venice, and the queen of England, had acknowledged him as king; and by the junction of four thousand soldiers whom Elizabeth had dispatched to his support.

With this reinforcement, and with the troops which the count of Soissons, the dukes of Orleans and Longueville, the marshals Biron and Aumont, led to his assistance, Henry determined once more to appear before the gates of Paris, and endeavour to surprize the unguarded capital. By rapid marches he outstripped the intelligence of his design; and the Parisians were astonished and intimidated by the hostile appearance of a monarch, whom they expected to have beheld led through the streets, a captive to the victorious arms of the league. He insulted the suburbs; cut in pieces above thirteen hundred of the troops of the league; and would probably have made himself master of the capital, had not the duke of Mayenne, at that critical moment, entered Paris on the opposite side; prudence allowed Henry no longer to persist in besieging a city, always formidable from the

number of its inhabitants, and now defended by an army more numerous than his own; he retired to Tours, while the duke of Mayenne, in Paris, solemnly proclaimed as king the captive cardinal of Bourbon, by the title of Charles the Tenth; in the name of this pageant of royalty, who was himself a prisoner to Henry, the duke dissolved the council of union, whose intemperate measures and secret intrigues with Spain he had long disapproved; and with the assistance of a privy council, nominated by himself, and devoted to his will, assumed the supreme administration of affairs.

The duke of Savoy, descended by his mother from Francis the First, had not hesitated, on the death of Henry the Third, to urge his pretensions to the vacant throne; sensible of the weakness of his claim, amidst the general confusion, he endeavoured to possess himself of Provence and Dauphiné: he was baffled by the skill and vigilance of Valette, elder brother to the duke d'Epemon, who sacrificed his fortune and his life in the service of his sovereign; while the duke himself, without publicly acknowledging the authority of Henry, acted with spirit and success against the league.

A. D. 1590.] The duke of Mayenne, after the retreat of Henry from Paris, had reduced Pontoise, twice invested Meulan, and twice retired on the approach of that monarch. The king, in return, with an army of twelve thousand men, laid siege to Dreux; and the walls were already shaken by his attacks, when he was informed that the army of the league, reinforced by the prince of Parma, and consisting of sixteen thousand veteran soldiers, was advancing towards him. He immediately desisted from the hopeless enterprise, and, determined to hazard a decisive engagement, posted himself at Yvri, on the banks of Eure. The duke of Mayenne still wished to avoid committing the fortune of his party to the fate of a single day; but his own irresolution was vanquished by the reproaches of the citizens of Paris, and by the daring counsels and presumptuous vaunts of count Egmont, whose father had perished the victim of the jealousy of Philip, and of the cruelty of the duke of Alva. Yet the son had displayed undaunted zeal and unshaken loyalty in the cause of the tyrant: and, inflamed with religious enmity towards the reformed, had been detached by the prince of Parma to the support of the Catholic arms. He boasted that the cavalry which he led were able alone to encounter and vanquish the royal army; and the duke of Mayenne reluctantly yielded to his impetuous courage. The conflict was long obstinately maintained; but the superior genius of Henry at length prevailed. Count Egmont, with the greatest part of his detachment, perished on the field; two thousand five hundred of the leaguers were involved in the same fate; and the duke of Mayenne, after having discharged the several duties of a general and a soldier, escaped with difficulty from the sword of the conqueror. The Swiss, who amidst the general rout alone preserved their ranks and reputation, consented to enter into the service of the king; but Henry was prevented from immediately improving his advantage by the distressed state of his finances; he

suffered himself to be amused by a fallacious negociation, and it was not till near two months afterwards that he marched to and blocked up the city of Paris.

About this time the cardinal of Bourbon, his competitor for the crown, sunk into the grave, expressing in his last moments his regard for his successful rival, and conscious of the interested views of those who had effected to elevate him to a throne; yet his name for several years, after his death, was used to sanction the designs of the league, and to nourish the flame of rebellion. The Parisians still displayed the same implacable enmity towards their sovereign; and the duke of Nemours, who had been appointed governor of the capital, distinguished himself by his valour and conduct. Even the ecclesiastics on this occasion forgot the peaceable tenets of their religion; and, emerging from the gloom of the cloyster, formed themselves into a regiment under the command of the legate of the court of Rome. This holy corps would have added but little real strength to the cause in which it armed; and Paris derived more effectual advantage from the humanity of her sovereign, whom it continued thus obstinately to resist; famine and pestilence began already to stalk at large through the streets; and the duke of Nemours, to avoid the instant consequences of the former, commanded the aged and infirm to leave the city; had Henry refused a passage through his lines to these unhappy wretches, it is more than probable his capital must have surrendered; but his natural clemency prevailed over the suggestions of ambition; and he rejected the counsels of his officers, who advised him to drive them back with the sword; yet even this could only for a short time alleviate, but not extinguish their misery; the cry of peace, or bread, resounded through the streets, and the resolution of the duke of Nemours must have yielded to the clamours of a ravenous and disorderly multitude, when the fainting spirits of the leaguers were again revived by the approach of the duke of Mayenne and the prince of Parma.

In the space of the last month famine had consumed above thirty thousand of the inhabitants of Paris; each feeling of nature was overborne by the pressure of immediate distress; at the imperious call of hunger, mothers are reported to have prolonged a guilty life by feeding on the dismembered limbs of their offspring. With mingled horror and compassion, Henry turned from his polluted capital; and impatient, amidst the tumult of battle, of effacing from his mind the inhuman scenes he had witnessed, directed his march towards the prince of Parma; that able commander at Meaux had joined the duke of Mayenne with fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, and their confederate forces composed an army of twenty-four thousand infantry, and near twelve thousand cavalry: but the sole object of the prince was to relieve Paris, and he determined to accomplish it, if possible, without hazarding a general engagement. To a defiance from the king of France, to put an end to the calamities of the kingdom by a decisive action, he coolly replied, that he was accustomed to fight only when he thought proper himself, and not when it was convenient for his enemies; and by a series of skilful operations, which commanded the admiration of Henry himself, he eluded the

vigilance of his adversary; stormed within his very sight the walls of Lagni, swept away the garrisons of St. Maur and Charenton, and once more poured plenty into the famished capital.

Though Henry himself could not but applaud the skill and conduct of the prince of Parma, yet his generous spirit was severely mortified by the disappointment. Paris was ravished from his grasp, at the moment that his hand was stretched out to receive it; the superior dexterity of his antagonist had wounded his reputation, and evaded his endeavours to force him to a battle—his own army was greatly weakened by sickness and the fatigues of a long campaign—the ravaged country could no longer supply the necessary subsistence—his exchequer was exhausted—the nobility and gentry, who served him at their own expence, were discontented and impatient to depart—and he was compelled, though reluctantly, to embrace the only expedient that remained: he retired to Saint Denis, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, dismissed his principal adherents to the protection of the provinces in which their interest lay, and with a flying army of his best troops prepared to watch the motions of the prince of Parma.

That general, after the relief of Paris, at the request of the duke of Mayenne and the chiefs of the league, invested Corbeil; which, though defended with gallantry, was taken by assault. The prince, to sound the inclinations of the Catholic leaders towards the king of Spain, proposed to garrison it with his Walloon, or Italian troops; but this offer was rejected with indignation by the duke of Mayenne and his confederates; and their manner of refusal clearly discovered their jealousy and suspicion of Philip. The prince confirmed in his opinion, that the moment was not yet arrived of avowing the ambitious designs of his master, and influenced still more by the inclemency of the season, the sickly state of his troops, the want of money and provisions, determined; notwithstanding the importunities of the Catholic chiefs, to return into the Netherlands; and to leave the contending parties to exhaust their strength, in mutual animosity, in hopes their weakness hereafter would deliver them an easy prey to Spain.

Lest the Catholics might be overpowered in his absence by the superior genius of the king of France, the prince left for their support a body of six thousand men, and with the rest of his troops began his march towards the Netherlands; but he was sensible that so enterprising a commander as Henry, however his weakness had compelled him to remain a peaceable spectator of his late operations, would not fail to observe his retreat with a vigilant eye. That he might accomplish without loss this arduous design, he drew up his army in four divisions, and marched always in order of battle; the country through which he passed was diligently in the morning reconnoitred by his light cavalry, and his army each night was secured by strong entrenchments.

The moment that Henry was informed of the intended route of his adversary, he collected a small but select body of troops; and impatient to efface his

disgrace before Paris and Lagni, continually hovered round and harrassed the forces of Spain; his bravery and vigilance were displayed in incessant attacks; but in the passage of the river Ainé his ardour precipitated him amidst the thickest of the enemy, and he must either have perished, or surrendered to the multitude that surrounded him, had he not been disengaged by the active gallantry of baron Biron, son to the marshal; yet his danger, instead of depressing, seemed only to inflame his enterprising spirit. The length of the march, the badness of the roads, and the advanced season of the year, all contributed to second his attempts, and to encrease the distress of the enemy; but every obstacle vanished before the prudence and skill of the prince of Parma; and, without any considerable loss, he triumphantly conducted his troops into the province of Hainault.

The mortification of Henry at beholding his rival thus escape with impunity, was encreased by the success of the duke of Savoy in Provence, and by the unseasonable death of pope Sixtus the Fifth. The former reduced Frejus and Antibes, and entered Aix in triumph; the latter expired at the moment that he had determined to break with the Spaniards, and to urge by arms the claim of the court of Rome to the kingdom of Naples; Urban the Seventh, his transient successor, within a few months sunk also into the grave; and the vacant apostolical chair was filled with Gregory the Fourteenth, by birth a Spaniard, and the most implacable enemy of Henry. He instantly declared that monarch an heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, unless they quitted the impious party they had espoused.

A. D. 1591.] But the magnanimity of Henry seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties that presented themselves; baffled in repeated attempts to surprise the city of Paris, he still maintained his superiority in the field; a supply of money and ammunition from England enabled him soon after to besiege Chartres. In the reduction of that city Francis de Coligni, son to the celebrated admiral, displayed qualities which promised even to surpass those of his father; and his death soon after was universally deplored by the Calvinists, who were permitted to behold, and to lament the loss of his virtues. From the acquisition of Chartres, the king directed his attacks to Noyon, which was compelled to surrender even in the sight of the duke of Mayenne.

The escape of the young duke of Guise from the castle of Tours, in which he had been confined ever since his father's death, increased the number of Henry's enemies; but the duke of Mayenne, on his side, found himself almost equally embarrassed with those who professed themselves his most zealous friends. The council of sixteen had again assumed the government of the capital; and inflamed with religious and political fury, had caused, on a frivolous charge, and without the form of a trial, the president, and two of the counsellors, to be seized and executed. On information of this outrage, the duke of Mayenne, with a select body of troops, hastily returned from Picardy; severely reproached the council for their insolence and temerity; and as an example to the rest,

commanded four of the most guilty to be instantly hung up in his hall. The survivors, intimidated by the fate of their companions, gladly withdrew to their original obscurity.

The forces of Henry had been swelled by sixteen thousand Germans, levied by the viscount du Turenne, and were reinforced by four thousand English commanded by the earl of Essex: and the king of France, with an army of nearly thirty thousand horse and foot, laid siege to Rouen, the capital of Normandy. That city was defended with the highest intrepidity and skill by the Sieur de Villars; but there was little probability that he would be long able to resist so formidable a force, directed by so able a commander as Henry. The duke of Mayenne, alarmed at the danger of this important place, solicited the assistance of the king of Spain; and the prince of Parma was again commanded to enter France, and endeavour to preserve Rouen.

He began his march about the middle of December, and his army, when joined by that of the duke of Mayenne, might consist of twenty-five thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry. Henry informed of his approach, and unwilling to relinquish his hopes of a city which he daily expected would capitulate, left his foot to prosecute the siege, and with his horse advanced to retard the progress of the prince. But his ardour on this occasion precipitated him into a danger the most lively and imminent; having with four hundred horse outstripped the rest of his squadrons, he fell in with the van of the Spaniards, near the town of Aumale. These he charged and repulsed; and pursued his advantage till he deeply engaged himself with the adverse ranks; for some time he continued fighting desperately, till wounded in the reins, and the greater part of his companions killed by his side, he effected a retreat, which it would have been impossible for him to have accomplished, had not the prince of Parma, suspicious of an ambuscade, called off his troops.

The forces of the confederates, though incessantly harassed and repeatedly attacked, had now penetrated within two days march of Rouen, when they were surprised by the agreeable intelligence that the governor had availed himself of the absence of the king, sallied from the town, and destroyed the works and cut in pieces great numbers of the besiegers; marechal Biron himself, who commanded, was wounded, and Villars, who aspired to the glory of raising the siege without the assistance of the Spaniards, added, that if his garrison was reinforced, he expected to defend the town for several months longer. Though the prince of Parma was of opinion that he still ought to pursue his march, and attack the royalists before they had recovered from their confusion, yet he yielded to the counsels of the duke of Mayenne, and after detaching eight hundred chosen men to Rouen, he turned aside into Picardy, and invested St. Esprit de Rue.

A. D. 1592.] The king himself was no sooner informed of this resolution than he returned to press the siege of Rouen with redoubled vigour. The

loss that he had sustained was amply supplied by cannon and ammunition from the states of Holland ; and Villers, in a few weeks reduced to distress, was again compelled to implore the prince of Parma. That general immediately relinquished the siege of St. Esprit de Reu, and rapidly pressed forwards towards Rouen. Though Henry could not conceal his mortification at being thus obliged twice to abandon a place which he had daily expected to occupy, yet conscious of the inferior numbers of his own army, he retired from the inauspicious walls, and waited at Pont de l'Arche the return of his nobility ; who, on the former occasion, seeing no immediate prospect of a battle, had left his camp, and withdrawn to their respective provinces.

The prince of Parma, after entering Rouen in triumph, led his army against Caudbec, the reduction of which was thought necessary to complete the deliverance of the former city ; but as he marked in person the ground for the batteries, he received a wound in his arm from a musket ball. A fever attended the wound, and he scarce on his recovery had possessed himself of Caudbec, before he was sensible that his own army was exposed to a greater danger than that from which he had relieved the citizens of Rouen. Caudbec is situated in the peninsula Caux, formed by the Seine on the west, and the sea and the river d'Eu on the north and east ; and the king was no sooner informed that the prince had committed his forces within the narrow limits of Caux, than he prepared to efface by a signal revenge the memory of his former disappointments. The nobility at his summons had repaired with alacrity to his standard ; his army by their ready appearance was increased to seventeen thousand foot and eight thousand horse. He already possessed the towns of Eu, Arques, and Dieppe, which commanded the eastern entrance into the peninsula ; and after several sharp encounters, he occupied the defiles to the south, by which the Spaniards had entered. With more than usual precaution he fortified his camp against the despair of the enemy ; and the prince of Parma's health no sooner enabled him to reconnoitre the position of the royalists, than he was convinced no other expedient remained than to transport his troops across the Seine. To pass the broad and rapid stream of that river, with so considerable an army incumbered with artillery and baggage, and in sight of a vigilant and powerful adversary, appeared to the duke of Mayenne and the most experienced officers utterly impracticable ; but no difficulties could depress the bold and inventive genius of the prince of Parma. He collected from Rouen a number of boats and rafts ; he cleared by his cannon the Seine of the Dutch ships which occupied it ; he availed himself of the rising grounds between him and the royalists, which screened his motions from the sight of Henry ; he seized the favourable moment of a thick mist, and while his cavalry threatened a serious attack on the works of the enemy, his infantry, with the artillery and baggage, safely crossed the river ; they were rapidly followed by the horse ; and the rear was secured from loss or insult by two batteries which he had judiciously erected.

Henry had for several days flattered himself with the most sanguine hopes of gaining a decisive victory, and his mortification was in proportion to the confidence of his former expectations; his rival had again eluded his efforts, and possessed himself in his retreat to the Netherlands of Epernai, while the duke of Mayenne with a part of his forces had entered Rouen. The exhausted state of the king's finances had compelled him to disband the majority of his army; on the frontiers of Anjou the prince of Conti was defeated by the duke of Mercœur, a zealous leaguer, and a younger branch of the house of Lorraine; Epernai was indeed recovered by the royalists, but the acquisition was attended with the death of the marshal Biron, whose career of military glory was terminated by a cannon ball. On the other hand, in Dauphiné, Lesdiguieres, who had firmly attached himself to the fortunes of Henry, vanquished the duke of Savoy, and pursued him to the very gates of Turin: and the duke of Joyeuse, who commanded in Languedoc an army of seven thousand men in the service of the league, was routed by the royal troops under Themines, and miserably perished with the greatest part of his followers in the waters of the Tarn.

The league was induced by these disasters to solicit again the assistance of Spain, and the prince of Parma was once more commanded to march to the support of the Catholic cause. But the constitution of that able commander was already fatally impaired by the fatigues of fourteen successive campaigns—the wound which he had received before Caudbec had never properly healed, and while he applied with his wonted assiduity to hasten the necessary preparations for his expedition, his death deprived the king of Spain of a subject whose sagacity and penetration had reunited to his crown great part of the Netherlands, and delivered the king of France from a rival whose splendid military talents had so often baffled his best concerted enterprises. On his decease, the government of the Netherlands was committed to count Peter Ernest of Mansveldt, whose son Charles led a Spanish army of seven thousand veteran soldiers to the support of the league; and after, in conjunction with the duke of Mayenne, reducing Noyon, returned to Flanders.

A. D. 1593.] Philip had hitherto lavished his treasures and the blood of his subjects to keep alive the flame of war in France, but the progress of his arms had yet been attended with no permanent advantage, and he now endeavoured by negotiation to secure in his family the crown, the object of his ambition. His importunity had prevailed on the duke of Mayenne to assemble the states at Paris, and the duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, endeavoured to persuade the deputies to place Isabella, the daughter of his royal master, on the throne. Though even the most bigoted Catholics abhorred a measure which must have rendered France, in fact, a province of Spain, yet conscious they were unable to contend with Henry, unless supported by Philip, they studiously concealed their aversion, and expressed an affected solicitude in regard to the person whom the latter prince might name for his daughter's consort. The archduke of Austria, they unanimously rejected, and declared that they never would submit to her union with a foreign prince. The

young duke of Guise, the next object of Philip's choice, was endeared to them by the name and popularity of his father; but the duke of Mayenne beheld with secret disgust his nephew preferred before his son, while outwardly he professed the highest satisfaction at the proposal, he privately determined to traverse it; and insisted, both for the honour of the king of Spain and for the safety of the duke of Guise, that the election of Isabella should be deferred till an army was assembled sufficient to overwhelm her enemies, and to firmly establish her on the throne.

But while the king of Spain and the Catholic chiefs were bewildered in an endless labyrinth of negotiation, both were surprised by an event as important as it was unexpected. Henry had beheld with anxiety the assembly of the states, and dreaded the intrigues of the duke of Mayenne with the court of Spain. He perceived the religious prejudices of the Catholics were confirmed by a series of long and bloody hostilities; those who hitherto acted with him, had been deluded by the hopes of his conversion—their patience was now exhausted, and they publicly suggested the necessity of transferring their allegiance to the cardinal of Bourbon, the cousin of the king; desirous of delivering his people from the calamities of war, the humanity of Henry co-operated with his ambition; even the most distinguished of the Protestant leaders, and his favourite Rosny, afterwards better known by the title of the duke of Sully, exhorted him to consult the happiness of his subjects, and to relinquish a faith which he only could maintain amidst scenes of blood and devastation. In consequence of this advice, Henry invited the Catholic divines throughout his kingdom to come and instruct him in their religion; and after being present at several conferences, he professed himself satisfied with their argument, heard mass at St. Denis, read aloud his confession of the Catholic faith, and declared his resolution constantly to maintain and defend it.

A. D. 1593.] The conversion of Henry ought to have ensured the submission of his Catholic subjects—but the embers of civil commotion which had been awakened into life by the breath of religion, were now fanned by that of ambition; and the voice of the pope, which might have extinguished, still continued to nourish the destructive flame. Gregory the Fourteenth was indeed no more, and Innocent the Ninth, who with the power seemed to have succeeded to the implacable disposition of his predecessor, had also sunk into the grave. But Clement the Eighth, who had been elected to the honours of the pontificate, still refused to admit the ambassadors of Henry, or to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him.

The duke of Mayenne and the Spanish ministers, alarmed at the intelligence that Henry had entered the pale of the Catholic church, resumed their intrigues with redoubled vigour. They represented it to the people merely as a political device to evade the election of a Catholic prince; and they persuaded a number of their adherents to swear that they would not acknowledge Henry for king, unless his conversion was ratified by the pope—while at the same time they employed their influence to confirm the inflexible disposition of the see of Rome. Philip,

was now more sensible than ever of his error in connecting himself with the duke of Guise, a young nobleman of little weight, in preference to the duke of Mayenne; he ordered his ministers to acquaint that powerful leader, that on mature consideration he had changed his intentions, and was determined to bestow the hand of his daughter Isabel on his son.

But while Philip and the chiefs of the league endeavoured to fortify themselves against the increasing influence of the king of France, the hand of an obscure enthusiast, who earned a daily and slender pittance as a waterman on the Loire, was already prepared to extinguish their fears with the life of his sovereign. James Barrier, for such was the name of the unhappy bigot, had communicated his intentions to several of the most zealous ecclesiastics, who had espoused the party of the league, and their exhortations had confirmed his resolution; at length he revealed them to a dominican friar at Lyons, who, struck with horror at the crime, contrived to transmit to the king, with the picture of the assassin, an account of the atrocious deed he meditated. From the resemblance of the portrait, Barrier was discovered and apprehended at Meulan; and after confessing his guilt, and in vain endeavouring to impeach the count of Soissons as having stimulated him to the attempt, was executed as a traitor.

Though the enmity of the league was but little abated, their resources were in a great measure exhausted—they had solicited, and Henry had consented to a truce for three months—it was afterwards extended to six more—and the sweets of tranquillity which the people in this interval had tasted, rendered them still more averse to plunge again into the calamities of war. The description of scenes, clouded by anarchy, and where an independent interest was maintained in almost every different province, cannot fail of fatiguing the patience of the reader. The duke of Savoy was routed again by Lesdiguières, who also dispersed an army of three thousand Spaniards on the frontiers, and checked in Provence the arrogance of the duke d'Epemon; but Languedoc alone amidst the general distraction was exempted from the miseries which had afflicted the rest of the kingdom, and the prudence of the marshal Montmorenci, which had secured the peace of that province, was rewarded by the king with the sword of constable.

A. D. 1594.] In vain did the intrigues of the court of Spain and Rome endeavour to allay that satisfaction with which every honest Catholic in France had heard the news of their sovereign's conversion to the faith they professed. Lewis de l'Hospital, marquis of Vitri, had on the death of Henry the Third withdrawn himself from the present king, and was by the league entrusted with the city of Meaux. He had frequently, but in vain, importuned the duke of Mayenne to terminate by a peace the calamities of France, but no sooner did Henry abjure the Protestant religion, than he determined to follow the dictates of his conscience, and to return to his allegiance. He commanded his garrison to evacuate the town, and when he delivered the keys to the magistrates, "I scorn," said he, "to steal a place, or to make any fortune at other men's expence; I am going

“to pay my duty to the king, and I leave it in your power to act as you please.” This short, but animated harangue, was attended by the acclamations of the inhabitants, and the air resounded with “Long life to Henry the Fourth!” The flame of loyalty once kindled, soon imparted its warmth to the most distant parts of the kingdom; and the example of Meaux was followed by the cities of Pontoise, Orleans, Bourges, and Lyons, which shook off the yoke of the league, and acknowledged the authority of Henry.

The king determined to embrace the moment of returning prosperity to celebrate his coronation; Rheims was still in the hands of his enemies, and Chartres was preferred for that important ceremony. It was performed by Nicholas de Thou, bishop of that city, and was graced by the presence of the prince of Conti, and count of Soissons, with the dukes of Montpensier, Luxemburgh, Retz, and Ventadour: it was scarce accomplished, before a new event engrossed the attention of Henry, and while it dissipated the visionary projects of his adversaries, seemed firmly to fix the crown on his head.

The presence of the duke of Mayenne, and the terror of a Spanish garrison, had hitherto restrained the fickle disposition of the Parisians, and maintained the authority of the league; but the disorders of Picardy summoned the duke to that province; he had before deprived the count of Belin, whose inclinations he perceived to lean secretly towards the king, of the government of the capital, and now conferred it on Charles de Cossé, count of Brissac. That nobleman, impressed with an high and romantic respect for the commonwealth of Rome, the history of which he had diligently studied, entertained the singular and chimerical project of forming France into a similar republic. His designs had been received with cold contempt by the chiefs of the league; and alarmed lest on Henry recovering his capital, he should be involved in the fate of his favourite system, the spirit of the stern republican evaporated, and Brissac became only anxious for his interest and safety.

To secure these, he immediately entered into a negociation with the king, and on advantageous conditions agreed to admit the royal forces into the city of Paris. While the Spaniards were amused by the arts of Brissac, the new gate was opened to Henry and his army, who instantly possessed himself of the squares and principal streets. The Parisians received their sovereign with loud acclamations; the troops maintained the most exact discipline; and amidst the revolution, the city throughout bore the appearance of peace and security. The Spaniards alone, about four thousand in number, and commanded by the duke of Feria, still occupied the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin, with the Bastile and the Temple. These they diligently fortified, and declared their resolution, if attacked, to defend themselves to the last extremity; but from this desperate design they were soon diverted by Henry, who, unwilling to pollute with blood that capital which he had just recovered, permitted them to march out with all the honours of war.

The enemies of Henry, who had resisted his arms, were vanquished by his clemency. His generous spirit, superior to resentment, revolted at the idea of punishing those who were willing to submit; and he received his most inveterate foes with a degree of goodness and condescension, which for ever attached them to his service. Even the duchess of Montpensier, who had distinguished herself by the most indecent and public invectives, was admitted to his presence, and by his familiar conversation, he endeavoured to banish that confusion which she could not entirely conceal; Brissac, with a liberal pecuniary reward, was raised to the rank of marshal; l'Huillier, mayor of Paris, who had displayed equal, and more disinterested zeal, was preferred to the post of president of accounts; while a general amnesty dissipated the fears, and restored tranquillity to the anxious multitude.

Villars, who had defended Rouen with such distinguished skill and courage, soon after opened the gates of that city, and proclaimed Henry the Fourth. His return to his allegiance was recompensed with the dignity of admiral, and the government of the place he had surrendered: Cambray, which had been wrested from the Spaniards by the duke of Anjou, and by that prince had been bequeathed to Catherine of Medicis, was ruled with independent authority by Balagny, a French officer, whom the queen-mother had entrusted with the defence of it. The waning fortunes of the league recalled Balagny to a sense of his delicate situation, and he was conscious that he must seek a protector in the king of France, or of Spain; his partiality to his native country determined him to prefer the support of the former, and he acknowledged his dependance on Henry, on condition that under him he should be permitted to enjoy the sovereignty, with the title of prince of Cambray.

The duke of Mayenne, embarrassed by the rapid desertion of his confederates, again solicited the support of Spain, and though Philip could no longer flatter himself with the hopes of obtaining the crown of France, his implacable enmity to Henry, and his dread lest that monarch, when firmly established on his throne, should revive the pretensions of his house to Navarre, determined him still to keep alive the flames of civil war. He detached Charles count of Mansveldt with an army of twelve thousand men, to invade the province of Picardy; the count laid siege to the town of la Capelle, and before Henry could march to its assistance, the garrison was compelled to capitulate.

The king of France had assembled an army of twelve thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; and to indemnify himself for the loss of la Capelle, he invested Laon. That city, strongly fortified, and well provided, was defended by one of the bravest officers of the league, and animated by the presence of the count of Somerive, second son to the duke of Mayenne. Henry carried on his operations with his wonted ardour; and the duke of Mayenne, alarmed for the fate of the town, the most considerable that remained in his possession, advanced to the relief of it with the Spanish forces, the chief command of which Philip

had conferred on him; but his efforts were continually frustrated by the valour and activity of the marshal Biron, son to the celebrated commander who had perished before Epernai, and who now emulated the martial fame of his father. Mayenne, distressed for provisions, was at length compelled to retreat; but though harassed, and repeatedly attacked by the superior forces of the royalists, he maintained an undaunted countenance, repulsed by his conduct and courage the attempts of his enemies, and reached La Fère in safety; on his retreat, Laon, hopeless of succour, capitulated—the garrison was permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and Henry displayed his magnanimity by treating the count of Somerive with every mark of respect. A conduct so truly generous, could not but impress the enemies of the king with the most favourable sentiments; and the duke of Guise, mortified at the neglect of the Spaniards, and impelled by his admiration of Henry, reconciled himself to his sovereign, and delivered to him the towns of Vitri, Recroix, and Rheims.

The daily return of his subjects to their allegiance, and the expiring state of the league, inspired Henry with more vigorous counsels. He now publicly declared war against Spain, and entered into a treaty of alliance with the revolted inhabitants of the Netherlands, who, by the treaty of Utrecht, had laid the foundation of a free republic under the title of the United Provinces. While the allies pursued their joint preparations with diligence, the enemies of Henry again resolved to assail the life of that monarch; as the king in his apartments of the Louvre stooped to embrace a nobleman that was presented to him, he received a stroke from a knife that cut his lip, and broke one of his teeth; the composure of Henry dispelled the consternation of his friends—the assassin was immediately discovered and seized. His name was John Chatel, a scholar of the college of the Jesuits, to the influence of whose doctrines he attributed his atrocious attempt. Chatel was instantly consigned to the punishment due to his crime; father John Guignard, who was accused of having vindicated in his writings the right of the subject to attempt the life of his prince, was also executed; and the whole order of the Jesuits was commanded, on the penalty of death, to quit the kingdom of France.

A. D. 1595.] Henry, still more determined to prosecute the war, and to seek in camps that safety which was denied him in his own palace, entered the county of Burgundy, Dijon, the capital of which had already declared for him; but he had scarce possessed himself of Troyes, before he was informed that the Spaniards, commanded by the constable Velasco, and joined by the duke of Mayenne, had passed the Saone. At Fontain Frontoise, the confederates were attacked by Henry with his wanted ardour and impetuosity. At the head of eighteen hundred horse and foot, the king of France carried carnage and confusion through an army of fourteen thousand men; but had not the caution of Velasco resisted the importunities of the duke of Mayenne, the courage of Henry, nor the fidelity of his companions, could have prevented him from being overpowered by the numbers of his enemies; but the Spaniard, intimidated by the boldness of his assailants,

founded a retreat, left the king in possession of the field of battle, and early the next morning repassed the Saone. He thence pursued his march to the town of Gray, where, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the duke of Mayenne, he fortified his camp, and determined to remain on the defensive. But in Picardy the campaign opened with events less auspicious to France. The count of Fuentes, who had been appointed by Philip governor of the Netherlands, penetrated into that province, reduced Chatelot, and endeavoured, by treachery, to possess himself of Ham; his troops were admitted into the town, but the castle still resisted their attacks. Baffled in this enterprise, he pointed his march towards Dourlens, which he immediately invested. Sensible of the importance of that city, admiral Villars, with a body of select soldiers, advanced to reinforce the garrison. He was met, encountered, and overwhelmed, by the superior forces of the Spaniards, and perished in the field, with fifteen hundred of his companions, gallantly fighting to the last. Dourlens was soon after carried by assault, and the brave defenders of its walls, disdaining to ask quarter, were put to the sword.

The success which had attended Fuentes, served only to inflame him with the desire of farther glory. The situation of Cambray has been already described, and the Spanish commander determined to signalise his arms by the siege of that city. Balagny had spared no expence or pains in strengthening the fortifications of the place. The garrison amounted to three thousand foot and six hundred horse, and the town was well furnished with military stores and provisions. The principal officers of Fuentes represented to him the danger of wasting his forces in so arduous an enterprise, but he refused to listen to their remonstrances, and began his operations without delay. They were carried on with a degree of skill and vigour that even vanquished the resistance of de Vic, whom Henry had sent with a reinforcement to the assistance of the besieged. The inhabitants, disgusted with the extortion and insolence of Balagny, co-operated with the arms of the Spaniards, and opened their gates to the assailants; the garrison retired into the castle, but were soon compelled to surrender from the want of provisions. Cambray was again restored to the dominions of Spain; and the transient sovereignty of Balagny was extinguished for ever.

In the mean while the king of France crossed the Saone in pursuit of Velasco, and unable to draw the constable from his entrenchments, extended his devastations over Franche Comté. From the conquest of that country he was diverted by the powerful mediation of the Swiss Cantons; but the inactivity of the Spaniards awakened the jealousy of the duke of Mayenne, who at length determined to separate himself from allies he could no longer confide in.—His inclinations had already been intimated to Henry; but Mayenne still persisted in his resolution never to effect a reconciliation till that monarch had been absolved by the pope; Henry secretly suggested to him to retire to Chalons, a town still in his power, till Clement should relent; and assured him that no advantage should be taken in his absence of himself, nor of his adherents; the duke

had scarce arrived at that place, when the Roman pontiff, fully convinced that Henry was firmly established on his throne; absolved him in form from the censures that had been pronounced against him by his predecessors.

A. D. 1596.] The duke of Mayenne immediately threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, and vowed a fidelity which he ever afterwards inviolably preserved. The duke of Guise in Provence equally displayed by actions the sincerity of his submission; he surprised Marseilles, checked the arrogance of the duke d'Epemon, who had assumed the style of independence, and reduced that haughty chieftain to implore the clemency of his royal master. Henry himself, after his return from Franche Compté, had entered Picardy, and invested La Fere: the strength of the fortifications, and the number of the garrison, had determined him to relinquish his hopes of carrying it by assault, and to depend on the slow but certain effects of famine. The Spaniards, commanded by the archduke Albert, in whose favour Philip had superseded the count de Fuentes, abandoned the impracticable design of preserving La Fere, and formed the resolution of besieging some other frontier town which might compensate for the loss of that place. The sieur de Loné, a native of France, and a zealous officer of the league who had been refused by Henry the rank of marshal, represented the defenceless state of Calais, and urged the archduke to aspire to that important acquisition. Albert yielded to his suggestions, and entrusted the conduct of the enterprise to de Roné himself, whose bold and active genius, and distinguished skill in war, eminently qualified him for the undertaking.

To deceive Henry, the archduke still affected to meditate the relief of La Fere, and began his march towards that place, while de Roné suddenly turned to Calais with a body of select troops, and possessed himself, after a faint resistance, of the two forts which commanded the entrance of the town and the harbour. He was quickly followed by Albert and his whole army; the superior numbers of the Spaniards soon penetrated into the suburbs and occupied the town; and the castle alone resisted the arms of the besiegers. To reinforce the garrison of that fortress, Matalet, governor of Foix, had opened a passage for himself and three hundred companions through the lines of the enemy. But even this additional force was not capable of withstanding the attacks of the Spaniards; and Henry endured the mortification of beholding the banners of Spain displayed from the citadel of Calais, at the moment that he advanced from La Fere at the head of his cavalry to the support of the besieged.

Henry immediately returned to press the siege of La Fere, while the archduke, after repairing the fortifications of Calais, led his troops against the town of Ardres. The strength of that place, it was reasonably expected, might have resisted the arms of the Spaniards till La Fere had surrendered; and the garrison at first displayed their valour in repeated vigorous sallies; but no sooner had the troops of Spain possessed themselves of the suburbs, than the marquis of Belin, who commanded in Ardres, basely yielding to his fears, proposed to his officers to

capitulate. Though the proposal was rejected with disdain by the majority of the council, yet the marquis availing himself of his superior authority, offered to open his gates on condition that the garrison should march out with the honours of war; Albert readily agreed; and the capitulation was signed the day that preceded the surrender of La Fere.

From that place the king of France had rapidly pressed forwards with an army, swelled by the zeal of his nobility, and with the most sanguine expectations of raising the siege of Ardres. His hopes were clouded by the mortifying intelligence of the shameful capitulation of the marquis of Belin; with the approbation of his principal officers, he still however continued to advance to compel his enemy if possible to give battle; but Albert, after placing strong garrisons in the towns he had taken, and unwilling to hazard a decisive engagement with Henry, retired from the dominions of France into the province of Artois; and the king, after taking the castle of Imbercourt by assault, and making an ineffectual attempt on Arras, returned to his capital, and left marshal Biron, with a body of six thousand troops, to secure the frontiers of Picardy.

That enterprising officer did not long confine his operations to the cautious system which had been recommended to him. He entered the province of Artois, retaliated on that country the injuries of France, and spread the terror of his arms along the southern frontier of the Netherlands. The archduke had for some time been employed in the siege of Hulst, but no sooner had he accomplished the reduction of that place, than he detached the marquis of Varambon, with a considerable body of forces, to check the destructive progress of the French. Biron informed that the marquis was on his march to offer battle, advanced rapidly to meet him: his skilful evolutions confounded and vanquished his antagonist: the Spaniards deluded into an ambuscade, were routed with considerable slaughter, and Varambon himself became a captive to the French; the duke d'Arfehote, who was appointed to succeed him, and restore the honour of the Spanish arms, though he avoided the fate of his predecessor, was reduced to remain a spectator of the destruction of the country; which the cavalry of Biron still continued to insult and ravage till the approach of winter compelled them to retire.

The satisfaction which Henry derived from the success of his generals, was allayed by the factious and aspiring disposition of his nobles. The easy temper of the duke of Montpensier recommended him to the nobility of France as a proper representative to carry their injurious proposals to the throne. The duke, in an audience from Henry, studiously dwelt on the dangerous state of the kingdom, and the difficulties that still obstructed the re-establishment of the public tranquillity; he added, one measure still remained; to resign to the different governors the hereditary right of the provinces they presided over, and to require of them only homage and allegiance; the zeal and gratitude of these dependant princes would for ever attach them to his service, and the troops

they would constantly maintain for his support, would enable him to triumph over his foreign enemies. The king remained some moments in silent indignation; but no sooner had the emotions of anger and astonishment subsided, than he declared his resolution rather to submit to the most adverse fortune, than consent to a proposal that would fix an empty sceptre in his hand, and reduce him to the shadow of royalty. His reproaches awakened the duke of Montpensier to a just sense of his temerity; he implored the forgiveness of his sovereign; and by his future fidelity disconcerted the designs of those who had allured him to act a part so unworthy a prince of the blood.

A. D. 1597.] Joyeuse, who had quitted the habit of a monk to resume that of a soldier, now with the same facility deserted the declining fortunes of the league, opened the gates of Thoulouse, and returned to his allegiance to his sovereign. The duke of Nemours had already entertained the same intention, when his negotiations were interrupted by the stroke of death; his brother however continued the treaty that he had began, and reconciled himself to the crown; but while the king from these examples flattered himself with the hourly expectations of beholding the royal authority firmly established, his fortitude was severely exercised by an unexpected disaster that cooled the ardour of his newly acquired friends, and revived the fainting hopes of the league.

Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had lately submitted to the king of France, and the citizens, with their ancient privileges, had obtained an exemption from being garrisoned by regular troops; their subsequent conduct proved how unworthy they were of the honourable trust reposed in them. Of fifteen thousand inhabitants who were enrolled, only a few was employed as centinels and guards, and even those performed their duty in the most remiss manner. Their negligence had not escaped the knowledge of Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, an officer brave and enterprising, and who, encouraged by the vicinity of his situation, planned a scheme for surprising Amiens. With three thousand horse and foot he marched from Dourlens, and, concealed by the darkness of the night, reached at dawn an hermitage about a quarter of a mile from the capital of Picardy. Twelve of his most resolute soldiers, disguised as peasants, and with arms beneath their frocks, were sent forwards as soon as the gates of the city were opened; some nuts which they carried, and affected accidentally to spill, amused the guards; a waggon which they had driven, and intentionally stopt in the gate way, prevented the portcullis from being let down; they fell with fury on the astonished centinels, were soon supported by Portocarrero and his troops, who rushed forwards to join them; and after a feeble resistance, and a slaughter of about an hundred citizens, Amiens submitted to the arms of the Spaniards.

The loss of a city so strong, so well provided, and so near to Paris, struck Henry with consternation. Calais, one of his principal sea-ports, was already in the possession of Spain, and by their present conquest the forces of Philip might ex-

tend their incursions to the very gates of his capital. Though labouring under a severe indisposition, the consequence of his too licentious armours, the king renounced the care of his person, to provide for the defence of his kingdom; he determined to postpone every other consideration to the recovery of Amiens, and immediately ordered mareschal Biron to invest the town with whatever forces he could draw from the neighbouring garrisons, while he himself returned to Paris to provide the necessary supplies for the prosecution of this enterprise.

The abilities of the baron de Rosny, to whom Henry had entrusted the regulation of his finances, surmounted every obstacle, and replenished the exhausted coffers of his sovereign; the zeal of the duke of Mayenne was eminently displayed to second the efforts of a monarch whom he had so long opposed; the friendship of Elizabeth had reinforced him with four thousand troops; and the indefatigable industry of the mareschal Biron, jealous of the presence of the king, and ambitious of military fame, had already rendered the blockade complete, and rapidly advanced the siege, when Henry himself joined the army. Conscious of the haughty spirit of Biron, he suffered him still to retain the command: but though the besiegers carried on their operations with redoubled ardour and alacrity, yet the garrison disputed every inch of ground with incredible obstinacy; the death of Portocarrero, who fell in a desperate sally, diminished not their confidence; and the defence was conducted with the same skill and spirit as before by the marquis de Montenegro.

Henry already had struggled for five months with every difficulty that the experience or courage of the besieged could oppose, when he was at length alarmed by the approach of the archduke, who, at the command of Philip, with an army of twenty-five thousand men, pressed forward to the relief of Amiens, and appeared in sight of the French camp; the mareschal Biron, transported by his usual ardor, advised the king to accept their offer of battle: his counsel was opposed by the cautious remonstrances of the duke of Mayenne: "Sire," said he, "you came to take Amiens, and not to fight." Henry for once preferred the voice of prudence to that of glory; he kept within his intrenchments; the archduke, after ineffectually endeavouring to provoke him to action, retired to Arras, and resigned Amiens to its fate, which soon after surrendered to the French.

From the reduction of Amiens and insulting the province of Artois, Henry turned his arms against Dourens; the vigilance of Albert had already provided that city with every thing necessary to its defence, and the king had scarce commenced the siege before he repented his enterprise. The troops were harassed by the fatigues they had sustained before Amiens; diseases and discontents began to prevail through the camp; the works were retarded by a series of unfavourable weather; and the roads naturally heavy, by incessant rains were rendered impassable to the artillery; the king, convinced of his error abandoned the hopeless attempt; and after disbanding the majority of his forces, and leaving the cavalry for the defence of the frontier, he returned to Paris.

A. D. 1598.] The greatest part of the kingdom had acknowledged the authority of Henry ; but in Brittany the league still nourished the flames of sedition, and the fire was secretly fed by the counsels and influence of Philip duke of Mercœur, of the house of Lorraine. For two successive years that prince, while he professed the most profound respect for the throne, had maintained a proud and dangerous independence ; but the king, determined to extinguish these sparks of civil commotion, assembled his forces on the return of spring, and had already advanced to Angers, when his further progress was rendered unnecessary by the submission of the states of Brittany, and of the duke of Mercœur. The former expelled the Spaniards from the few towns they still held, and restored the royal authority ; the latter, while he employed the clemency of his sovereign, interested in his favour the fair Gabrielle d'Estrees, the favourite mistress of Henry. The duke offered to bestow the hand of his daughter, the heiress of the vast estates, on Cæsar, the natural son of that lady by Henry. The nuptials were celebrated with princely magnificence at Angers ; the submissive protestations of the duke of Mercœur were accepted ; and his former errors were consigned to oblivion.

The recovery of Amiens and the extinction of the league, opened the eyes of Philip to the vanity of those flattering dreams of conquest by which he had been so long deluded. His advanced age and broken health warned him of his approaching end, and he was unwilling to leave his experienced successor involved in a bloody and dangerous war. Peace on the other hand was no less desirable to Henry, and some respite was required to close the wounds under which his kingdom had bled for so many years. The meditation of Clement, and the common father of both princes, were accepted ; at the request of the Roman pontiff a congress was held by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain at Vervins, a town in Picardy ; though the queen of England and the states of Holland offered Henry the most effectual support for the continuance of the war, he declined, with every profession of gratitude, a system which he declared must end in the utter ruin of the kingdom ; and after several difficulties which the zeal of Clement was successfully employed in removing, Henry signed a peace by which he relinquished, indeed, his claims on Cambray, but obtained restitution of Calais, Ardres, Dourlens, and all the towns in France, that Philip had acquired at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

A. D. 1598.] The peace of Vervins had restored tranquillity to the subjects of France ; but the amiable qualities of Henry could not ensure that happiness in private life, that his courage and constancy had commanded in public. Previous to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he had formed a political union with Margaret, sister to Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third ; a princess who united all the virtues and vices of the family of Valois, from whence she sprung. The beauty of her person inspired passion and desire in the coldest bosom ; her genius and imagination were celebrated by all the poets of her time ; she sung and played on

the lute with exquisite skill; and in dancing no lady of the court was her equal; but so violent was her love of pleasure, that at twelve years old she had sacrificed to it her honour; Entragues, Charry, the prince of Martigues, and the duke of Guise, had been successively admitted to her most intimate favours, previous to her marriage with Henry; and mingling the fervours of religion with the excesses of dissipation, her hours afterwards were alternately occupied by enthusiastic devotion, and unrestrained sensuality.

While Margaret stretched her dominion over the multitude that admired and adored her, she had never been able to touch the heart of Henry, on whom, indeed, at the command of her brother Charles, she had bestowed her hand with extreme reluctance, and to whom her irregularities were no secret. That monarch, who had broken the formidable confederacy of the league, and affixed bounds to the ambition of Spain, was himself the captive of the fair. His character bore a striking resemblance to that of Francis the First, and he was always flattered and charmed by the comparison. Like Francis, he had early engaged in a variety of promiscuous amours; but for some time past his unlimited homage had been paid to the fair Gabrielle d'Estrees, on whom he had successively bestowed the titles of marchioness of Monceaux and duchess of Beaufort. Two sons and a daughter were the fruits of their illicit commerce: and Henry, desirous of establishing in his offspring the peaceable succession of the crown, even entertained thoughts of legitimating his natural children, and dividing his throne with the mistress of his affections.

A. D. 1599.] The queen, who for several years had resided at Usson, a castle in Auvergne, had already consented to the dissolution of a marriage, the effect of constraint; and the Roman pontiff readily listened to a measure calculated to promote the future tranquillity of France; yet both Margaret and Clement expressed the most pointed disapprobation, when informed that the duchess of Beaufort was intended to be raised to the vacant bed of Henry. The passion of the king would probably have triumphed over all opposition, and have placed the crown on the head of his mistress, when his fame was preserved from this degrading instance of weakness, by an event as decisive as it was unexpected. While the duchess of Beaufort, in the vigour of health and pride of beauty, feasted her imagination with the grandeur of royalty, the visionary prospect was dissolved by the hand of death. In the absence of Henry she was suddenly seized with convulsions, and expired a spectacle too horrid for description.

Henry, on the intelligence of her fate, abandoned himself to all the transports of sorrow; but that consolation, which was vainly proffered by the attention of his courtiers, he derived from time and the duties of his station. His ancient and inveterate enemy, Philip, was no more; but the latent embers of commotion, which still lurked in the bosom of France, required all the care of the monarch to extinguish. Previous to the peace of Vervins, he had endeavoured to secure the tranquillity of the Protestants by the celebrated edict of Nantz. It

granted to the reformed all the favours in which they had been indulged by former princes, and added a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honour; an establishment of chambers of justice, in which the members of the two religions were equal; and permission to educate their children, without restraint, in any of the universities. Yet even these liberal conditions could not entirely banish that jealousy which the Hugonots had conceived on the king's abandoning their faith; and already their intrigues had reached the ear, and awakened the vigilance of Henry.

On the death of the duchess of Beaufort, Margaret had professed an entire obedience to the will of her royal consort, and Clement had pronounced her marriage, as the effect of constraint, illegal and void; but the king was diverted from the immediate thoughts of a second union, by a passion for Henriette de Balzac, daughter to de Balzac Entragues, by Mary Touchet, the celebrated mistress of Charles the Ninth; to this lady Henry transferred that affection which he had so lately vowed to the duchess of Beaufort; he created her marchioness of Verneuil, and even delivered to her a promise of marriage; yet the moments allotted to pleasure, diminished not his application to business, and the intrigues of the duke of Savoy summoned him from the embraces of his mistress to the cares of a throne.

The duke of Savoy, emboldened by the late distracted state of France, had embraced the moment of civil commotion to possess himself of the Marquisate of Saluces. On the treaty of Vervins, he had agreed to submit his pretensions to the arbitration of pope Clement; but had constantly eluded a decision, which he was conscious must despoil him of the territory that he had thus daringly usurped. Trusting to the arts of negotiation, and the address for which he was eminent, he embraced the resolution of presenting himself at Paris, and treating with Henry in person. Though the king would readily have dispensed with, he could not decently decline, the honour of the proposed visit; and in a court, gallant, profuse, and splendid, the magnificence, liberality, and conciliating manners of the duke, soon attached to his interest the principal favourites and mistresses of Henry. The marchioness of Verneuil espoused his pretensions with ardour; but the mind of Henry was steeled against the importunities of that lady, by a just sense of the dignity of his crown, and by the remonstrances of his minister, the baron de Rosny, whose inflexible integrity was superior to all the allurements of corruption.

A. D. 1600.] After lavishing the immense sum of four hundred thousand crowns in presents to the rapacious minions of a court, the duke of Savoy retired from Paris, and prepared to assert by arms, what he had vainly hoped to have acquired by negotiation. He had indeed already entered into a close and secret connection with the marshal de Biron; but the military ardour and vanity of that commander could not be restrained by the interest of his new ally. The duke of Savoy in an instant beheld Bresse, Savoy, and Nice,

deluged by the forces of France; Miolans surrendered to the king; the baron de Rosny, whom Henry had appointed grand master of artillery, reduced Montmelian, a fortress which the duke had considered as impregnable; and St. Catherinē's, in the strength of which he equally confided, was, in the depth of winter, taken by the marechal de Biron. These successive disasters humbled the haughty spirit of the duke; and overwhelmed in the unequal conflict and deserted by the court of Spain, which had promised to support him, he resumed the thoughts of peace; and implored the mediation of the pope to extricate him from a war in which he had thus rashly engaged.

The ardent passion of Henry for the marchioness of Verneuil, and the misery that he had experienced in his former marriage, rendered him extremely averse to a second. The remonstrances of his ministers, and his concern for the public welfare, had reluctantly extorted from him permission to negotiate an union with Mary de Medicis, niece to the grand duke of Tuscany. Sensible of his irresolution, the commissioners on whom he had devolved this important trust, hastened to conclude it. Their zeal outstripped the wishes and expectations of Henry; and he heard, with mingled regret and surprise, that they had signed a treaty of marriage with that princess. His own honour and the happiness of his people allowed him not to retract; he hastened to Lyons to receive the hand of Mary; and whatever might be his private feelings, he discovered to his royal consort no emotions but those of respect and regard.

A. D. 1601.] The marriage of Henry was followed by a treaty with the duke of Savoy; who, disappointed in that assistance which he expected from Spain, and equally deprived of that aid with which he had flattered himself from the discontents of the factious nobles of France, found himself no longer able to support the unequal contest; for the marquisate of Saluces, which he was permitted to retain, he consented to cede to Henry the county of Bresse, an extensive territory on the banks of the Rhone, and to pay one hundred thousand crowns to defray the expences of the war.

Yet while the duke submitted to the arms of France, he did not relinquish the intrigues that he had entered into with the aspiring chiefs of that kingdom. The principal of these were the dukes de Bouillon, d'Epemon, and the marechal Biron. That celebrated commander, whose exploits eclipsed the military fame of his father, and who openly boasted that his arm had fixed the sceptre in the hand of Henry, had long secretly laboured to undermine the edifice that his valour had erected, and his blood cemented. Born for the camp, he delighted in war, and excelled in every martial exercise; but the restless foldier disdained the calm acquisition of science; and while he aspired to the highest honours of the state, was almost as illiterate as the meanest peasant. In action he was brave, indefatigable, vigilant, and abstemious; but with his armour he seemed to lay aside every virtue, and displayed a disposition, vain, envious, and arrogant; no revenue was sufficient to display his boundless extravagance; and

his fatal attachment to gaming, is reported to have swallowed within the compass of one year, the immense sum of 500,000 crowns: his correspondence with the duke of Savoy, had not entirely escaped the vigilant eye of Henry: and at Lyons that monarch had reproached him with his seditious designs. Biron affected frankly to confess the imprudence of his conduct. His professions of repentance, and his protestations of future fidelity, disarmed the indignation of his sovereign, mindful of former services. By a large pecuniary donative, Henry endeavoured to awaken his gratitude; and sensible that his active spirit could ill brook a life of indolence, he strove to divert him from the dangerous practices that he had engaged in, by appointing him, as first ambassador to Elizabeth, and afterwards to the Swiss Cantons.

A. D. 1601, 1602.] The birth of a son, while it afforded a source of domestic satisfaction to Henry, and opened to his people the pleasing prospect of a peaceable succession, served at the same time to quicken the designs of those, who, impatient of tranquil rule, associated in the most formidable cabals against the throne. The marshal Biron had no sooner returned from executing the commission that had been entrusted to him, than he resumed with redoubled ardour his ambitious projects; he entered into an alliance with the courts of Spain and Turin; he closely connected himself with the duke of Bouillon, who, by his marriage, had obtained the principality of Sedan; and united in his treasonable enterprise, Charles count d'Auvergne, grand prior of France, and natural son to Charles the Ninth. Haughty and supercilious in his natural demeanour, Biron now affected the garb of courtesy, and assiduously laboured to ingratiate himself in the hearts of the multitude. The improper nomination to ecclesiastical dignities, at the influence of the mistress of the king; the public neglect of the reformed, by a prince who had abjured their tenets, and who meditated their extirpation; but above all, the numerous imposts which were daily multiplied by the sovereign on an oppressed people, were the favourite topics of the marshal, and were industriously circulated by his adherents in factious murmurs through the provinces. The seditious vapour soon spread itself over the countries of Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Guienne, and Languedoc; the animated countenance of Henry was clouded with anxiety: gaiety and pleasure were banished from a court long distinguished by its superior gallantry and splendour; and the brooding tempest of revolt was foretold by every indication of suspicion and discontent.

The splendid prospect that Biron contemplated in the consciousness of his own military talents, and the power and influence of his confederates, were blasted by one fatal instance of misplaced confidence. La Fin, a native of Burgundy, and descended from a respectable family in that province, was distinguished by a disposition daring, indefatigable, and intriguing. He had insinuated himself into the favour of the marshal, and had been employed both by Biron, and the duke of Bouillon, in their most secret negotiations with Spain and Savoy; but he had lately regarded with jealousy the ascendancy which the

baron de Lux had acquired over the mind of his patron; and in a moment of disgust, he revealed to Henry the whole of a conspiracy, the wheels of which he was no longer permitted to direct.

The king read with astonishment the black scrawl, which contained the names of the most illustrious nobles of France. Some of these had actually embarked in the daring projects of Biron; others, by their known discontent, had afforded reason to expect they would join the standard of revolt, as soon as it was erected; and the remainder were probably added by the creative genius of La Fin, desirous of magnifying the importance of his perfidy: yet the danger was great and immediate; and the king determined to visit the different provinces of Poitiers, Limosin, and Guienne, to awe by his presence the seditious spirit of the people, and to obtain more perfect information of the schemes of the marshal. Each day convinced him that he tottered on the brink of a precipice; and after a short residence at Blois, he returned to Fontainebleau, determined to crush the infant conspiracy, before it was strengthened by the troops and treasures of Spain and Savoy.

On his return from Switzerland, the marshal Biron had retired to his government of Burgundy, and diligently applied himself to secure and strengthen the most important cities in that province. Confiding in the affection of the inhabitants, and in the fidelity of those to whom he had entrusted the command of the fortified places, he considered that country as an immediate retreat, should his designs be discovered before his confederates were prepared to support him; but of this resource he was deprived by an artifice of the baron de Rosny; under pretence of new-casting the cannon throughout Burgundy, that minister, as grand master, had obtained from the marshal the artillery which belonged to his government; but no sooner was these transported beyond the jurisdiction of Biron, than Rosny stopped the new, with which he had promised to replace them. The rage of Biron on this occasion broke forth in open menaces, and his suspicions were soon after awakened by intelligence of the private conference that La Fin had held with the king; but he suffered himself again to be deluded by that traitor's protestations that he had not betrayed him, and that Henry was by no means apprised of his designs. He was also conscious, that should his sovereign march against him, and declare him a rebel, he was no longer capable of resistance; actuated by the powerful motives of hope and fear, he obeyed the royal summons, and with his associate, the count d'Auvergne, repaired to the court at Fontainebleau.

The mind of Henry, on the arrival of the marshal, was suspended by the conflicting passions of gratitude and resentment. When he called to remembrance the former services of Biron, and the dangers they had shared together, his feelings drowned the stern voice of justice, and he determined to pardon the ambition of a man to whose valour he had been so eminently indebted; but when the calamities of civil war, from which the kingdom had scarce emerged,

presented themselves to his view ; when he considered the welfare of his people, and the infant state of his son, both endangered by the restless and turbulent disposition of Biron, the duty of a sovereign, and the affection of a parent, loudly exhorted him to consult the happiness of millions, by the sacrifice of one obnoxious person : yet he beheld the unhappy victim with tenderness and compassion ; and while he treated him with every mark of regard, he endeavoured in conversation, to lead him to a full confession of his guilt, and to justify the clemency that he still panted to exercise, by his sincerity and contrition.

Yet the friendly admonitions of the monarch could not bend a temper naturally stubborn and haughty ; encouraged by the assurances of La Fin, the marshal retained a fullen reserve, and assumed the tone of insulted integrity ; he persevered in declaring, that since the confession at Lyons, he had nothing to accuse his conscience with ; and Henry, fatigued with unavailing exhortations, at length resolved to give way to the course of justice ; marshal Biron and the count d'Auvergne were arrested as they withdrew from the king's apartment, and were conveyed to the Bastile. A commission was directed to the parliament to examine into their conduct, and the proofs of their guilt were clear and positive ; the very treaty with Spain, which Biron had subscribed, and which he firmly believed that La Fin had destroyed, was produced against him. His judges unanimously, though reluctantly, pronounced sentence of death. The intreaties of his friends prevailed on the king to change the place of execution ; he was beheaded in the court of the Bastile ; and, in his last moments, disgraced by alternate sallies of rage, and agonies of terror, the character of Intrepid, which he had acquired amidst the greatest dangers of war.

The count d'Auvergne had been involved in the same sentence as the marshal Biron ; but regard for the brother of his mistress, the marchioness of Verneuil, and respect for the last male descendant of the race of Valois, induced Henry to grant him not only his life, but also to alleviate the rigour of his confinement, and at length insensibly to restore him to freedom ; a clemency which the subsequent intrigues of the count repaid with the blackest ingratitude. Of the other conspirators, the principal threw themselves at the feet of their sovereign, who not only freely pardoned their imprudence, but even concealed from reproach their names ; the multitude found shelter in their numbers and obscurity—and the baron de Fontenelles alone, by a public and painful death, was doomed to atone for his treasonable intention of delivering the fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards.

It was not alone in detecting the dangerous designs of his foreign and domestic enemies, that the vigilance of Henry was exercised ; the internal administration of his kingdom claimed and obtained his unwearied attention. Regularity was introduced into the finances, by the integrity and industry of his favourite minister, the baron de Rosny ; new manufactures were established, colonies planted, commerce extended, and agriculture restored ; the rage of duelling

which had proved mortal to some of the most gallant spirits of France, was at the same time restrained by new edicts; but it could not be disguised, that the king, educated in camps, and impressed with lively notions of honour, too often sanctioned by his expressions that fatal practice which his laws were framed to repress.

1603.] The tempest of civil commotion, which had alarmed France, was also felt in England. The conspiracy and execution of the mareschal de Biron, were preceded by the presumption and fate of Essex, the favourite of Elizabeth; but though the queen, jealous of her authority, signed his final doom, she never could erase from her heart that fond partiality which she had ever evinced towards him. Oppressed by a sorrow which she affected to conceal, but which incessantly preyed upon her body, her frail constitution at length gave way to the emotions of her mind. During the latter hours of her life, the pride of royalty was overwhelmed by the torrent of returning affection; for several days she rejected all consolation, and even refused food and sustenance. The few words she uttered were all expressive of some inward grief that she cared not to reveal; and in the seventieth year of her age, she closed a reign of vigour, constancy, vigilance, and address, the victim of a romantic passion, scarce credible in a love-sick girl.

Henry, who had ever entertained the most profound sentiments of regard and respect for Elizabeth, and who had concerted with that princess the depression of the house of Austria, deplored the death of his old and faithful ally with a sincerity seldom found in royal bosoms. His close connection with England rendered it of importance to him to acquire a thorough knowledge of the disposition of her successor; and he dispatched the marquis de Rosny to congratulate James the First, who, by his succession to the throne, united the dominions of England and Ireland to those of Scotland; the feeble and temporising disposition of that monarch, could not be concealed from the penetrating genius of Rosny; always negotiating, and never daring to act, he suffered that power to become contemptible in his hands, which might have commanded the respect of the haughty Spaniard, and repressed the overweening arrogance of the house of Austria. Enamoured of peace, he considered the attainment of it as the only true object of a statesman's labours; and though he agreed with Rosny secretly to support the united states, in concert with the king of France, lest their weakness should oblige them to submit to their old master, yet that minister soon acquainted Henry, that he must not too implicitly depend on the exertions of a prince who continually expressed his dread lest he should be reproached as the abettor of rebels.

A. D. 1604.] Wearied by incessant importunities, the king of France consented to restore the Jesuits, and to demolish the pillar which had been erected to perpetuate the atrocious attempt of Chatel, and the dangerous principles of the order that he belonged to. But this fresh instance of the placable disposition of the sovereign, could not extinguish the embers of discontent which still lurked in his kingdom. The duke of Bouillon had deeply engaged in the conspiracy of the

mareschal Biron, and to avoid the storm which he beheld gathering, had retired to his principality of Sedan; he now resumed his correspondence with the court of Spain, and with the count d'Auvergne. That nobleman, unmindful of the clemency, which he had so lately experienced, involved in his intrigues his sister the marchioness of Verneuil, the favourite mistress of the king, and her father Francis d'Entragues, on whom Henry had bestowed the rank of mareschal, as the price of the promise of marriage he had imprudently given to the daughter. Their designs were detected and disconcerted by the vigilance of Henry. The marchioness of Verneuil was for some days confined to her house; but the passion of the man triumphed over the justice of the sovereign, and Henry soon flew to prostrate himself at the feet of the haughty beauty whose chains he found it impossible to break—D'Entragues, who had been condemned to lose his head, was indebted for his life to the charms of his daughter; and the protecting influence of the fair was even extended to her brother the count d'Auvergne, whose sentence of expiating his repeated guilt on a public scaffold, was commuted to the milder doom of perpetual imprisonment.

A. D. 1605.] But when the vigorous mind of Henry was not fascinated by the charms of female beauty, he well knew how to render his authority respected by his subjects, and to curb the wild designs of ingratitude and ambition. The duke of Bouillon for four successive years had evaded every summons to appear at court, and the king determined by his presence to humble that haughty subject, he directed his course through the counties of Auvergne and Limosin; and Bouillon, astonished at the rapid approach of his sovereign, and unprepared for resistance, ordered the governors of the different towns that belonged to him to open their gates, and disarmed the immediate resentment of Henry by the apparent sincerity of his submission.

A. D. 1606.] But Henry had scarce returned to Paris before he was justly incensed by repeated instances of the duke's restless and discontented disposition. It was with reluctance that he prepared to reduce by arms a man whom the Protestants looked up to as the chief of their religion, and from whom he himself had formerly received considerable services. But the present tranquility of his kingdom, and the success of the lofty designs that he began already to meditate, all concurred in prompting him to measures the most vigorous and decisive. With a train of artillery, which he entrusted to the command of his minister Rosny, whom on this occasion he created duke of Sully, and with a small but well appointed body of veteran forces, the king of France passed forwards to Sedan. To the last moment the vanity of the duke of Bouillon had suggested to him the language of resistance; but with the approach of danger, the haughty spirit of that nobleman began to subside; the insincerity of Spain he was too well acquainted with; and the Protestants, instead of arming in his defence, flocked to the royal standard; nothing now remained but to submit to a power with which it would have been madness to have contended; in the generous and clement disposition of his sove-

reign, he still found that resource which his obstinacy allowed him little reason to expect; the inhabitants of Sedan, with the duke, took the oath of fidelity to the king of France; a royal garrison and governor were to be maintained within the walls for four years; and Bouillon, after having so long defied, esteemed himself happy in escaping the vengeance of his prince on such favourable conditions.

The good fortune which attended Henry in public, preserved him also in private life. An unfortunate wretch, whom insanity had impelled against the life of that monarch, was disarmed by his attendants, and by the humanity of Henry was dismissed to gentle confinement, and to that care which his melancholy situation required. In crossing the river Neuilly, the royal carriage, by the spirit of the horses, was precipitated from the ferry-boat, and overturned in the middle of the stream; the king, the queen, the duke of Vendôme, and the princess of Conti, were exposed to the most imminent danger. They were rescued by the zeal and alacrity of their retinue; and Henry himself, after safely gaining the shore, plunged again into the river to extricate his consort.

A. D. 1607, 1608.] But while the multitude exulted at the safety of a sovereign whom they loved and revered, the royal bosom was deemed to experience those cares which invade with impartial misery the peace of the peasant and the prince. The queen, cold and reserved in her temper and manner, received with indifference, or repressed with disgust, the amorous assiduities of Henry. Her imprudent partiality to her Italian attendants, was regarded with indignation by that monarch; and his own licentious amours, his open connection with the marchioness of Verneuil, too frequently furnished just cause for reproach. The inmost recesses of the palace were disturbed by their mutual and incessant complaints. The happiness which Henry found not in the company and conversation of his queen, he sought in the familiar society of others; the arrogance of the marchioness of Verneuil had for some time past been insufferable; and the lively wit, the amiable manners of Charlotte de Montmorancy, the daughter of the constable, had insensibly stolen into his heart; yet he suffered not his passion, ardent as it was, and fatal as it probably afterwards proved, wholly to engross his mind. He renewed his ancient alliance with the United States of Holland; he assiduously cultivated the friendship of England; he successfully interposed his mediation between the court of Rome and the Venetians; but he declined the importunate solicitations of the Moorish inhabitants of Spain; who oppressed, and at length driven into exile by the mistaken policy of Philip the Third, in vain implored an asylum in the bosom of France.

The wisdom of Henry has been severely impeached in refusing the proffered accession of near half a million of industrious people, whose silent labours might have fertilised the barren and deserted plains of France, and repaired the fatal ravages which had been inflicted by religious commotion. The inclination of this unhappy race to prefer the former to the Catholic church, the persecuting spirit of which they had already experienced, might perhaps in some measure in-

fluence the mind of Henry, long since grown distrustful of the intrigues of the Hugonots; perhaps he was determined by the dread of precipitating those hostile designs which he secretly meditated against the house of Austria, and which were yet scarcely ripe for execution. A conjecture which is rather strengthened by the caution with which he continued to soothe the jealousy of the court of Spain, and the zeal which he displayed in negotiating a truce with the united states and the archduke Albert. The tranquillity of his kingdom was restored; the ambition of his nobles had been severely humbled; the magazines were filled with coffers replenished; order was introduced into his finances; discipline among his troops; and he beheld the moment rapidly approaching in which he might unfold the vast object of those immense preparations which alarmed or astonished all Europe.

A. D. 1609.] But while the power, the experience, and the reputation of the monarch filled his enemies with terror, the passions of the man too often exposed him to the censure and pity of his friends. Nor time, nor ambition could extinguish his fatal affection for Charlotte de Montmorency; secretly nourishing the destructive flame, he determined to bestow the hand of that lady on the prince of Condé, and by introducing her into his own family, at least to enjoy the satisfaction of her conversation. The marriage was celebrated without pomp at Chantilli, and it was the expression of the marchioness of Verneuil, "that the king had made this match to sink the heart, and to raise the head of the prince of Condé." The passion of Henry soon burst the bounds that his prudence had prescribed. His looks, his words, his actions, incessantly betrayed the ardent emotions of his soul; the fire that constantly consumed him could not be concealed from the prince, jealous of his own honour, and the fidelity of his wife. He desired leave to retire from court, and the peremptory refusal of the king served only to confirm the suspicions already entertained. His respect for his sovereign was overwhelmed by a lively sense of the injury intended; and after giving way to his indignation by the most pointed reproaches, he secretly prepared to escape with the princess beyond the limits of the kingdom, before the ungovernable passion of Henry had sealed his dishonour.

This design he executed with success; reluctantly accompanied by his wife, and attended by a few domestics, he eluded the vigilance of those who had been directed to observe him, and reached in safety Landreecy. The king received the intelligence of his flight with a transport of rage and grief that he was at no pains to conceal. He instantly dispatched Praslin, the captain of his guard, to demand the fugitives from the archduke; but Albret replied with becoming dignity, "that he had never violated the laws of nations on any occasion whatever; and that he would not begin with a prince of the blood-royal of France". He immediately supplied the necessities of the prince of Condé with liberality, appointed an escort to conduct him to Brussels, and assured him of his constant protection.

The personal security of the prince did not entirely shield him from the effects of Henry's resentment. After an ineffectual attempt to carry off the princess by force, at the command of the king the parliament passed an arret against the first prince of the blood, and condemned him to undergo whatever punishment the sovereign should please to inflict; with this judicial process the martial preparations of Henry kept pace; and the armaments which had been suggested by ambition were probably quickened by love. England, the independent princes of Germany, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, all readily associated in the design of humbling the house of Austria; the duke of Savoy consented to relinquish that country to France, on condition of receiving the duchy of Milan; while the majority of the Italian states professed that desire to accede to a confederacy, on which they flattered themselves with the hope of founding a permanent tranquillity. When to allies so powerful, and so firmly engaged by interest in the cause they had espoused, are added the resources of France in a disciplined and veteran army of forty thousand men, a treasure of forty millions of livres, and the high reputation and distinguished abilities of her king, it cannot be wondered that the astonishment of visionary statesmen have considered the force so far exceeding the object as even to have attributed to Henry the immense but chimerical project of forming Europe into one great republic.

At length the death of the duke of Cleves gave the signal for action; his dominions, which had been formed of four or five great fiefs, were claimed by the emperor, Rodolph, as supreme sovereign; and he instantly bestowed the investiture of them on the archduke, Leopold of Austria. But this arbitrary usurpation was disputed by the sisters of the late duke and their representatives; the duke of Brandenburg and Prussia, the count palatine of Newburg, the count palatine of Deux Ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw, were aroused by the secret and friendly assurances of France, to assert their rights by arms, and to implore the protection of Henry.

A. D. 1610.] The king readily listened to solicitations which he himself had suggested. The contested territories stretched along the frontiers of his kingdom, and he was not insensible to the dangerous vicinity of the house of Austria; interest combined with honour in prompting him to a speedy resolution; and both, perhaps, were stimulated by the secret but ardent motives of affection; the prince of Condé still boasted the protection of the court of Spain, and the absence of the princess had not allayed the flame that her charms had kindled in the bosom of Henry. That monarch declared his determination to lead an army to the support of his German allies, and to vindicate with his forces and treasures their pretensions to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. His road lay through the provinces of Flanders, and the archduke Albert, through whose country he demanded permission to march, unprepared for resistance, disguised his hereditary enmity, and answered in terms of respectful acquiescence.

The supine indifference with which the house of Austria affected to regard the combination of its most powerful and inveterate enemies, has given rise to a suspicion probably as destitute of foundation, as it is injurious to the honour of that family; and the subsequent fate of Henry has, by more than one contemporary historian, been ascribed to the perfidious and sanguinary principles which have disgraced the councils of Spain, and which but a few years since involved the destruction of the prince of Orange. With more reason the deadly stroke may be imputed to that fanatical fury kindled by a long series of religious commotion, and not extinguished by the fleeting years of tranquillity which had succeeded the peace of Vervins. Whatever might be the source of an event, which has been so variously related by the immediate spectators, and which seems at the moment it happened to have eluded the researches of the most curious and interested, it is our duty from the mass to select those circumstances only which can inform the mind and guide the judgement of the reader.

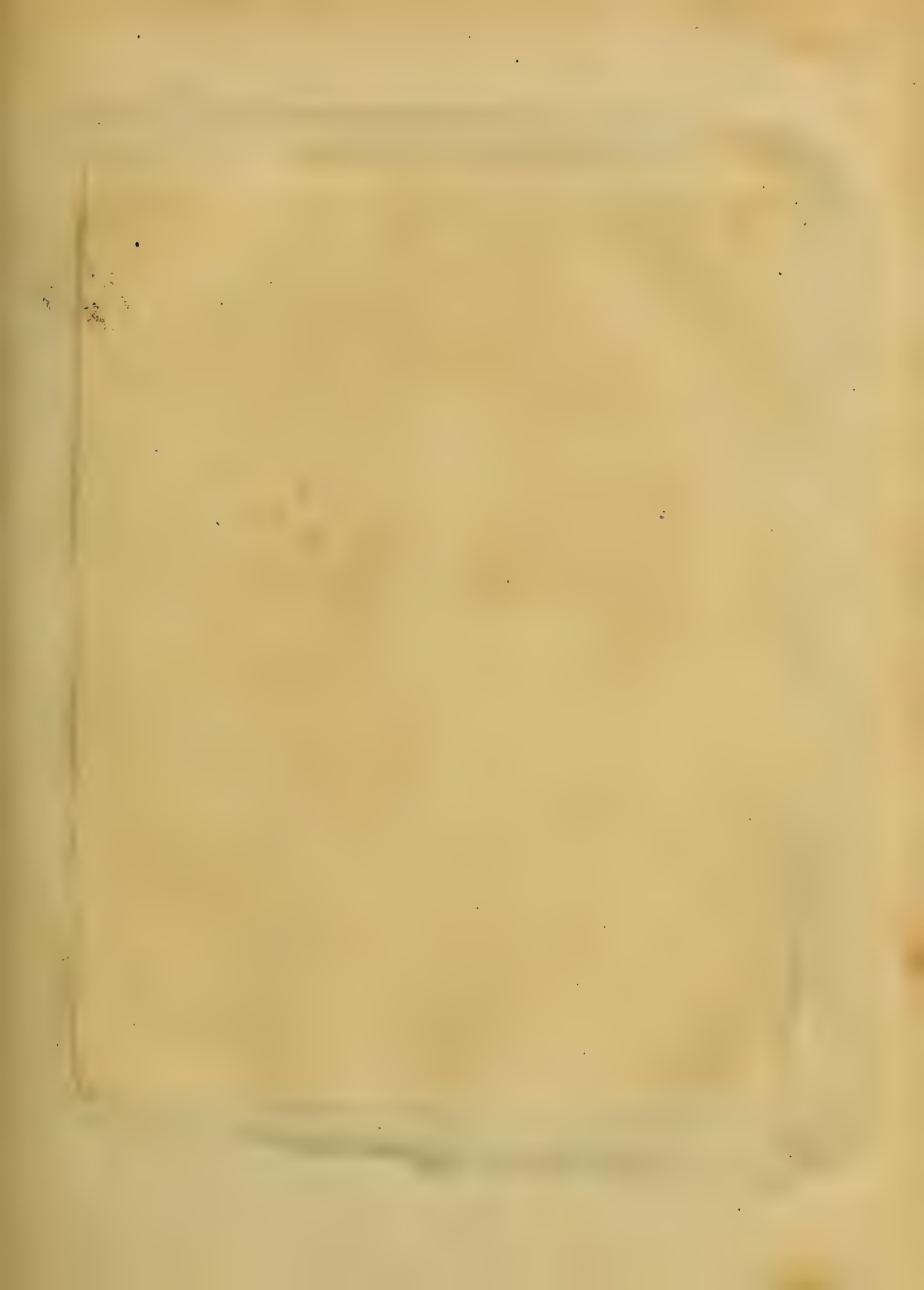
Amidst all his preparations, amidst the most flattering prospects of acquiring that glory which he had so long and so ardently panted after, the disposition of Henry was visibly impressed with a deep and settled melancholy. The blameable indulgence of the queen to her Italian attendants, had been often the subject of his open discontent, and he had more than once meditated the design of compelling the most obnoxious to repass the Alps. From this intention he was diverted by his confidential minister the duke of Sully; and in conformity to the advice of that statesman he endeavoured to gain on the cold and reserved temper of the queen by acts of kindness and attention. That princess had expressed her desire to be crowned before the king took the field; and Henry, though he regarded with disgust all pageantry and ostentation, had consented to gratify her wishes. The ceremony was performed on Thursday the thirteenth of May with the utmost magnificence; the next Sunday was fixed for the public entry of the queen, and on the Wednesday following Henry had determined to quit Paris, and to put himself at the head of his army.

But the final period of his life and greatness now rapidly approached; and while he meditated enterprises the most splendid and important, his own death was planned and executed by Francis Ravallac, a native of Angouleme. From that province the unhappy wretch had directed his footsteps to the capital; and after endeavouring to obtain a miserable subsistence as an obscure retainer to the law, he had attempted to procure admission among the order of Feuillants; but these rejected him as a wild and frantic visionary; and his distress had already reduced him to seek support by imploring alms, when he conceived the dark and desperate design of mingling the miseries of a nation with his own, by arming his hand against the sovereign of France.

Though the king had acquiesced in a ceremony which he constantly disapproved, and though he had endeavoured by the appearance of satisfaction to diffuse

through the court that joy which he felt not, his expressions but too clearly announced his gloomy presages of his impending destiny. From his confidential ministers and domestics he concealed not the load that pressed upon his heart; and "you will soon know how kind a master you have lost," was the incessant and mournful exclamation. The morning that succeeded the coronation of the queen had been destined for a visit to the arsenal; but the indisposition of the duke of Sully induced the king to postpone his intention: he had already passed a sleepless night, and with the return of light his apprehensions and inquietude seemed every moment to encrease. He attended mass, and prayed with unusual fervour; the pleasures of the table dissipated not his chagrin; and after a vain effort to compose himself to rest, he ordered his coach, and, accompanied by the duke of Epemon and Montbazon, the marshals Lavardin and Roquelaure, the marquises de la Force and Mirabeau, and du Pleffis Laincourt, his master of horse, determined to proceed to the arsenal; Vitry, the captain of his guards, was by his order dispatched to the palace to hasten the preparations for the queen's entry; and the carriage was only attended by a small number of gentlemen on horseback, and a few of the royal footmen. The curtains on every side were drawn up that the king might witness the zeal of his subjects in the various ornaments they had prepared. In a narrow street the coach was stopped by the accidental meeting of two carts; the majority of the attendants instantly took a nearer way, and two only were left; one went before to clear the passage, the other staid behind to tie up his garter. At this instant, as the king turned to read a letter to the duke of Epemon, he received a stroke from a knife; he had scarce time to exclaim, "I am wounded," before a second more violent, and more fatally directed, pierced his heart, and breathing only a deep sigh, he sunk back in the coach a lifeless corpse.

Thus perished, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-first of his reign, Henry the Fourth, whose virtues and talents have justly entitled him to the honourable distinction of Great. His accession presented to our view a kingdom disunited, and a nobility haughty and discontented, a commonalty clamorous and oppressed. The broken provinces of the state were cemented by his policy, the nobles were humbled by his valour, the commons were conciliated by his address, and relieved by his humanity. He first introduced order into the finances, and discipline into the armies of France; new manufactories were established at his command, and new colonies planted; and while he restored peace and plenty at home, he rendered his kingdom great and formidable abroad. The power of Spain was checked by his courage and conduct; and at the moment of his death he meditated designs against the house of Austria, which had they been successfully executed, would have finally precluded her from ever disturbing again the tranquillity of Europe. In private life he was a kind and generous master; a warm and tender lover, a polite and obliging husband; but the sincerity of the historian will not allow him to conceal those faults which he





LOUIS, XIII.

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cannot but regret; the passion of Henry for the fair, too often induced him to forget the prudence and dignity of the monarch: his ardent and guilty affection for the prince of Condé in the decline of life, cast a cloud over his meridian glory; and the warmth with which he pursued, and the indiscretion with which he countenanced the fatal rage of gaming, has been the subject of severe and general censure.

Though the confusion of the nobles who accompanied Henry allowed them not to ward the fatal blow, yet the moment their presence of mind returned, it was displayed in seizing the assassin, who still supported himself on the wheel of the coach, with the bloody instrument yet reeking in his hand, as if glorying in the atrocious deed. The prudence of the duke of Epernon preserved him from the immediate fury of the royal attendants, to perish by the most exquisite torments; while the same caution enabled him to quiet the tumultuous apprehensions of the populace, by declaring that the king yet lived, and that they were carrying him to the Louvre to have his wounds dressed. The crowd instantly gave way, the body conveyed to the palace, was laid upon a bed, and was soon deserted by the ungrateful many who had basked in his favour, but who hastened to prostrate themselves before the rising sun, and lost the recollection of former benefits in their eagerness to solicit new.

LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH.

WITH the life of Henry the Fourth were extinguished the great designs that he had meditated against the house of Austria; and France beheld, with grief and terror, the sceptre pass from his vigorous grasp to the feeble hand of an infant. Of his three sons by Mary of Medicis, the eldest, who now succeeded to the throne as Lewis the Thirteenth, was only in the ninth year of his age; and the two younger, though their birth might serve to strengthen the succession, could only be known by their different titles of dukes of Orleans and Anjou; but the queen, amidst the dismay of the court, wasted not the important moments in unavailing sorrow; and the affliction, if any, that she felt on the loss of Henry, was swallowed up by the more interesting care of obtaining the regency. Her ambition was gratified by the ready acquiescence of the parliament; and in her person were united the administration of the kingdom, and the guardianship of her son.

The first moments had been employed in the acquisition of power, the next were devoted to revenge. The wretched Ravaillac, whose guilty hand had precipitated the untimely death of Henry, was drawn from his cell, to perish by the most exquisite torments. His bones were broken by the arm of the executioner; his flesh were torn by hot pincers; scalding lead and oil were poured upon his wounds; and his mangled body, still sensible, was delivered to be dismembered by four horses; the stubborn frame resisted their utmost efforts; the indignant multitude, whose thirst of vengeance could no longer be restrained, rushed through the guards—in an instant they put an end to his misery, by tearing him in pieces; and with barbarous joy they dragged his limbs in frantic triumph through the streets. Amidst every mark of ingenious cruelty inflicted by public justice, or private hatred, he still maintained, with constancy, the declaration, “that impressed with the idea that the armaments of Henry were destined against the Catholic church, and the successor of St. Peter, he alone had planned, he alone was privy to the deed, to the just horror of which he was now awakened—and which he hoped in a future world, the torments he had suffered here, would in some measure expiate.”

On the first intelligence of the death of Henry, the prince of Condé quitted his retreat in the territories of Spain, and hastened to urge his pretensions to the regency as first prince of the blood. A splendid pa'ace, a considerable sum of money, and a pension adequate to his dignity, were temptations that his necessities allowed him not to resist; while the discontent of the count of Soissons was appeased by the important government of Normandy. The former ministers of the crown, who had served with fidelity, and who were recommended by their experience, were received with coldness, and listened to with evident disapprobation; the queen abandoned herself, without reserve, to her fond partiality for her Italian adherents; Conchini, a native of that country, and of obscure extraction, had increased his influence by a marriage with Leonora Galigni, the favourite of the regent, and their united counsels ruled France and their mistress with absolute sway. The marechal de la Chatre, with a detachment of twelve thousand men, had effected a junction with prince Maurice of Nassau, penetrated into Germany, and restored the duchy of Juliers to the marquis of Brandenburg, and the count Palatine of Newburgh; but the court, as if fatigued with this instance of vigour, again sunk into supineness; and the duke of Savoy, betrayed and deserted, was happy to escape the chastisement of Spain, by the most degrading and humiliating concessions.

A. D. 1611.] The duke of Sully, austere and inflexible, and who confiding in his integrity, disdained the arts of courts, found that sincerity, which had been esteemed by Henry, no longer acceptable; he indignantly retired to the estates which he had purchased through the bounty of the late king, and resigned his offices of governor of the Bastile, and superintendent of the finances; but the reformed, who still confided in him, notwithstanding the intrigues of the duke of

Bouillon, exhorted him to retain his government of Poitou, and his post of master of the ordnance. Each day revealed the ascendancy of Conchini, who endeavoured to remove from the eyes of the people the unpopular circumstance of foreign birth, by assuming the title of marquis of Ancre. The death of the duke of Orleans, whose title devolved on his younger brother the duke of Anjou, did not interrupt the negociations which the queen and her ministers eagerly pursued with the court of Spain. Instead of attempting to repress the dangerous ambition of the house of Austria, the regent, to establish her authority, determined closely to connect herself with that family; and while the young king was contracted to the Infanta, the hand of his sister, the princess Elizabeth, was engaged to the prince of Asturias.

A. D. 1612.] While the princes of the blood concealed not their disgust at the influence of the marquis of Ancre, the reformed, in the union with the court of Spain, dreaded the revival of former persecutions. The duke of Rohan, son-in-law to the duke of Sully, seized the strong town of St. Jean d'Angeli, the government of which had been promised to him by the deceased king; in excuse for the enterprise he alledged, that the court, at the representations of the duke of Bouillon, had removed the mayor, who was attached to his interest, and appointed another, wholly at their own devotion; the queen, to quench the embers of revolt, consented to restore the former officer—and the death of the count of Soissons, which happened soon after, left the prince of Condé without a guide, who again reconciled himself to the marquis of Ancre.

The duke of Bouillon had been dispatched to England to remove the jealousies which James might entertain at the late union between France and Spain, and to propose a marriage with the princess Christina, the second daughter of Henry, and the eldest son of the king of England; but the prince of Wales unfortunately expired in the dawn of manhood, when his talents and virtues had awakened the expectations of his country; and the duke of Bouillon availed himself of the opportunity to negotiate the nuptials of his own nephew, the elector Palatine, with the princess Elizabeth, daughter to James; a marriage, which probably prompted the elector to his enterprise against the kingdom of Bohemia; and which after plunging his posterity in a long series of abject distress, by the union of the princess Sophia with the house of Hanover, finally transferred the sceptre of England to that family.

A. D. 1613.] The death of Francis, duke of Mantua and marquis of Montferrat, without male offspring, rekindled the ambition of the duke of Savoy. He disputed in arms, the succession of the cardinal of Mantua, the brother of the deceased prince, to the marquisate. His liberality attached to his cause a considerable number of the nobility, and his forces, like a torrent, deluged the contested country, and swept before him all opposition to the very gates of Montferrat. That city consented to receive the victor; and Casal alone, encouraged by the presence of the duke of Nevers, held out for the cardinal. At the supplicating

voice of her kinsman and ally, the queen of France prepared to chastise the temerity of the invader. Spain and the Venetians, embraced, with rival ardour, the support of the cardinal; the duke of Savoy, in his turn, was averwhelmed by the numbers and resources of so formidable a confederacy; he was reduced to abandon his conquests with the same rapidity he had acquired them; and esteemed himself happy in obtaining a peace, by acknowledging the pretensions of the cardinal to the territories of his deceased brother.

A. D. 1614, 1615.] Whatever might be the success of France abroad, at home, her annals for four successive years, present a dreary prospect of uninteresting anarchy and barren discord. The princes of the blood, insatiate of power, and the nobles turbulent and discontented, repeatedly erected the standard of revolt against the regal authority; as frequently, with contemptible levity, they courted the returning friendship of a court, whose timed counsels were content to soothe without presuming to repress their capricious arrogance. It was amidst these incessant alarms and desultory hostilities, that the king, who had been declared of age, concluded the double marriage with Spain, and received at Bourdeaux the hand of Anne the Infanta.

A. D. 1615, 1616. From the celebration of that ceremony, Lewis pursued his march, at the head of a small, but well-disciplined army, to reduce the prince of Condé, and to impress his subjects with favourable sentiments of his courage and activity. The approach of the winter suspended the operations of the contending parties, who, while they rejected all terms of accommodation, seemed studious in every enterprise, to avoid the effusion of blood; with the return of spring, the royal forces again assembled, and were again animated by the presence of their sovereign; but when his subjects daily expected the effects of that military ardour which had thus early transported him to a camp, they were surprised by the intelligence that he had subscribed a peace, and had submitted to the demands of those princes, whom he had so lately declared traitors to his throne.

The fatal councils of the marquis of Ancre had influenced a measure so degrading to the royal authority; the alternate persecutor and protector of the princes of the blood, he dreaded a war, which, if successful, could add but little to his power, and if unsuccessful, must be attended with his ruin. In the field, he well knew the king would be exposed to the ready access and suggestions of the nobility, jealous of the superior fortunes of a favourite, whom they hated and despised; the partiality of the queen had invested him with the dignity of marshal; but this new rank had only increased the envy of his competitors, and the detestation of the public. He languished to return to Paris, that by the ascendancy of his wife, over the mind of Mary, he might secure himself from the hostile practices of his enemies.

His return to court exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The queen, though no longer legally invested with the authority of regent, still appeared to maintain her influence over her feeble son, and was herself devoted to the will of

the marshal and his consort. With lavish hand he dissipated those treasures which had been amassed by the ambition of Henry; and the unwearied frugality of Sully; new titles were invented, and new posts were created to gratify the pride, or the avarice of his dependants; the ancient servants of the crown were dismissed, and their places were supplied by the creatures of his pleasure. At length, inflated with prosperity, and no longer able to endure a rival, even in the first prince of the blood, he prevailed on the queen to arrest the prince of Condé, who had presumed to menace him with his indignation.

The imprisonment of that prince in the Bastille, awakened from their dream of security, the dukes of Vendôme, Mayenne, Nevers, and Rohan, with a splendid train of nobility, who hastily retired from court, and prepared by arms to deliver themselves from the oppression of the favourite; the public discontent was increased by the dismissal of Villeroy, grown grey in the service of Henry the Fourth, from the office of secretary of state, and by the promotion of the bishop of Luçon, since known as the celebrated cardinal Richlieu. The vigour that the court displayed was most probably the effect of the new minister's counsels; three armies, levied with diligence, immediately appeared in the field to support the royal authority; the first in Champagne, commanded by the duke of Guise, reduced Chateau, Porcien, and Rethel; the second, which acted in the Nivernois, and was conducted by the marshal Montigny, defeated and took prisoner the second son of the duke of Nevers; the third was entrusted to the count d'Auvergne, whom the queen had drawn from the long confinement to which he had been sentenced by Henry, and now placed at the head of the royal forces in the Isle of France. Age and misfortune had not extinguished the youthful vigour of that restless noble. He surprised and dispersed the scattered bodies of the confederates, and invested in Soissons the duke of Mayenne, son to the renowned chief of the league. The walls of that place could not long have resisted his ardour; and he had already prepared to give the signal for a general assault, when the duke of Mayenne was preserved from the destruction that impended over him, by an event as unexpected as it was decisive.

While the marshal of Ancre, elated at the prospect before him, gave loose to a temper naturally rash and vindictive, his capricious jealousies and unbridled arrogance precipitated on his own head the ruin that he meditated against his enemies. He had placed about the person of the young king a gentleman of the name of Luines, who insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Lewis, by his unwearied assiduities, and the ardour with which he planned and partook of his childish amusements; but while the thoughts and hours of this new favourite seemed occupied by sports and pleasures the most frivolous, he in private nourished an ambition above his rank and station. The marshal had repulsed, with contempt, his offer of alliance by uniting his brother to the niece of Ancre; and Luines, not insensible of the suspicious disposition of the Florentine, determined to provide for his own safety, by the destruction of a man whom from that moment he secretly considered as his implacable enemy.

In the unguarded hours of familiarity, he impressed Lewis with a lively dread of the dangerous designs of the aspiring Italian; he represented to him that his father, Henry the Fourth, had ever regarded, with peculiar aversion, the influence of the mareschal, and Leonora, over the mind of the queen. That he had only been prevented by the tears of his consort, from compelling them to repass the Alps; that the evils which he had foreseen from their ascendancy over that princess, were now realised: the first prince of the blood was imprisoned; the principal nobility were banished from court; and the kingdom was plunged into the calamities of civil war, to satiate the revenge, or sooth the arrogance of a supercilious foreigner. That while this insolent minion disposed at pleasure of every employment of trust and importance, the sovereign himself was little better than a captive to the queen and the mareschal; and the avowed preference and attachment of the former to his younger brother the duke of Orleans, ought to inspire him with sentiments of prudent distrust.

A. D. 1617.] The tender years of Lewis were already distinguished by that jealousy of the royal authority which afterwards became the prominent feature of his character. He listened attentively to the repeated suggestions of Luines, and at length imparted his resolution to achieve his own deliverance, and to extinguish the torch of civil commotion by the death of the mareschal. With the concurrence of Lewis, Luines exacted an oath from Vitri, the captain of the guard, to execute whatever the king should command. He then disclosed to him the royal orders to arrest the mareschal D'Ancre, and Vitri having associated in the enterprise his brother Hillier, his brother-in-law Persan, and a few more friends, on whose courage and fidelity he could rely, prepared to execute the will of his sovereign.

While the conspirators were engaged in concerting their measures, the queen was confidentially admonished to dismiss her Italian favourites, whose insolence must involve in their ruin her own influence; and Leonora was exhorted to consult her safety by a prudent and timely retreat; the natural timidity of her sex inclined her to embrace the counsel that was offered; but the mareschal indignantly rejected the alternative, and declared that he would never desert that fortune which hitherto had constantly accompanied him. On the morning fixed for his destruction, he had entered the Louvre, surrounded by forty gentlemen who derived their support from his liberality: he was earnestly engaged in reading a letter, when the captain of the guard and his friends appeared; the retinue of Ancre, imagining they preceded their royal master, gave way; and Vitri, advancing to the mareschal, arrested him in the name of the king. In a moment of astonishment and indignation he laid his hand on his sword; this mark of resistance was the signal of his destruction. The command of Vitri to kill him was instantly obeyed; and three pistols, discharged with unerring aim, extended the mareschal lifeless on the ground.

The presence of the king at a window which overlooked the bloody scene, repressed the ineffectual zeal of Ancre's adherents; his son, the marquis de Pene, and his wife, the unfortunate Leonora, were immediately secured. A judicial process was commenced against the latter; her estates were confiscated, and she was condemned to expiate with her life, a crime that existed only in the malice, or ignorance of her persecutors. She was charged, and pronounced guilty of having fascinated the affection of the queen by magical arts; but the constancy with which in her last moments she endured the severest tortures, commanded the admiration, though it disarmed not the rage of her relentless enemies.

The destruction of her favourites was attended by the disgrace of the queen-mother herself; that princess, divested of her guards, and the ensigns of royalty, was permitted to retire to Blois. The power which had been occupied by Ancre was transferred to Luines; the dignity of marshal was conferred on Vitri; his brother Hillier was raised to the vacant post of captain of the guards; and the bishop of Lucon was compelled to resign the seals of secretary of state; which he had so lately received.

While the duke of Mayenne, hopeless and deserted, anticipated in his terrors the punishment of unsuccessful rebellion, he was agreeably surprised by the intelligence that the marshal d'Ancre was no more, and that the king had been pleased to approve his conduct, as originating in zeal for the public welfare. The gates of Soissons were thrown open to the royal forces, and the count d'Auvergne entered as a friend, that city which he had so lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. The dukes of Vendôme, Nevers, and Rohan, also hastened to court to throw themselves at the feet of a sovereign whose justice had extinguished the object of their enmity; and while they loaded with reproaches the memory of the former, they laboured to acquire, by their assiduities, the friendship of the present favourite; the birth of Luines rendered him desirous of ennobling his obscure extraction by an illustrious alliance; the sister of the duke of Vendôme, and the natural daughter of Henry the Fourth, first presented herself to his aspiring hopes; but he dreaded the revival of that envy, which had proved so fatal to the marshal d'Ancre; and contented himself with soliciting the hand of the daughter of the duke of Montbazou; who with pleasure consented to receive as his son-in-law the favourite of the king.

While the destructive flame of civil commotion preyed upon the vitals of France, the duke of Savoy was exposed to the formidable arms and restless ambition of Spain. The marshal duke de Lesdiguières flew to the succour of that prince, whom formerly he had encountered with equal ardour. The commands of the queen-mother could not restrain him from an enterprise in which the glory and interest of his country were deeply concerned. The late revolution suspended his operations for a moment, but on the destruction of the marshal d'Ancre he resumed them with the sanction of the royal authority. In successive engagements the troops of Spain were defeated by a veteran who joined

the fire of youth to the experience of age ; and at that instant he prepared to carry his victorious arms into Milan, and render Italy once more the theatre of war, his triumphant career was stopped by the intelligence of a peace, which Spain, baffled and humbled, had condescended to propose, and which the exhausted coffers of the duke of Savoy had induced him to accept.

A. D. 1618.] The favourite, who had obtained from the partiality of his sovereign the title of duke of Luines, endeavoured, by every method that policy could suggest, firmly to establish his dominion over the mind of his royal patron ; at the same time he assiduously courted the general opinion ; to ingratiate himself with the people, he assembled the states of Rouen, and abolished the most burdensome imposts ; to conciliate the princes of the blood, he appeared zealous in his solicitations to procure the freedom of the prince of Condé, and by a dextrous application to the interests of individuals, he converted the reproachful clamours of his most formidable opponents into professions of esteem. The duke of Mayenne was gratified with the government of Guienne, wrested from the prince of Condé ; the marshal Ornano was appointed to that of Normandy ; and the duke of Luines reserved to himself the isle of France, the situation of which allowed him to exercise the duties of a governor, without neglecting the arts of a courtier.

Yet amidst every precaution that prudence could dictate, amidst the splendour of a fortune that was envied by millions, the restless hours of the favourite were constantly haunted by the dread of the returning influence of the queen-mother. Exiled and encompassed at Blois by hollow friends and open enemies, that princess was still formidable. She entered into a correspondence with the duke d'Epernon, who had quitted the court in disgust, and maintained in the city of Metz a fullen independence. He readily listened to the advances of the queen-mother, whose partiality he had formerly experienced, and whose deliverance he engaged to achieve. At the head of an hundred horse, whose fidelity he could depend on, he suddenly quitted Metz, and rapidly advanced to Blois ; Mary, informed of his approach, eluded by a ladder of ropes the vigilance of her guards ; and descending from a window, escaped to the protection of Epernon, who conveyed her safely into Angoulême, at the critical moment that the court had determined to commit her a close prisoner to the castle of Amboise.

A. D. 1619.] On the first intelligence of the flight of the queen, the king and his favourite abandoned themselves to menaces the most harsh and violent. An hundred thousand men were destined to chastise the temerity of the duke d'Epernon, and the royal forces were commanded to assemble on every side to recover the fugitive princess, and to overwhelm her presumptuous protector ; but with the return of reason Lewis was awakened to the infamy of arming against his mother ; and the duke of Luines was sensible that the public voice would attribute to his councils a war unnatural and odious. On the other hand, the duke d'Epernon beheld himself disappointed in the supine indifference of the nobles, from

which no exhortations either of his own or his royal ally could arouse them; he was sensible that alone and unsupported, he must soon sink in the unequal conflict; yet though both parties sincerely wished for peace, the negotiations were slow and indecisive. To quicken these, the duke of Luines recalled the bishop of Lucon, whom he had banished from the side of the queen-mother, to Avignon. That prelate, whose commanding genius was already discerned amidst the clouds of faction, was peculiarly acceptable to Mary; though the duke d'Epemon at first regarded him with jealousy, the address and insinuating manners of Richlieu, soon dissipated his suspicions, and ensured his confidence. His influence again established that tranquillity which was so earnestly desired. The queen-mother by the treaty of Angoulême was restored to liberty, and indulged in the privilege of changing the seat of her residence at pleasure; in lieu of the government of Normandy, she received that of Anjou, with the castles of Angers, Pont de Ce, and Chinon. Her adherents were reinstated in their posts and appointments; but on this occasion Richlieu himself displayed the features of honourable disinterestedness, and amidst the various articles that he stipulated, seems alone to have neglected his private advantage.

A. D. 1619, 1620.] That discord which interrupted the repose of France, was diffused more widely, and with more bloody rage through the several principalities of Germany. The opposition to the house of Austria was inflamed by religious enthusiasm; the states of Bohemia having taken arms against the emperor Mathias, continued their revolt against his successor Ferdinand the Second, and claimed the observance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, along with the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution. The surrounding principalities, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Austria, and the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and each in their turn experienced the horrors and calamities of a civil war.

Ferdinand, bold and haughty, disdained to conciliate by lenient measures those disaffected spirits he aspired to chastise by arms. With the assistance of his own subjects, who professed the ancient religion, and the alliance of the neighbouring Catholic princes, he beheld his armies swelled by the accession of the Protestant elector of Saxony, by the rapid cavalry of Poland, and the firm and veteran infantry of Spain. To resist so formidable a confederacy, the states of Bohemia determined also to implore the protection of foreign powers, and they cast their eyes on Frederic, elector palatine; who as son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces, might from his own ample dominions, and the greatness of his connections, be able to defend the Protestant cause and the liberties of Bohemia from the hostile enterprises of the house of Austria.

The elector palatine, stimulated by the fire and ambition of youth, accepted the crown which the distress of the states had proffered, and marched into Bohemia to the support of his new subjects. But his rash resolution was disapproved by

James and Maurice; and the former restraining the ardour of his people in the cause of Frédéric, and impressed with an exalted idea of the rights of kings, refused to countenance the revolted subjects of the house of Austria. The elector, defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, fled with his family into Holland; and Spinola entering the palatinate, notwithstanding the efforts of some Protestant princes of Germany, and a gallant band of English volunteers, commanded by the brave sir Horace Vere, in a short time made himself master of the greatest part of that principality.

In France the power and favour of the duke of Luines seemed daily to increase; yet the queen-mother, though all her demands had been gratified by the late treaty, still refused to appear at court, and nourished in discontented security, at the castle of Angers, the seeds of revolt. To fortify himself against her influence, Luines had restored the liberty, and laboured to engage the gratitude of the prince of Condé. But the dread that union might have inspired was balanced by the jealousies of the reformed, by the murmurs of the people at new imposts, and by the envy of the nobility, who could ill brook the fond partiality of the king, and the insulting grandeur of his favourite. The duke of Mayenne retired to his government of Guienne; the count of Soissons, the dukes of Vendôme, Nevers, Rohan, and Retz, hastened to Angers, and offered their services to the queen-mother; the duke d'Epéron once more declared in her favour; and Mary of Medicis, assuming the tone of independence, proclaimed her resolution never to consent to any future treaty, unless guaranteed by the parliament of France, or some foreign power.

But on this occasion the king, tenacious of his dignity, acted with vigour and firmness. While his discontented subjects gave vent to their indignation in ineffectual invectives, with what force he could hastily assemble, he entered the province of Normandy, confirmed by his presence the doubtful allegiance of Rouen, reduced Caen, and compelled the duke of Longueville, who had espoused the cause of the queen, to seek shelter in Dieppe. While his success inspired with hope and confidence his own adherents, Mary, astonished at an alacrity so little expected, felt, with the approach of danger, the natural timidity of her sex return; rejecting the bold and decisive counsels of the duke of Rohan, to retire to Bourdeaux, and rely on the affection of that parliament, zealously attached to her interest, she was persuaded by the bishop of Lucon to depend on the effects of negotiation; a new treaty was subscribed which confirmed the former; and a general pardon was granted to those who should deserve the clemency of their sovereign by immediate submission. On the day after the conditions were signed, the king, dissembling his knowledge of the event, attacked and carried Pont de Ce, a fortress which he had formerly yielded to the demands of the queen, and which was now betrayed by the artifices of the bishop of Lucon, and the cowardice of the duke of Retz.

If in the treaty of Angoulême, the disinterestedness of Richlieu commanded the admiration of his enemies; in the present, the sincerity of his counsels and

the integrity of his conduct were universally suspected and loudly impeached. A secret article of the treaty too clearly revealed his ambitious motives. While the duke of Luines stipulated to obtain the dignity of cardinal for the aspiring prelate, the bishop of Lucon consented to bestow the hand of his niece, with an immense portion, on the nephew of the favourite; and Mary of Medicis discerned too late that she had fallen a victim to the specious arts and worldly views of the subtle churchman.

For a series of fifty years, the province of Bearn, the patrimony of Henry the Fourth, had maintained the religion of the reformed, pure and inviolate. The suggestions of the favourite, impatient of distinguishing himself by his zeal for the ancient worship, prevailed on the king to enter that country with his forces, and re-establish the Catholic church; surprised and unprepared for resistance, the Bearnois bent before the storm they were incapable of resisting; mass was celebrated in the presence of Lewis; and after suppressing the privileges, and uniting the principality of Bearn to the crown, the monarch returned in triumph to his capital to meditate new enterprises, and to extend the limits of the royal authority.

A. D. 1621.] The inhabitants of Rochelle, enthusiastic in the cause of religion, animated by the recollection of former exploits, and confiding in the edict of Nantz, still publicly convened their assemblies, and braved the orders of their sovereign; who prohibited their meetings as seditious, and proclaimed them rebels to the crown. But the duke of Luines, sensible of the danger of encountering the united force of the reformed, determined to detach from their interest the mareschal duke de Lesdeguieres; to gratify the ambition of that powerful chieftain, who ruled Dauphiné with almost independent authority, the post of mareschal-general of the camps was instituted; but the favourite at the same moment seized for himself the sword of constable, which for seven successive years, since the death of the duke of Montmorency, had been denied to the solicitations of rank and ability. The intrigues and preparations of the court could not be concealed from the vigilant eye of the Hugonots. The duke of Rohan, son-in-law to the duke of Sully, with his brother the duke of Soubise, exhorted them to defend their religious principles at the hazard of their lives. But du Pleffis Mornai, who, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, had distinguished himself by his ardour in the cause of Calvinism, now avowed his reluctance to oppose the authority of his sovereign, and surrendered the important castle of Saumur, which commanded the passage of the Loire. His example was followed by the duke of Tremouille, and the duke of Bouillon, respectable from his experience, and from his principality of Sedan. The king himself, accompanied by the new constable, the prince of Condé, and the mareschal duke de Lesdeguieres, invested St. Jean d'Angeli; for thirty-five days the duke of Soubise repulsed with persevering valour the incessant attacks of the royal forces; their superior numbers at length compelled him to surrender; and some praise is due to the magnanimity of Lewis, who respected the gallantry of the garrison, and permitted them to depart without molestation.

From the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, the royal army moved forwards towards Montauban; but the care of the Protestants had provided that place with a numerous garrison, commanded by the marquis de la Force; and the pride and power of the monarch were successfully opposed by the skill of that officer, and the constancy of his brave companions. Their sallies from the town were equally bold and prudent; and in repelling the assaults of the besiegers, they displayed an invincible courage; for three months Lewis and his general pressed their attacks with incredible obstinacy; but the loss of the duke of Mayenne, with his bravest officers and the flower of his army, obliged the king to abandon the hopeless enterprise, and to lead back his harassed forces to Paris.

With the siege of Montauban the reputation of the duke of Luines expired; and it is probable that a timely death preserved him from experiencing on what a sandy foundation he had erected the edifice of greatness. From the moment that he had extorted the sword of constable, Lewis, profuse to his favourites, but jealous of a master, had viewed him with eyes of distrust; and the duke himself, alarmed at the symptoms of impending disgrace, sunk under the pressure of his fears; and closed a life, remarkable only for the splendid and unmerited fortune that had attended it.

A. D. 1622.] In Spain, Philip the Third, unnoticed and unlamented, had sunk into the grave; while Lewis, indifferent to the disposition of foreign powers, resumed his designs against his own subjects with redoubled ardour; he had bestowed the sword of constable on the duke of Lesdeguières, who had abjured the Protestant religion, and entered the pale of the Catholic church. At the head of his councils he placed the cardinal de Retz, and the count of Schomberg; and in consequence of their advice, he marched into the province of Poitou, with a small but well-disciplined army, to chastise the duke of Soubise, who, after the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, had collected a band of desperate and indigent associates, and ravaged the defenceless country. On the approach of the royal forces, he retired into the island of Rhe, separated from the continent by a small arm of the sea, which was fordable at low water. The difficulty of the enterprise could not restrain the indignant courage of Lewis; impatient of resistance, he crossed the sea under cover of the night, and stormed the intrenchments of his rebellious subjects; the duke of Soubise, with a few companions of his fortunes, escaped the vengeance of his sovereign, by committing himself to the waves, and swimming to the continent.

Negrepelisse was stormed by the prince of Condé, and the lives of the inhabitants of every age and sex were involved in one promiscuous carnage; but this instance of rigid severity impressed not with terror the enthusiastic courage of the Protestants. The walls of Montpellier were defended by the duke of Rohan in person, and the prince of Condé beheld the flower of his army consumed in ineffectual assaults; the citizens of Rochelle, though invested by sea and land, still preserved their former constancy; and Lewis, listening to the counsels of the constable Lesdeguières, who revolved with concern the destruction of a party whose principles

he had formerly so successfully supported, consented to close the bleeding wounds of his country by a treaty with the Hugonots; the edict of Nantz was again confirmed; the royal forces were withdrawn from the gates and harbour of Rochelle; and the inhabitants of Montpellier submitted to acknowledge their sovereign, and to receive him within their walls; but the king in the moment of confidence violated the article that dismissed them from the dread of a royal garrison; two regiments devoted to his service were left in that city; and the Protestants, too weak to oppose, could only indulge their resentment in empty murmurs.

A. D. 1623.] During the convulsions of Italy, and the transient authority of the Sforzas in Milan, the Valteline, a country situated on the borders of Ferol and Milan, but annexed to the dominions of the latter, had been occupied by the hardy natives of that part of Switzerland distinguished by the name of *Grisons*; their possession of it had been guaranteed by Francis the First and Henry the Fourth; but Spain, with the acquisition of the duchy of Milan, extended her pretensions also to the Valteline; to oppose her ambition, a confederacy was formed by the duke of Savoy and the state of Venice; and France readily agreed to a league, in which her honour and interest were involved. The court of Spain, alarmed at so formidable a junction, consented in some measure to recede from her claim, and to sequester the Valteline into the hands of the Roman pontiff, Gregory the Fifteenth, an expedient which Lewis for the present thought it prudent to acquiesce in.

A. D. 1624.] But the attention of the public was soon diverted from foreign to domestic concerns. The cardinal de Retz had expired amidst the dissensions of his country; the partiality of the queen for the bishop of Lucon, now known as cardinal Richelieu, was revived; and the king was prevailed upon to introduce into his councils a man destined to restore the grandeur of France, and to establish a new epoch in the reign of Lewis.

From the tedious and uninteresting annals of a monarch whose personal courage alone faintly gilds the gloom of the political horizon, the historian with pleasure hastens to the vigorous counsels and aspiring spirit of his minister, whose commanding genius burst the narrow limit of the cloyster, and awed and astonished the nations of Europe with the blaze of its meridian lustre. Born to steer the vessel of state amidst storms and quicksands, the political talents of the cardinal Richelieu, have, to the present moment, extorted the praise and admiration of posterity; frequently successful, and always great, in his designs, he rose with accumulated strength from defeat; and the ambitious prelate had no sooner exchanged the crozier for the seals, than his open and secret enemies were overwhelmed by the torrent of his ambition. During eighteen years he maintained his ascendancy over the jealous mind of his sovereign; the reformed, who had triumphed over the artifices of Catharine of Medicis, and the dark rage of Charles the Ninth, were broken by his invincible arm; and the house of Austria, defeated and depressed, was forced to yield to his superior fortune, that which the valour and virtues of Francis the First and Henry the Fourth had in vain attempted.

His rivals in the cabinet were the first victims to the arts of Richelieu; and the duke of Vieuville, to whom had been entrusted the care of the finances, was not only dismissed from his post, but even committed to the castle of Amboise; his successor Marillac, endeavoured to avoid a similar fate, by an obsequious compliance with the will of the cardinal: who no sooner had established his authority at home, than he prepared to extend the terror of his name abroad. His admission into the conclave had not served to impress him with zeal or awe for the court of Rome; and his contempt for the successor of St. Peter was displayed in his instructions to expel the ecclesiastical forces from the Valteline. The marquis of Cœuvres obeyed with alacrity orders so congenial to his own inclinations; Gregory the Fifteenth, sensible of the inefficacy of the thunders of the vatican, which had once appeared so formidable, contented himself with remonstrances, which Richelieu received with impatience and consigned to neglect.

James of England, wrapped in the proud and constant contemplation of royal dignity, considered every alliance below that of a king, as unworthy of the prince of Wales; and determined never to bestow the hand of his son Charles, but on a daughter of France or Spain. With the latter court his ambassador, the earl of Bristol, had opened a negociation. Philip the Fourth received his proposals with pleasure; and with the infanta offered a portion of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the restitution of the palatinate, which had been wrested from Frederic, son-in-law to James, by the emperor of Germany. But when all measures were agreed between both parties, and nothing was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, this connection, so honourable and so advantageous to England, was broken by a romantic enterprise, originally conceived with the idea of hastening and cementing the proposed alliance.

George Villiers, with the sole recommendation of personal accomplishments, had rapidly advanced in the favour of James, too partial to external advantages; and from an obscure condition, had attained the rank and title of duke of Buckingham; to ingratiate himself also with the son, he proposed to the prince of Wales to break through the forms which usually bind the heirs of royalty, and passing in disguise to Madrid, to introduce himself to the infanta as an ardent and devoted lover. Charles relished the gallantry of the proposal; a reluctant consent by the tears of his son, and the reproaches of his favourite, was extorted from James; and the prince of Wales, accompanied by Buckingham, privately quitted London, and crossed over to Calais: they had even the temerity in their journey to visit the French court in disguise, and the charms of the princess Henrietta, the sister of Lewis, made a lively and deep impression on the heart of the youthful prince.

Though Charles and the duke were received at Madrid with every mark of respect and attention by the king of Spain, yet the volatile manners, and dissolute pleasures of the latter, but ill accorded with the gravity and dignity of the Spanish court: Influenced by motives of disgust or caprice, he determined to

return without accomplishing the object of his journey; he easily obtained the acquiescence of Charles; the delay of the dispensation from Rome afforded a decent pretence; and immediately on their arrival in England, the duke of Buckingham prevailed on the easy king and prince, first to suspend, and afterwards to break off the negotiation with Spain.

A. D. 1625.] But James still continued firmly fixed in his opinion, that his son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal pedigree. After the rupture therefore with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France, and to that court he immediately applied himself. The earls of Holland and Carlisle were sent over ambassadors on this occasion; but though the portion of Henrietta equalled not that of the infanta, and the restitution of the palatinate could not be expected from this alliance, yet the superior address of Richelieu to the English ministers, extorted the same terms for the Christian king, as had been granted to the Catholic. To Henrietta was allowed the important privilege of educating her children till they attained the age of thirteen; and Buckingham was dispatched to Paris to conduct the bride to her royal consort, who, by the death of his father James, had ascended the throne of England.

But the near alliance of France with a Protestant king did not deter the cardinal from nourishing the most fatal designs against the followers of the reformed religion. Pride had induced him to brave the impotent resentment of the court of Rome; and that policy which considered the augmentation of the regal authority as the grand object of his administration, prompted him to meditate the extirpation of a hardy sect, whose frequent revolts openly violated the dignity of the crown. Several circumstances pointed out to him the favourable moment of enterprise; the duke of Bouillon, and du Plessis Mornai, formidable from their abilities, their experience, and their influence, had expired covered with years and glory; and though the brothers of Rohan and Soubise, by their martial exploits had acquired and maintained a high reputation, yet their impetuous courage too often slighted the voice of prudence, and precipitated their party into dangers, which hourly threatened their destruction.

The late treaty had been infringed by the introduction of a royal garrison into Montpellier, and the remonstrances of the Hugonots had been disregarded or evaded by the court. A new subject of discontent now presented itself in a royal fleet stationed at L'Orient, to guard and block up the harbour of Rochelle. The duke of Soubise offered with a few ships suddenly to attack and destroy the hostile squadron; and permitted the Hugonots, if he failed in the attempt, to disown his conduct. Though his measures were betrayed, he happily accomplished the daring project: and on the first intelligence of his success, his brother the duke of Rohan resumed his arms, and again displayed the banner of revolt. A sharp and desultory war was carried on with that fire and animosity that attends religious commotion. The Rochellers were defeated at sea by the united squadrons of

France and England; but the loss of the confederates in the action prevented them from improving their advantage. The clamours of the English compelled their sovereign to interfere; the mediation of the consort of Henrietta was listened to with respect, and a peace at length was concluded, which confirmed the edict of Nantz; the harbour of Rochelle was delivered from the vigilance of the royal squadrons; the fort of St. Lewis, which approached and insulted that city, was to be demolished within six months; and the king of France consented that his brother-in-law, the king of England, should guarantee to the Protestants the articles of the peace.

Philip had beheld with indignation the expulsion of the ecclesiastical troops from the Valteline; the French, as allies to the duke of Savoy, still maintained the war against the power of Spain. The Spaniards, in attempting to raise the siege of Verue, were defeated with considerable loss: but Urban the Eighth, who had succeeded to the apostolical chair, prevented the two crowns from coming to an open rupture. His zeal to reconcile the most powerful princes of the Catholic church was attended with success; a treaty was concluded at Moncon, by which the sovereignty of the Valteline was confirmed to the Grisons, and the passes of that country, by the gratitude of her allies, were secured to France.

A. D. 1626.] The reputation of Richelieu was not increased by his first essays in arms; to the Hugonots he had granted the most favourable conditions; and in the late treaty of Moncon the duke of Savoy loudly complained that his interests were deserted. But if abroad his ability and integrity were impeached, at home, he was exposed to the envy and rage which attends successful ambition.— Gaston, duke of Orleans, and brother to the king, had completed his eighteenth year, and that irresolution, which formed the predominant feature of his character, began already to display itself. His father, Henry the Fourth, had expressed his wish that he might be united to mademoiselle Montpensier, one of the greatest heiresses of France; but the favourites of the duke of Orleans endeavoured to divert his inclinations to a marriage with some foreign princess, whose connections might render him independent of the power of the minister. Their intrigues could not elude the vigilance of the cardinal; the marshal Ornano, who had even concerted the assassination of Richelieu, was committed to the Bastille, and delivered by disease from an ignominious death; the count of Chalais expired on a scaffold; the duke of Vendôme, and his brother the grand prior, were closely guarded, and the count of Soissons, by a hasty flight, sought shelter from the tempest in the court of Rome. The designs of his enemies served only to establish the authority and influence of the cardinal; and the partiality of Lewis for his minister, was evidently displayed in the honourable distinction of guards for the protection of his person.

The duke of Orleans, deprived of all in whom he could repose confidence, returned to court; and with his natural levity conceived, or pretended, a violent passion for mademoiselle Montpensier. The nuptial ceremony was performed by

the cardinal ; but though the duke himself obtained, from the liberality of his brother, the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, with the county of Blois, his solicitations for his unhappy friends were ineffectual ; and the cardinal having crushed the enemies of his person, prepared to extinguish those of his faith.

Though ardent in his designs of humbling the house of Austria, he was convinced, to exert the power of France, it was first necessary to extirpate the seeds of civil commotion ; the Protestants, impatient of delay, had urged by arms the demolition of Fort St. Lewis ; but their temerity was checked by the formidable preparations and vigorous measures of Richelieu ; and the duke of Soubise, anxious for the safety of Rochelle, menaced on every side, implored and obtained the assistance of England.

A. D. 1627.] That court, embarrassed by domestic factions and an unsuccessful war with Spain, ought, perhaps, in prudence to have declined any hostile enterprise against the kingdom of France. Its mediation, in behalf of the reformed, had hitherto been attended with the greatest advantages ; and Richelieu himself, daring as he was, could not but regard, with some degree of dread, the martial spirit of a people who had so often proved the scourge of his country ; but the duke of Buckingham still maintained his ascendancy over the mind of Charles ; when dispatched to receive the princess Henrietta, he had entertained a guilty passion for the queen of France ; the beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, and the splendour of his equipage, cast round him a lustre, which is supposed even to have dazzled the eyes of royalty ; a private visit that he paid to Anne, was received with a reproof that favoured more of kindness than anger ; but his presumption had not escaped the observation of the cardinal ; the vigilance of that minister was exerted to preclude all future correspondence ; on the preparations of Buckingham for a second embassy to Paris, he was informed by a message from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey ; and though he reluctantly abandoned the design, he ever after nourished a deep resentment against Richelieu, to whose suggestions he imputed his disappointment.

A. D. 1627, 1628.] He had already, in a wanton insult, displayed the features of his imperious disposition ; he prevailed on Charles to send back to France all the domestics of that nation, who had attended Henrietta to England. The marshal Bassompierre was dispatched by Lewis to the court of London, to remonstrate against this infraction of the marriage articles ; and though the address of the ambassador rendered him acceptable to Charles, yet his efforts could only suspend the increasing jealousy and enmity of Buckingham.

Implacable in his hatred, that haughty favourite now listened with pleasure to the representations of the duke of Soubise ; in the naval victory over the Rochellers, the fleet of France had been reinforced by a squadron from England, and the subsequent peace had been concluded under the mediation of Charles : that monarch had assisted in humbling the Hugonots, and his honour was concerned in faithfully guaranteeing a treaty, which his arms had compelled them to accept ;

when to these arguments were added the solicitations of Buckingham, and the clamours of his people, zealous for their oppressed Protestant brethren, it is no wonder that the reluctance of Charles was overwhelmed by their united force.

Before the mighty preparations of Richelieu could be completed, a fleet of an hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of France. Both of these were entrusted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, who presented himself with his armament before the harbour of Rochelle; but so ill-concerted were his measures, that the inhabitants refused to admit these formidable allies, of whose coming they had not been previously informed. Disappointed in this expectation, the duke directed his operations against Rhé, an adjacent island, protected by a numerous garrison and strong fortifications; he landed his men, though with some loss; and had he immediately urged his attacks, and not allowed Thoiras, the French governor, several days respite, he might probably have reduced St. Martin, the principal fortress of the island; but his negligence and unaccountable delay enabled the French to replenish the magazines, and reinforce the garrison of that place. The English were repulsed in repeated attacks; detached and successive bodies of troops were poured by the cardinal into the island; and Buckingham himself, after the loss of two thirds of his original force, found it necessary to consult his safety by a precipitate retreat. He conducted the rear in person, with a gallantry which, in some measure, effaced the disgrace of defeat; but while the testimony of his companions established the reputation of his courage, the voice of the public loudly impeached his skill and judgment.

The retreat of Buckingham was the signal for action to Richelieu. That minister had already secured, by separate treaties, the alliance of Spain and the United Provinces; his address had represented to the court of Philip his treaty with the latter, as solely a temporary expedient to prevent their arming in defence of the reformed—he had recalled and pardoned the count of Soissons—and while he restrained the levity, had conciliated to his designs the inclinations of the duke of Orleans. The army that he had assembled was commanded by the king in person, and animated by the presence of the principal nobility. The cardinal, who accompanied his sovereign, aspired to the reputation of a general as well as a statesman; he planned the lines of circumvallation—designed the different forts, and directed the attacks. To deprive the besieged of all succour, his boundless genius formed the project of throwing across the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boisterous ocean. His diligence daily urged and inspected the work; but before it yet could be completed, the fleet of England, commanded by the earl of Denbigh, once more appeared in view. The Rochellers crowded to their ramparts with the expectation of instant relief, and Richelieu trembled for the darling structure which his daring ambition had suggested; but he was preserved from disgrace by the treachery or cowardice of the English admiral—and the earl of Denbigh, after throwing into the city a scanty supply of corn, declined an engage-

ment with the fleet of France, and retired to Portsmouth. To efface the dishonour of the English arms, the duke of Buckingham determined, in person, to resume the command—but while his presence hastened the preparations, he fell a victim to the national indignation, and was assassinated by the hand of a fanatic, named Felton, who avowed himself prompted to the deed by the remonstrance of the commons, that declared the duke the source of every national grievance, and the great enemy of the public.

The unhappy fate of Buckingham suspended the armaments of England—each moment was assiduously employed by the cardinal—and he at length beheld the stupendous work completed, and enabled to defy the efforts of the enemy. In vain did the earl of Lindisay, who succeeded to the command of the English fleet, endeavour to force his way to the harbour. The mole, strongly and firmly fortified, resisted and repelled the weight of his attacks. Hopeless of success, he abandoned the Rochellers to despair, and steered back his course to England. The last spark of enthusiasm, which had so long inspired the miserable inhabitants of that city, expired with the signal of his retreat. While yet his sails were in sight, they consented to surrender at discretion—and some idea may be formed of the miseries they had endured, since of fifteen thousand persons who had originally been shut up in Rochelle, four thousand alone survived the fatal effects of famine, fatigue, and the sword.

The king entered the prostrate city in triumph—and the fortune of the cardinal was still more conspicuous in the moment of submission, than even his genius had shone forth in the course of the siege. Scarce had the citizens opened their gates to implore the clemency of their sovereign, before a tempest, so violent, agitated the ocean, as to bury in the waves the proud structure that he had planned. Had the Rochellers persevered but a few hours longer, the fury of the storm had overwhelmed the pride of the cardinal, and preserved their freedom—but the wretched inhabitants drew some consolation from the pity of their monarch; their walls were, indeed, dismantled, but their persons and effects were spared—and the moderation of Lewis and his minister, satisfied with having broken the power of the Hugonots, and wrested from them their ancient asylum, still permitted them to enjoy an open and avowed toleration.

The celebrated duke of Lesdeguieres had expired amidst the dissensions of his country, without beholding the humiliation of the reformed, whose tenets he had formerly professed, and whose principles he had successfully vindicated with his sword. On his decease, the king resolved to suppress the office of constable, a dignity that he thought raised the subject too near the throne; he obtained, at the same time, from the duke of Montmorenci, the resignation of the post of admiral, and committed the management of the marine to the vigilance of the cardinal. The genius of that aspiring statesman, which embraced every department, had justified the discernment of his sovereign in the siege of Rochelle; but though his address might baffle, his abilities could not extinguish, the hatred

of a court; the dukes of Orleans had found her grave in the nuptial bed; after being delivered of a daughter, she expired, lamented by her consort, whose former reluctance her amiable qualities had converted into a lively affection; but the duke soon after resumed his intrigues, his natural levity soon returned to efface the loss of his late dukes, he professed an ardent passion for Mary de Gonzagua, the duke of Nevers, and his addressees to that lady were alternately renewed, or suspended, as his own caprice inclined, and the interest of his favourites dictated.

A. D. 1629.] The contempt of the cardinal for the see of Rome had been instanced in the expulsion of the ecclesiastical forces from the Valteline; superior to the influence of religious superstition, from political motives alone, he had armed the power of the crown against the reformed, to exalt the glory of France and to depress the house of Austria, he now resigned his own personal resentments. On the death of Vincent duke of Mantua, his kinsman, the duke of Nevers, pleaded his claim as the next male in succession to that duchy: but the emperor asserted his right as supreme prince, and bestowed the investiture on the duke of Guastalla; and the duke of Savoy also urged his pretensions to the marquisate of Montferrat, both were supported by the forces and treasures of Philip: the banners of Spain were displayed from the walls of Mantua; and the duke of Nevers could only loudly accuse an usurpation which he was incapable of resisting. He had incurred the displeasure of the cardinal by entering into the cabals of his avowed enemies; he was exposed to the persecution of the queen-mother, who regarded, with open aversion and female rage, the passion of the duke of Orleans for Mary de Gonzagua; but in the mind of Richelieu, the interest of the state superseded every other consideration, and while he abandoned the sense of his own injuries, he was deaf to the implacable enmity of Mary of Medicis. He advised the king of France to embrace the opportunity of supporting his own subject, the duke of Nevers, against the injustice of the house of Austria. The ardent spirit of the minister communicated itself to the monarch: and with the veterans whose discipline had been confirmed and whose perseverance had been exercised in the siege of Rochelle, Lewis, early in the ensuing spring, erected his standard, and prepared to march to the relief of Casal, which was besieged by the forces of the confederates. The inclemency of the season, the rugged tracts of the Alps in vain opposed his progress, he penetrated through the narrow pass of Suza: and the duke of Savoy, alarmed at his approach, consented to desert his allies, and to negotiate a treaty with France. He engaged to allow a free passage to, and to supply with provisions the forces of Lewis: and he agreed, with his own army, to join the French standard, and to chase the Spaniards from the walls of Casal.

To the defence of that fortress, Lewis detached three thousand chosen soldiers, under the command of Theiras, who had already signalised his gallantry in the defence of the island of Rhé. The monarch himself, with his minister, anti-

mated by success, traversed again the Alps, and entered his kingdom to chastise the presumption of the Hugonots. The duke of Rohan, undismayed by the reduction of Rochelle, still displayed the banner of revolt in Guienne, Languedoc, and the mountains of the Cevennes. Nismes, Montauban, Castres, Privas, and Alais, still professed the principles of the reformed, and declared their resolution to seal their faith with their blood. While the cardinal, oppressed by a slow and dangerous fever, sought a transient repose from his toils, the king assailed the walls of Privas, compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion, and devoted the inhabitants, without exception of age or sex, to the sword. Richelieu, rejoiced at his absence from the promiscuous massacre which sullied the victory of his sovereign. This instance of severity struck terror indeed into the citizens of Alais, strongly fortified, and amply provided, that place might long have resisted the attacks of the royal army; the gates were immediately opened on the approach of the king, and the duke of Rohan, too fatally convinced of the inability of the Protestants any longer to defend themselves by arms, signed a treaty, which restored the reformed to their estates and the free exercise of their religion, but deprived them in their fortified towns of the means of protecting either. He himself immediately after withdrew into honourable exile. But the citizens of Montauban rejected terms which involved their walls in destruction; and refused admittance to the prince of Condé, whose sanguinary disposition they dreaded. To the extortions of Richelieu himself they were less inexorable; the cardinal with his guards were invited to enter the city, and the lenity with which he treated the inhabitants, added a milder lustre to the glory that he had acquired by the success of his martial enterprises.

A. D. 1630.] The enemies of Richelieu had again resumed their intrigues; but their cabals proved fatal to themselves, and served to confirm the authority of the cardinal, who Lewis, by letters patent, invested with the title of *principal minister*. The duke of Savoy had availed himself of the late hostile operations against the Protestants, had violated the treaty of Suza, and had joined the Spaniards in the siege of Casal. To the title of minister, the king of France added that of *lieutenant-general*; and the cardinal, possessed of all the military and civil power, prepared to chastise the presumption of the Savoyard. He crossed again the Alps in person; and while he affected to listen to the terms of accommodation, continued his march with unwearied rapidity. The heads of his columns were already pointed towards Turin, and the duke was diligently occupied in preparing for the defence of his capital, when Richelieu, suddenly changing his direction, presented himself before the gates of Pignerol; that important fortress, which opened a direct road from Dauphine into Italy, was taken in twelve days; and the minister now summoned Lewis to the camp to share the glory of his ambitious projects. With a veteran army of twenty-five thousand men, the king of France overran and reduced the country of Savoy; Mazarin, afterwards so well known in France by the dignity of cardinal and the

power of minister, was sent to negotiate with Lewis on behalf of the duke of Savoy; a partial suspension of arms was all he could obtain; and that unhappy prince, who beheld his territories portioned out between his implacable enemies, and faithless allies, sunk himself into the grave the victim of disappointed ambition.

The death of the duke of Savoy facilitated the progress of the French. Revel, Ville Franche, and Poncallier, instantly capitulated; but their career of conquest was checked by a pestilential disorder, which thinned and debilitated the armies of France. The king himself indisposed, and attended by the cardinal, had retired to Lyons; and the remnant of the troops under the marshals de la Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, were ordered to proceed to the relief of Casal. Feeble and enervated by disease the ardour of the generals inspired the soldiers—they already beheld the walls of that fortress, and the camp of the besiegers—but when they hourly expected the signal for engaging, they were preserved from the encounter with the fresh and vigorous troops of Spain, by intelligence of the treaty of Ratibon, negotiated by Mazarin, and which established the duke of Nevers in the peaceable possession of the duchy of Mantua and the marquisate of Montferrat.

The indisposition of Lewis was attended by the most alarming symptoms, and in the danger of the monarch the minister beheld his own. His enemies, encouraged by the queen-mother, resumed their hopes and intrigues—but when the physicians had even pronounced the recovery of Lewis impossible, a sudden and favourable turn in his disorder confounded the foes, and confirmed the authority of the cardinal. The most active of his enemies were disgraced and arrested—and Mary of Medicis herself was compelled to submit to a feigned reconciliation with the haughty statesman, whose influence over the mind of her son had overwhelmed his regard, and even his respect for his parent.

A. D. 1631.] Sweden emerging from obscurity and animated by the heroic genius of the great Gustavus, had already penetrated into Germany, and shaken by successive victories the imperial despotism of the house of Austria; to second her efforts the cardinal negotiated a treaty, by which he engaged annually to supply Gustavus with four hundred thousand crowns, while he acquired with equal address, by a secret article with the duke of Savoy, the strong fortress of Pignerol, and prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a French garrison into Casal. Yet even these negotiations, so advantageous to his country, could not exempt him from the malice of his adversaries; the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans still retained their implacable enmity. But their adherents, the princes of Conti, with the duchesses of Elbeuf and Lesdiguières were sentenced to exile, and the marshal Bassompierre was committed to the Bastille. Mary of Medicis escaped to Flanders from the stern justice of her son, and the inexorable resentment of his minister; the duke of Orleans sought shelter from the storm in the court of Lorraine; and abandoning himself to his natural levity, espoused Margaret the sister of that prince.

A. D. 1632.] The pride of the king of France was wounded by the presumption of the duke of Lorrain, in affording shelter to, and contracting an alliance with his fugitive brother. Twice he invaded the territories of that prince, and twice compelled him to sue for peace on the most humiliating conditions. Amidst these alarms the duke of Orleans had quitted a court which could no longer afford him security, and had retired to his mother Mary of Medicis, in Flanders. While Lewis pursued his career of victory in Lorrain, his brother having collected a feeble band of two thousand followers, penetrated into Burgundy, exhorted the inhabitants to arm against the arrogance of the cardinal, and insulted and destroyed the suburbs of Dijon. Chaced from thence by the mareschal de la Force, he retreated to Auvergne; and pursued by mareschal Schomberg, escaped with his miserable train into Languedoc. The duke of Montmorency, who governed that province, received the brother of his sovereign with open arms, and espoused his designs with ardour. Though Thoulouse, the capital, maintained its loyalty, and proclaimed the adherents of the duke of Orleans rebels, yet the amiable qualities of Montmorency drew to Pezenas the principal nobility of the province; on these he bestowed the title of states of Languedoc; in an eloquent and spirited manifesto he arraigned the pride, the insolence, and the oppressive administration of the cardinal; and to support his declarations by action, at the head of ten thousand men, who had crowded to his standard, he pressed forwards to attack mareschal Schomberg, who, with four thousand infantry, had possessed himself of a strong camp near Castelnaudari. The impetuous courage of Montmorency, with his cavalry alone, attacked the entrenchments of that general. His example inspired his followers with the most heroic resolution—the works of the royalists were pierced by their daring efforts—but while their leader displayed the valour of a soldier, he neglected the duties of a commander; his martial train, as they rushed on to improve their advantage, were betrayed into an ambuscade and overwhelmed by superior numbers—the duke of Montmorency, wounded in several places, and his horse killed under him, was taken prisoner—and the duke of Orleans, informed of his fate, instead of endeavouring to retrieve the day, retreated with his scattered and disheartened troops.

The inexorable justice of Lewis suffered not the duke of Montmorency long to languish in confinement—his process was immediately formed before the parliament—he was sentenced to lose his head—and he expired on the scaffold with calm and undaunted courage. Inferior only to his ancestors in fortune, in him were extinguished the male descendants of the house of Montmorency—and while the jealousy of Lewis refused to spare his life, his liberality enriched with his estates the prince of Condé, who had married his sister.

While the fate of Montmorency was in suspense, the duke of Orleans had endeavoured to obtain his pardon by professions of future allegiance—but no sooner had the deadly blow been given, than that prince retired again into Flanders. His absence and intrigues gave but little uneasiness to the court of France. That king-

dom each day became more conscious of her own strength, and of her weight in the political balance of Europe. The great Gustavus, after repeatedly defeating the veteran troops of Ferdinand, and delivering Germany from the imperial yoke, closed in the arms of victory a life of splendid achievements and military renown. The memorable field of Lutzen, in which he triumphed and expired, raised again the drooping spirits of the house of Austria, who welcomed a defeat that was accompanied by the fate of their most formidable adversary. But Richelieu, diligent to improve every event, concerted his measures with prudence and promptitude—he nourished by continual subsidies the confederacy of the German princes—he secretly negotiated with the united states of Holland—and he recalled the duke of Rohan from exile, and entrusted to his abilities the command of the French forces in the Valteline.

A. D. 1633, 1634.] Though Richelieu regarded with contempt the machinations of the duke of Orleans, he suffered not the authority of his sovereign to be insulted with impunity by the reiterated hostilities of the duke of Lorraine. He easily persuaded Lewis to regard that prince as the abetter of the factious designs of his brother, and once more to invade his dominions. Luneville and Saint Mihiel were rapidly reduced by the French; Nanci was invested; and the unfortunate duke was compelled to surrender his capital as the pledge of his sincerity, to deliver his sister to the king of France, and to facilitate the dissolution of her marriage with the duke of Orleans. But Lewis had scarce returned to Paris, before the duke of Lorraine having accomplished the escape of his sister to Flanders, endeavoured to elude his engagements, and to preserve his people from the calamities of war, by magnanimously resigning his territories to his brother Francis. This artifice could not avert the indignation of the cardinal; the mareschal de la Force, with a numerous army, re-entered Lorraine, surprised the new duke and his consort, and established the authority of France throughout the whole duchy. The duke of Orleans, dismayed by the destruction of his brother-in-law and ally, concluded a treaty of reconciliation, quitted Brussels alone, and threw himself at the feet of Lewis. But though he consented to live at Blois separate from his consort, he persevered, with a degree of constancy unusual in his conduct, to maintain the validity of his marriage.

While the cardinal counteracted with success his domestic enemies, he was alarmed by the progress of the foreign foes of France, and the returning prosperity of the house of Austria. At Nordlingen the victories of Gustavus were effaced by the total defeat of the Swedes; and the Imperialists beheld twenty thousand of their adversaries lifeless on the field. The policy of Richelieu revived their fainting courage with liberal and constant pecuniary supplies; but at the same time he stipulated for the immediate possession of Philippsburgh and Spire in Germany; and the cession of Alsace on the frontiers of Lorraine, as soon as he declared war against Spain.

Though long averse to plunge his country into an open contest with the house of Austria, the situation of his allies allowed Lewis no farther delay. The forces of the emperor had already occupied Philippsburgh; and the cardinal concluded a secret treaty with the united provinces of Holland. On the intelligence of this hostile negotiation, the court of Spain determined by activity and vigour to anticipate the designs of her enemies; she poured her forces into Treves, surprised the capital, and seized the elector, who had acceded to the league with France. This bold and successful enterprise was resented by France by an open declaration of war. The marshals Chatillon and Breze were commanded to march to the support of the prince of Orange, then in the neighbourhood of Maastricht; in their progress they encountered and defeated with cruel slaughter the forces of Spain, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy. Animated by success, and joined by the prince of Orange, they forced open the gates of Tillemont, and invested Louvain; but the dissensions of the commanders compelled them to abandon this enterprise with disgrace; and an army which threatened to subvert the authority of Philip throughout Flanders, was wasted in vain attempts, or consumed by fatigue and disease.

It was not alone by arms that Richelieu endeavoured to support the glory of his country. His arts detached from the court of Spain the dukes of Savoy and Parma; and marshal Crequi was instructed, in concert with those princes, to assert the liberties of Italy. He was defeated on the banks of the Po, by the superior forces of the Spaniards, and loudly impeached the envy and discontent of the duke of Savoy, as the source of his misfortunes.

The king had beheld with impatience not only his foreign conquests shaken, but even his hereditary dominions insulted; the duke of Lorraine had eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped from confinement; his appearance in that duchy revived the zeal of his subjects; several important places opened their gates to him; but his career was checked by the unexpected presence of Lewis himself, who, at the head of a small army, hastily assembled, flew to maintain his former acquisitions, retook Saint Mihiel, and returned triumphant to Paris; while the duke of Rohan emulated in the Valteline the glory of his sovereign, and in two bloody and successive engagements broke in that country the strength of the Imperialists and Spaniards.

A. D. 1636.] Metz was reduced by the forces of the emperor, but the Germans were compelled to raise the siege of Colmar by the cardinal Valette; who, despising the tranquil duties of the church, in imitation of Richelieu, aspired to military glory. The Spaniards on their side possessed themselves of St. John de Luz; but in Italy they were defeated by the skill and valour of the duke of Savoy; yet this misfortune was soon repaired, and Spain, after ravaging the territories of the duke of Parma, now meditated a more important enterprise.

To support the war in so many different quarters, France had stripped of troops the frontier of Picardy, and exposed it to the incursions of her enemies. The

Spanish army, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy, and reinforced by the celebrated Piccolomini, entered the defenceless province, occupied Capelle and Catelet, passed the Somme in defiance of the French troops under the count of Soissons, and in less than a week reduced the strong town of Corbie. The Parisians listened with consternation to the rapid and unexpected approach of their foes; the capital was filled with terror and confusion; the sovereign involved himself in a silent and gloomy despondency; but the cardinal displayed a fortitude and magnanimity worthy of his elevated fortunes. He threw himself on the confidence of the public; he dismissed those guards which the partiality of the king had assigned him; and ever fruitful in expedients, called forth on this emergency the resources of the state. The horses and domestics of the wealthy, the personal service of the poor, were demanded to encounter the impending danger. The scattered bands of France were soon swelled to an host of fifty thousand men. Richelieu would willingly have assumed the command himself, but the count of Soissons refused to serve under him; and the cardinal entrusted the fate of France to that prince, and the duke of Orleans; whose jealousy of each other he imagined would prevent them from combining in any intrigues dangerous to his authority.

The discernment of the cardinal on this occasion deserted him; the two generals acted with perfect unanimity, compelled the Spaniards to repass the Somme, and retook Corbie; but at the same time they concerted the destruction of Richelieu, and Amiens was fixed upon as the scene of his assassination. At the moment when the conspirators expected the signal from the duke of Orleans, the resolution of that prince forsook him, and he declared that his conscience would not permit him to shed the blood of a cardinal, an archbishop and a priest. The minister was not apprised of his danger till it was passed. The duke of Orleans hastily retired to Blois, and the count of Soissons sought shelter in Sedan; but the cardinal was unwilling at this critical juncture to increase his own enemies, and those of the public. He prevailed on Lewis to treat both the princes with lenity; the duke of Orleans was soon reconciled, by acknowledging the validity of his marriage; and the count of Soissons was permitted to enjoy the income of his estates in exile.

[A. D. 1637.] The ensuing campaign opened with events the most inauspicious to France; the duke of Parma, besieged in Placentia, was compelled to renounce the alliance of that crown. The duke of Rohan, neglected by cardinal Richelieu, who still regarded him with jealousy, after exhausting his private credit, was constrained to evacuate the Valteline. But these disasters were followed by a series of splendid successes; the count of Harcourt recovered in Provence the islands of St. Margaret and St. Honoret; the duke of Valette reduced several forts which the Spaniards had seized in Guienne; mareschal Schomberg raised the siege of Lucat, and defeated Serbellon the Spanish general; cardinal de la Valette again planted the standard of France on the walls of Capelle; the mareschal de Chatillon successfully invested Damvilliers in Luxembourg; and the duke of Longue-

ville extended his conquests in Franche-Compté. In Italy, the duke of Savoy, seconded by mareschal Crequi, triumphed over the Spaniards led by the duke of Modena; and in the Netherlands, the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange compelled the garrison of Breda to surrender.

A. D. 1638.] The flame of superstition was nourished amidst the devastations of war; and Lewis, to propitiate the favour of heaven, solemnly submitted his kingdom to the protection of the holy virgin. The duke of Weimar, who had been trained to arms in the school of Gustavus, and who maintained an independent authority over an army of various nations, was supplied from the treasures of France; he was however surprised and routed in the siege of Rheinfeld; the duke of Rohan, who had accompanied him from esteem, here received his mortal wound, and closed a life of virtue and glory. But the duke of Weimar within a few days effaced his disgrace by the total defeat of his enemies. Four imperial generals in chains attested his triumph; and the towns of Rheinfeld, Fribourg, and Brisac, acknowledged the dominion of the victor.

The death of the duke of Savoy rather increased than diminished the influence of France; his widow, the sister of Lewis, was appointed regent during the minority of her infant son; and Richelieu resolved to retaliate on Spain the invasion of Picardy by the siege of Fontarabia. But the prince of Condé, to whom that enterprise was confided, was defeated by the admiral of Castile, and with the remnant of his army with difficulty escaped to his ships. This miscarriage was balanced by a domestic event of the highest importance. The queen was at length delivered of a son, whose birth, while it secured the peaceable succession to the throne, contributed to check the turbulent levity of the duke of Orleans, and to establish the power of the cardinal.

A. D. 1639.] The duke of Weimar, while his vigorous age and mature judgement promised him a long and splendid career of glory, expired after a short illness; Richelieu had in vain endeavoured to persuade him to part with his new acquisition of Brisac; and his death at this critical period was not without suspicion of poison. By whatever means it was accomplished, the cardinal with his usual dexterity availed himself of his decease; he procured from his successors in command not only Brisac, but Fribourg also; and he prevailed on his army to acknowledge the authority of the duke of Longueville.

In Piedmont, the brothers of the late duke of Savoy disputed with his widow the succession to the regency. Supported by the marquis of Leganez, they surprised Chivas; were received into Quiers, Montcallier, and Goree; and assaulted Turin so suddenly, that the duchess had scarce time to retire into the citadel; from thence she retreated to Grenoble, where she had a personal interview with her brother; Lewis lamented her misfortunes, without affording her hopes of support. The defeat of the marquis of Feuquieres by Piccolomini increased the embarrassments of France; and though the court of Harcourt in Piedmont, recovered Quiers, and eluded the superior forces of the marquis of Leganez and

prince Thomas, his conduct and military skill were rather honourable to himself, than of essential service to the dukes of Savoy.

In the Low Countries, the marquis of Meilleraie reduced Hesdin, and acquired the baton of mareschal. But the continuance of the war had already oppressed the people with heavy imposts, and the peasants of Normandy tumultuously assembled, and broke out in acts of open outrage. The parliament of Rouen were suspended for their neglect and lenity; and the chancellor Seguier, who was detached with six thousand troops to punish the guilty, determined to avoid a similar accusation, and extinguished the insurrection with the lives of the insurgents.

France
In Rouffillon, Salces, which had been captured by the prince of Conde, was recovered by the Spaniards; but the count of Harcourt acquired fresh laurels in Piedmont. He relieved Casal, besieged by the marquis of Leganez; and retook Turin, though defended by prince Thomas of Savoy in person. At sea, the French obtained a decisive victory over the fleet of Spain; and in the Netherlands the marshals Chaulnes, Chatillon, and Meilleraie, invested Arras. The cardinal infant, brother to Philip the Fourth, who had advanced to the relief of it was repulsed at the moment that he thought himself secure of victory; and the city, after a defence of thirty-five days, was compelled to surrender.

A. D. 1640, 1641.] But more deep and deadly wounds were inflicted on Spain by the imprudence of her own ministers than by the enterprises of Richelieu. The Catalans, indignant at the open violation of their ancient privileges, erected the standard of revolt: and Portugal, disdaining any longer a dependant situation, shook off the yoke of Philip, and raised to the throne John duke of Braganza. To the support of the former, Lewis detached the mareschal de la Mothe Houdancourt, who reduced the city of Constantin; and with the latter he concluded a strict and solemn alliance. In Germany the count of Guebriant, who had been educated to war under the duke of Weimar, maintained against the Imperialists the glory of the French name; and the viscount Turenne, a pupil of the same school, happily seconded in Piedmont the efforts of the count of Harcourt.

The discontent and flight of the count of Soissons have already been noticed; in his exile of Sedan he still nourished his enmity to the cardinal; and supported by the dukes of Bouillon and Guise, he determined openly to pursue the emotions of his resentment. Richelieu sensible of his designs, detached mareschal Chatillon with ten thousand men to invest Sedan, and reduce him to submission. But the count was reinforced by a Spanish army under general Lamboi, and encountered the royal forces in the battle of Marfee. The troops of the mareschal were already broken and dispersed, when the fruits of victory were ravished from the conspirators by the death of the count himself, who perished by a random ball. The circumstances of his fate were dark and mysterious; but the policy of the cardinal prevailed on the king to consign to

oblivion the guilt of his associates; and the duke of Bouillon was again admitted to the presence of his sovereign, and permitted to retain the principality of Sedan.

A. D. 1641. 1642.] In the Netherlands, Aire was captured by the marshal Meilleraie, and recovered again by the Spaniards; but it was in Rouffillon, the possession of which would enable him effectually to secure the Catalans, that the cardinal was determined to make the most vigorous efforts. Disease had long preyed upon his sinking frame, but his mind still rose superior to pain and lassitude. His ardent spirit kindled the flame of martial ambition in Lewis; and though the declining health of the monarch threatened his speedy dissolution, yet he listened with pleasure to the manly counsels of his minister, and prepared with Richelieu, to accompany the army into Rouffillon; but at Narbonne the indisposition of the cardinal increased to such a dangerous height, as compelled him reluctantly to stop there, while the king, with the marshals Meilleraie and Schomberg, pursued his route, and encamped under the hostile walls of Perpignan.

A. D. 1642.] While Lewis in person pressed the siege of that city, and Richelieu languished on the bed of sickness, a confederacy was formed, that promised to distinguish the power and shorten the fleeting moments of the latter. The lively temper, agreeable address, and elegant person, of Cinq Mars, the second son of marshal d'Effit, seconded by the recommendations of the cardinal, had rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the king; but the favourite, haughty and intractable, regarded with aversion the superior ascendancy of the minister; Richelieu had repressed his ambition that aspired to the ducal honours of France; and the gratitude of Cinq Mars, for past favours, was overwhelmed by the refusal of new dignities. Weak himself, and incapable of great designs, he listened to the suggestions of M. de Thou, the son of the celebrated historian; by the advice of that gentleman, he connected himself with the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon; and soon after, in conjunction with those princes, formed a secret alliance with the court of Spain. The duke of Bouillon was to have the command of the army, and engaged, in case of danger, to receive the duke of Orleans into Sedan; while Philip the Fourth promised to furnish the conspirators with ample supplies of money and a formidable body of troops.

But these intrigues, however secretly conducted, could not escape the jealous vigilance of the cardinal. On the first intimation, he pressed Lewis to quit the walls of Perpignan, and to repair to Narbonne. The defeat of the marshal Grammont, on the banks of the Scheld, disposed the monarch to listen to the solicitations of his minister, in whose abilities alone he could confide to retrieve the disaster; the cardinal, in this interview, is supposed bitterly to have reproached his sovereign; and Lewis acknowledged that Cinq Mars had frequently urged him to the destruction of Richelieu. By the advice of that statesman, the king proceeded to his capital, after investing the cardinal with discretionary powers for the de-

struction of his enemies. The duke of Orleans made an ample confession; but though he refused publicly to bear evidence against his confederates, his life, as brother to the king, was respected; the duke of Bouillon purchased his pardon by the cession of his principality of Sedan; but Cinq Mars and de Thou were condemned to atone for their presumption on the scaffold; the morning of their execution brought intelligence of the surrender of Perpignan; and Richelieu apprised the king of both events by a single and expressive line—"Your troops are in Perpignan, and your enemies in the grave."

Mary of Medicis at Cologne, closed a life, embittered by the discord of her sons, and her own exile; the filial affection which Lewis had denied to her while living, was revived on the news of her death; but the attention of France was engrossed by the approaching dissolution of him whose daring councils had driven her into banishment, and whose implacable vengeance had shed, by the hands of the executioner, the noblest blood of France. The glories and life of Richelieu now drew near their end; after the reduction of Perpignan, exhausted in body, but still vigorous in mind, he had approached the capital by slow and triumphant journies; his last moments attested his ascendancy over his sovereign, and were still terrible to his enemies. On his death bed he protested to Lewis, that his councils had ever been directed to the honour of the crown and the welfare of the kingdom; and he terminated his splendid career with a fortitude and serenity that astonished those who had beheld the sanguinary effects of his administration.

Three mighty and successful projects immortalise the period of his government. He humbled the turbulent spirits of the great; he subdued the stubborn zeal of the Hugonots; and he curbed the encroaching power of the house of Austria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active, no combinations of the powerful nobles could withstand his vengeance, no intrigues could elude his penetration. While he exalted the throne, he controuled a sovereign impatient of rule and jealous of his authority; and while he extinguished the liberties of the people, he established among them discipline and order, and opened to them the paths of learning and renown.

A. D. 1643.] From the death of Richelieu, Lewis aspired to hold the reins of government himself. Mazarin, for whom the late minister had obtained a cardinal's hat, and to whom he had lately imparted his confidence, was, indeed, introduced into the council; but the servants of the crown were retained in their former departments, and the only change that appeared, was recalling from banishment, and releasing from confinement, the most illustrious objects of the cardinal's jealousy or resentment. The war was still prosecuted with diligence and vigour, and the spirit of Richelieu seemed still to impel the machine which his genius had first set in motion. In Germany, the count of Guebriant, and the Swedish general Tortenson, triumphed over the Imperialists; in Piedmont, Lorraine, Roussillon, and Catalonia, the marshals Schomberg, Meilleraie, l'Hopital,

and Houdancourt, in successive victories, sustained the glory, and increased the dominion of France.

But the success of his arms could not check the progress of disease; and Lewis was sensible that the inevitable moment was rapidly approaching, when his reign and his life must terminate together. A slow fever incessantly hung upon him; and his body exhibited the symptoms of gradual but certain decay. The tender years of his sons exposed the kingdom once more to those dissensions which had lately been so happily extinguished; and anxious for the welfare of his children and people, he diligently revolved in what hands to place the reigns of government. Anne of Austria, the partner of his bed, had never partook of his confidence; and his brother, the duke of Orleans, had forfeited his esteem by his levity, and incurred his enmity by his seditious intrigues.

At length he published to the world the plan that he had secretly meditated; and *endeavour'd*, by distributing into different hands the power that he bequeathed, to counterbalance the aspiring hopes of each, and to secure the tranquil minority of the dauphin. The queen, indeed, was appointed sole regent, with the care of her children; but the duke of Orleans was declared head of the council, and lieutenant-general throughout the kingdom. In case of his death this trust was first to be devolved on the prince of Condé and afterwards on the cardinal Mazarin. Bouthillier, superintendant of the finances, and his son Chavigni, were nominated to the council, in which all affairs were to be decided by a majority of voices. The queen and the duke of Orleans swore solemnly to preserve inviolate the deed which they had subscribed; and Lewis, to render it still more authentic, commanded it to be registered in parliament.

He now prepared to meet with firm composure, the last scene of human greatness; when his physician, at his earnest desire, numbered the fleeting minutes that remained, and pronounced that his life could not exceed two or three hours, he received the intelligence with avowed satisfaction, and looking fervently up to heaven, added, "Well! my God, I consent with all my heart!" The prediction was verified by the event, and he expired soon after, in the forty-second year of his age, and on the very day that he had completed the thirty-third of his reign. In estimating his character, on several occasions his personal courage shone forth with superior lustre; but though jealous of his authority, he reluctantly yielded to the ascendancy of Richelieu: and the epithet of Just, which he attained, was frequently impeached by his severity, and sometimes by his cruelty.

LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

A. D. 1643.] THE will of Lewis the Thirteenth, during his life, had been continually opposed, and after his death it was openly violated; his resolution of establishing a council of regency was instantly rejected; and his widow, Anne of Austria, by an arret in the parliament of Paris, was invested with unlimited powers; she soon resigned herself to the influence of cardinal Mazarin, a native of the little town of Piscina, in the Abruzzo—his political knowledge and address had introduced him to the confidence of Richelieu; and he now acquired that ascendancy over the mind of his royal mistress, as Richelieu had maintained over her deceased consort.

Lewis the Fourteenth, the lustre of whose reign afterwards attached to his name the envied appellation of *Great*, had not yet completed his fifth year, and the kingdom was left involved in a bloody and extensive war with the house of Austria—but the situation of Europe was favourable to the designs of France. The kingdom of Portugal had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and established the duke of Braganza, as John the Fourth, on the throne—the Catalans still displayed the banner of revolt—the united provinces had been cherished and protected by Henry the Fourth and Lewis the Thirteenth—the sceptre of Sweden was in the hands of Christina, the celebrated, but eccentric daughter of the great Gustavus, and her generals still maintained in war the glory of their country—while, in England, Charles the First, inheriting from his father his fatal and lofty ideas of royal prerogative, had already kindled the flame of civil war throughout that island.

Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Enguien, son to the prince of Condé, had been appointed to the command of the French forces on the frontiers of Flanders, previous to the death of Lewis the Thirteenth; on intelligence of that event, he determined to attack the army of Spain, engaged in the siege of Rocroi—the remonstrances of mareschal de l'Hopital were overborne by his ardour—and in the execution of his design, the fire of youth was united with skill and judgment, scarce to be found in age. The Spanish infantry, till then deemed invincible, was broken by his impetuous charge; the count of Fuentes, who commanded it, pe-



Sculpsit *Sculpsit*

LOUIS XIV

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rished on the field—nine thousand slaughtered enemies, and twenty pieces of cannon, attested the decisive victory of France, and ushered in the dawning glory of her general.

A. D. 1643, 1644.] Thionville, on the banks of the Moselle, had excited the desires, and awed the aspiring genius of Richelieu; it now yielded to the arms of the duke of Enguien, who rapidly traversed the Rhine, and advanced to avenge the death of the count of Guebriant, who had gloriously fallen in the successful siege of Rotwil. The Imperialists had availed themselves of the fate of that general, and the dissensions of his successors in command, by the total defeat of the French near Tudelingen—but this disgrace was effaced by the valour and skill of the duke of Enguien, who attacked and forced the Imperial army under the walls of Fribourg; general Merci, though vanquished, still maintained his reputation, and, by his retreat, extorted the admiration of his adversary; who swept with his victorious troops Philippsburgh and Mentz, Worms and Oppenheim, with the forts along the course of the Rhine.

A. D. 1645, 1646.] In Flanders, the duke of Orleans reduced Gravelines, Mardyke, and Coutrai; but the marechal de la Mothe Houdancourt was defeated in Catalonia; and the victory of Tortenfon, the Swedish general, over the Imperialists at Tabor, was more than balanced by the surprise of marechal Turenne at Mariendal: this disgrace, the greatest that ever befel that celebrated commander, summoned once more the duke of Enguien to the frontiers of Germany. The laurels which Merci had so lately acquired, were torn from his brow in the plains of Nordlingen; but the indignant hero scorned to survive defeat, and he obtained a glorious death, which even the victor could not but envy; three thousand Imperialists perished on the field with their general; two thousand acknowledged, in captivity, the superior fortune of the duke of Enguien; who, after adding Dunkirk to the dominions of France, returned to the capital to restore his health shaken by fatigues, and to meditate new triumphs.

A. D. 1647.] But his splendid career of glory, instead of exciting the gratitude, had awakened the jealousy of the court; and, by the envy of Mazarin, he was detached into Catalonia with a feeble and ill-provided army. The death of his father had devolved on him the title of prince of Condé, and the admiration of the public had annexed to it the epithet of *Great*; but his slender force allowed him not on that theatre to rival his former actions; and he was compelled to retire from the walls of Lerida, which had been successively and ineffectually assaulted by the marechal de la Mothe Houdancourt, and the count of Grammont.

A. D. 1647, 1648.] Naples had revolted against the authority of Spain, and was long defended by the duke of Guise, the last prince of that branch of Lorraine, and who was inferior to his ancestors in fortune alone. In Germany the marechal Turenne, in conjunction with the Swedes, defeated the Imperial generals Melander and Montecuculli; his success influenced Spain to acknowledge the united provinces as free and independent states; and by a second treaty subscribed

at Munster, the emperor, alarmed at the progress of the Swedes, who had insulted and plundered part of Prague, consented to purchase peace by ceding to France the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, with his pretensions to Pignerol, Brisac, and Alsace; he permitted that crown also to retain a garrison in Philippsburgh and Pomerania, concessions still more liberal and important.

A. D. 1648.] Philip the Fourth, by his treaty with the Dutch, had deprived France of an important ally, and had delivered himself from a stubborn and persevering enemy. He now renewed, with increase of vigour, his operations in Flanders, where the prince of Condé had resumed the command. That general invested and reduced Ypres; and the archduke Leopold, to balance this acquisition, assaulted and carried Coutrai, possessed himself of Furnes, and laid siege to Lens; to the relief of that place the prince of Condé advanced, and had the mortification of beholding it surrendered in his view. But this transient disgrace was effaced by a victory the most splendid and decisive; "My friends, remember "Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen," was his short but animating address; and the superior numbers of the Spaniards were broken by the charge of a hero, and the enthusiastic confidence of his followers; five thousand perished on the field, three thousand became prisoners, and the archduke himself with difficulty escaped the pursuit of the victors.

But while France triumphed in her own successes and those of her allies, the moment approached, doomed to shake her power and glory to the foundation by the rage of contending factions. Though Mazarin had affected moderation in his conduct, and banished that pomp in which Richelieu had involved himself, yet his administration was far from acceptable to the public. As a foreigner, they regarded him with jealousy; and the taxes that the profusion or the necessities of the government compelled him to impose, converted that passion into hatred. The parliament of Paris refused to register the edicts for the new imposts; and the court, to enforce its authority, arrested Blancmenil, the president, and the counsellor Broussel. This violent step was the signal of instant sedition. The barricades of the league were immediately revived—all Paris was in arms—and the safety of the queen was only to be secured by the release of the prisoners.

A. D. 1649.] But the regent and her minister nourished in their bosoms a lively resentment of the insult—from the caprice and fury of a seditious multitude, they escaped with the infant king to the royal residence of St. Germain—they were accompanied by the duke of Orleans—and the queen soon summoned to her defence the victor of Rocroi, Fribourg, Nordlingen and Lens. The adverse faction, who assumed the name of the *Fronde*, and maintained possession of the capital, were inspired by the genius and intriguing spirit of the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal of Retz, who, with the habit of a priest, displayed a disposition suited to camps and courts; and licentious in his manners and profligate in his morals, acquired an ascendancy over the minds of the people, without condescending to throw a veil over his vices, or employing the popular pretext of religion.

Ardent in the cause they had espoused, the parliament soon established a revenue for the support of the war—and the citizens with pleasure, deluded by the name of freedom, submitted to taxes far more burthenfome than those that had excited their clamours—the prince of Conti, envious of the fame of his brother the prince of Condé, with the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, devoted themselves to the service of the parliament. Troops were levied with diligence—and the coadjutor himself raised a regiment, which from his titular archbishopric was called the regiment of Corinth—the zeal of the Parisians lavishly supplied them with money, the sinews of war—while the royalists experienced the severest distress, and the queen was reduced to pledge the jewels of the crown to alleviate the necessities of her court.

But that court was still formidable from the renown and abilities of the prince of Condé; with an army of scarce eight thousand soldiers, he blocked up a city that contained five hundred thousand citizens; and though the marshal Turenne was allured by the charms of the duchess of Longueville to embrace the opposite party, yet his military talents but little availed him, when only seconded by an undisciplined rabble. At length the leaders on each side obtained the particular objects of their avarice or ambition; the public good was buried in studied silence; the storm for a moment was hushed; and the court returned to the deserted capital.

The tempest of civil discord which had been felt in France, afflicted England with uncommon violence; that island presented a new and solemn spectacle; a sovereign was arraigned before the tribunal of his subjects; and the unhappy Charles was condemned to atone with his life for the violation of the laws of his country. He expired on a scaffold; his children were driven into exile; and a successful usurper, erecting himself on the ruins of the constitution under the title of protector, ruled England with absolute sway.

A. D. 1650, 1651.] But in France, the enthusiastic flame of freedom, which had glowed in the bosoms of the English, was still unknown; that people indeed again resumed their arms, and turned their swords against each other; but the chiefs not unfrequently ranged themselves under the banner of some celebrated beauty; and the prince of Condé, and the coadjutor de Retz, as caprice or interest dictated, supported the cardinal Mazarin. The court alternately abdicated or occupied the capital: and the princes of Condé and Conti, with the duke of Longueville, were at length the victims of their adversaries artifices; they were suddenly arrested and conveyed to the castle of Vincennes; the giddy populace, who had regarded their fate with indifference, in less than a year vented their discontent in loud and opprobrious clamours; and Mazarin, who had caused their imprisonment, was reduced to release them in person, and to seek shelter himself in banishment from the rage of the multitude.

During these convulsions of the state, Lewis the Fourteenth had attained the age fixed for his assuming the reins of government, and his majority was solemn-

ly declared in parliament ; but he was still influenced by the counsels of his mother, and seemed to inherit her fond partiality for Mazarin. The prince of Condé, sensible of the implacable resentment of the queen, quitted Paris to arm in his support the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou ; and to ally himself with the very Spaniards, on whose defeat he had founded his martial glory ; while the cardinal, at the head of an army levied at his own expence and devoted to his service, resumed his former station, and menaced the destruction of his enemies.

The parliament still regarded that minister with peculiar detestation, and even publicly fixed a price on his head ; but with an inconsistency which characterised their proceedings, they also declared the prince of Condé an enemy to the state. While they exhorted the forces that the duke of Orleans had raised to march against the former, they strictly prohibited any part of the public revenue from being diverted to their subsistence ; their resolutions had at length fallen into contempt, and the rival factions disdaining their mediation, prepared to terminate their differences by the sword. Condé, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field against the king ; and the mareschal Turenne, who had returned to his allegiance, avowed himself the champion of the court.

Near the banks of the Loire the hostile armies regarded with a jealous eye each other's motions ; when the prince, who had traversed in disguise, and through the posts of his adversaries, the extent of country from Agen to the forest of Orleans, joined his forces and immediately prepared to improve the confidence and boldness with which his presence had inspired them. He attacked that division of the royal army which was posted at Bleneau, under the command of the mareschal d'Hocquincourt, and in a moment their ranks were broken by his impetuous charge. The panic in an instant communicated itself from the camp to the court ; and the minister proposed to save the king by flight, and to convey him privately to Bourges. But this disgraceful expedient was averted by the skill and constancy of the mareschal Turenne. With the remnant of his army he availed himself of every favourable inequality of ground, restored the sinking spirits of the great, and confirmed in their allegiance the wavering multitude ; Paris indeed received the victor with loud acclamations ; but his popularity was transient ; the coadjutor, now become cardinal of Retz, no longer the idol of the people, governed with absolute sway the mind of the duke of Orleans, and stimulated that prince to offer himself to the citizens as the competitor of Condé. The commanding genius that distinguished the latter in the field, could ill stoop to the cabals of a faction ; the duke of Lorraine, who had promised to join his arms, was bribed to desert his cause by Mazarin ; his troops were already enervated by the pleasures of the capital ; and with secret satisfaction he listened to the approach of Turenne, whose appearance again summoned him to the proper theatre of his glory.

In the suburbs of Saint Antoine the martial train of the prince was encompassed and oppressed by the superior numbers of the royalists. From a neighbouring eminence the king beheld the unequal conflict in which the blood of his noblest subjects was shed; but the citizens of Paris affected to maintain a perfect neutrality, and shut their gates against each party; the duke of Orleans, with the cardinal de Retz, secluded himself in his palace of Luxemburg; when at length mademoiselle, the daughter of that prince, taking the part of Condé, whom her father dared not assist, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldness to fire the cannon of the Bastile upon the king's troops. The royal army retired; but mademoiselle ruined herself for ever with the king her cousin, by this imprudent violence, and the cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great desire she had to espouse a crowned head, observed upon this occasion that, "those cannon had killed her husband."

A. D. 1652.] Soon after this action the prince of Condé retired from a capital disgusted by his violence and haughty demeanor. The parliament declared the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and still breathed the same spirit of animosity towards Mazarin. The court, weary of their incessant labours, consented in appearance to give up that minister; he was commanded to retire to Bouillon; and no sooner was the intelligence of his exile conveyed to Paris, than the citizens of their own accord sent deputies to invite the king to return to that city; he entered it amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and by the sudden turn of popular favour beheld himself firmly seated on his throne. The first exercise of his authority was to banish the duke of Orleans to Blois, who there closed the remnant of an inglorious life. The cardinal de Retz was also arrested, and conveyed from prison to prison: while the prince of Condé, pressed by the marshal Turenne, abandoned in France by almost all his partisans, and feebly supported by the Spaniards, waged an unsuccessful war on the frontiers of Champagne.

A. D. 1653.] The calm which the kingdom enjoyed, had been the result of the banishment of Mazarin. Yet scarcely was he expelled by the general voice of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king; and to his infinite surprise entered Paris once more in full power, and without the least disturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a master; but the cardinal, amidst the satisfaction of his change, could not repress his contempt of the national levity. The parliament, who had before set a price upon his head as a public robber, now sent deputies to compliment him; and soon after passed sentence of death for contumacy on the prince of Condé, whom so lately they had honoured as their ally, and even declared general of their forces.

The minister applied himself with vigour to extinguish the sparks of revolt. In Burgundy, Belegarde was defended for the prince of Condé, by the count of Bouteville, afterwards so celebrated as marshal Luxemburg. It was attacked

with rival ardour by the duke d'Epéron, at the head of a royal army; yet the governor consented not to surrender till a practible breach was made, and then obtained honourable conditions. Brouage and Oleron were purchased from the count of Oignon; the prince of Conti, and the dukes of Longueville capitulated in Bourdeaux—and the garrison under the command of the count of Marfin was permitted to march out and join the prince of Condé.

A. D. 1654.] That prince, in conjunction with the archduke on the side of the Netherlands, laid siege to Arras; but mareschal Turenne, after possessing himself of Stenai, advanced to the relief of the former town, and forced the lines of the besiegers; the Spaniards were routed with bloody slaughter; but the prince of Condé still maintained the honour of his name amidst defeat. With two regiments alone he protected the fugitives, and repulsed mareschal d'Hocquin-court; the king of Spain acknowledged his services in a short and expressive letter—"I heard that all was lost, and that you saved all."

The power of the minister each day increased; the prince of Conti sought his alliance, and obtained the hand of his niece; and the cabals of the parliament were broken by the resolution of Lewis. England, whom most he dreaded, was ruled by Cromwell, under the title of protector; and who after humbling the pride of Holland, meditated to despoil Spain of her transmarine possessions: while in Sweden, the celebrated queen Christiana resigned her throne to her cousin Charles Gustavus, and sought in the shade of private life, that happiness which her turbulent and restless disposition would never permit her to enjoy.

A. D. 1655.] Landreci and Quesnoi were reduced by the mareschal Turenne, and a road was opened by these acquisitions into the Spanish Netherlands. The king in person beheld the successful siege of Saint Guillaín; and the Spaniards were compelled, by the marquis Merinville to retire from the walls of Solsonna. their fleet was defeated before Barcelona, by that of France, commanded by the duke of Vendôme. But even these successes afforded not that satisfaction to Mazarin, as the treaty he soon after concluded with the protector of England.

That great and prosperous usurper was equally courted and dreaded by all Europe; yet his political judgment has been impeached by posterity, when he preferred the alliance of France to that of Spain. But Lewis purchased the friendship of his new ally by a concession the most ignominious, which the magnanimity of his maturer years would have disdained, and which must solely be imputed to the more subtle, but less honourable policy of his Italian minister. Charles the Second, and his brother the duke of York, both sons to the late king of England, who had expired on the scaffold, and consequently the grandsons of Henry the Fourth of France, were compelled, at the imperious voice of Cromwell, to quit that kingdom, and to seek an asylum in the dominions of Spain.

A. D. 1656.] But if the honour of France suffered from diminution in thus withdrawing her protection from the unfortunate, the advantage to her arms was brilliant and important. Mareschal Turenne, with the mareschal de la Forte, had

invested Valenciennes, and experienced the same reverse of fortune as had befallen Condé before Arras. That prince, seconded by don John of Austria, forced the mareschal de la Forte's lines, took him prisoner, and relieved Valenciennes. Turenne performed what Condé had done before on a similar defeat; he saved the routed army, made head every where against the victors, and in less than a month afterwards laid siege to and carried the town of la Capelle.

A. D. 1657.] But the treaty with England assured Turenne of a decided superiority; Cromwell engaged to send six thousand infantry into Flanders, on condition that the French should attempt the reduction of Mardyke, Gravelines, or Dunkirk, all of which had been recovered by Spain during the late civil commotions, and deliver into his hands which ever place was soonest taken; while the mareschal awaited the arrival of this reinforcement, he endeavoured by surprise to make himself master of Cambrai; he had scarce encompassed the walls, when the prince of Condé, at the head of two thousand horse, penetrated through the army of the besiegers, and having routed every thing that attempted to stop him, threw himself into the town. The mareschal no longer persisted in the hopeless enterprise, but directed his march towards St. Quintin to meet the English auxiliaries; strengthened by this reinforcement, he successively reduced Montmedi and St. Venant, raised the siege of Ardres, and concluded the campaign with the taking of Mardyke, which, according to the late treaty, was delivered into the hands of Cromwell.

A. D. 1658.] Early in the spring the armies resumed their hostile operations, which had been suspended by the inclemency of the winter. The remonstrances of Cromwell commanded the acquiescence of Mazarin; and Turenne was ordered to invest the town of Dunkirk. The port was already blocked up by an English squadron, and six thousand of the infantry of that nation joined the French camp. The prince of Condé and don John of Austria assembled all their forces, and presented themselves before the city, to raise the siege. Turenne quitted his lines to encounter the enemy; and the prince of Condé, who was not allowed the disposition of that day, turned to the English duke of Gloucester, who had accompanied him, and asked him, if he had ever seen a battle lost: the reply was in the negative: "then," said the prince, "you will see one now." The event justified his discernment: the French and English charged with rival valour; the Spaniards were broken on every side; and the prince of Condé, who had displayed in the battle the most heroic courage, preserved the same undaunted countenance in defeat: the troops under his immediate command were still formidable, and effected their retreat in tolerable order, but the rest of the Spanish army was chased to the gates of Furnes, and above nine thousand of the veteran soldiers of Spain are supposed to have fallen in the action and pursuit.

Dunkirk, though now destitute of the most distant hope of succour, still rejected the summons of Turenne, and surrendered not till ten days after the battle; the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and Lewis entered in triumph the prostrate city; but he was soon compelled to deliver it up to Lockhart,

Cromwell's ambassador; and the reluctance of Mazarin was vanquished by the resolution and menaces of the protector of England.

This was the last and most important acquisition of that great and successful usurper—who, without any eminent qualities of body, or shining talents of mind, without fortune or illustrious birth, subverted one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world—brought to trial and executed his sovereign—compelled the royal family to seek their safety in exile—and reduced to subjection three powerful and discontented nations. In the last moments the illusions of fanaticism, which had been so conspicuous in his infant grandeur, still prevailed—and he rejected the fatal predictions of his physicians, while his chaplains buoyed up his hopes with the assurances of a longer existence. His dying breath bequeathed his power to his eldest son, Richard, who immediately assumed the title of protector, and was acknowledged by the court of France.

Mareschal Turenne, on the surrender of Dunkirk, turned his arms against Furnes and Dixmude—these soon yielded to his victorious assaults—the Spanish forces, divided in garrison towns, would probably have been swept away by the torrent of his fortune, had not his career been checked by the indisposition of his sovereign—but no sooner was the health of Lewis restored, than those intrigues which had already agitated the court, vanquished into air, and Turenne was permitted to swell the long list of his conquests—Oudenarde and Menin opened their gates after a faint resistance—the mareschal de la Forte was detached to invest Gravelines; and Turenne himself covered with his army the operations of the siege. The colours of France were soon displayed from the walls—the prince of Ligne was encountered and routed by the rival of Condé—and Ypres submitted to the victor, and received a French garrison.

In Italy the current of success flowed, though not with equal rapidity, in favour of France. The duke of Mantua, who endeavoured to stem the tide as the ally of Spain, was happy in being admitted to a neutrality. Trin, in the marquisate of Montferrat, was taken by the marquis of Villa; and Mortare, in the Milanese, surrendered to the duke of Modena, who survived his conquest but a few days.

Ferdinand, the third emperor of Germany, had, during the various events of war, sunk into the grave; and the ambition of Mazarin aspired to place the Imperial crown on the head of Lewis. The mareschal Grammont was dispatched for this purpose to the diet; but the cardinal was soon convinced of the futility of his chimerical expectations. After an interval of above a year, the electors raised to the throne Leopold, the son of the late emperor; but the policy of France embraced the opportunity to confirm the treaty of Munster, and to attain to her interest several of the independent princes of Germany.

A. D. 1659.] The rigour of winter, which had suspended the hostile enterprises of the crowns of Spain and France, had revived in the breasts of their respective ministers the desire of peace. The success of Turenne in the Spanish Netherlands had alarmed the former; and Mazarin was intent on securing the

tranquillity of the people by the marriage of the king. It has been asserted, that from the affection of Lewis to the niece of the cardinal, he had at one time raised his hopes to a royal alliance—but the haughty spirit of the queen-mother soon extinguished the vain idea, and the daughter of the king of Spain and the princess of Savoy next presented themselves to his view; he therefore listened with pleasure to the pacific overtures of Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Philip the Fourth with the same absolute authority as he himself ruled Lewis.

A cessation of arms was immediately agreed upon; and in the Isle of Pheasants, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro appeared as the representatives of their respective sovereigns. A considerable time was consumed in disputes about presidency; but the Spaniard maintained his equality, and refused to yield to the dignity of the cardinal, or to the superior pretensions of France; their conferences were at length begun, and after four months, were concluded by the celebrated treaty of Pyrenees. By this treaty Lewis was to receive the hand of the infanta with five hundred thousand gold crowns—Alsace and Roussillon were confirmed to him—but he solemnly renounced every succession that might accrue to him in right of his spouse—and to Charles the Fourth he restored the duchy of Lorraine—to Spain the cities of St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde—and he consented to pardon the prince of Condé. Philip, on his side, extended also his clemency to the revolted Catalans—relinquished Verceil to the duke of Savoy—Reggio to the duke of Modena—his whole territories to the duke of Monaco—and to the duke of Newburgh the city of Juliers, which for several years past had been sequestered in the hands of the house of Austria.

A. D. 1659, 1660.] Charles of England had presented himself at the Pyrenees to implore the assistance of the cardinal and Don Lewis de Haro—the former refused even to see him, and pleaded the alliance of France with the English commonwealth—but the latter received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation. Even the offer of Charles to marry the niece of the cardinal was rejected with cold politeness. The condition of that monarch to all the world seemed desperate—his friends had been baffled in every attempt for his service; the scaffold had often streamed with the blood of his most active adherents; their spirits were broken by tedious imprisonments; their estates were overwhelmed by fines and confiscations. But amidst all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprising revolution, brought that about which the ministers of France and Spain might have had the honour of undertaking. Richard Cromwell, of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition, was incapable of maintaining his dominion by sanguinary measures; he signed his own dismissal; and with a moderate fortune extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age. The committee of safety, who had usurped the authority that he had abdicated, were hated and despised; they were reluctantly compelled to restore the parliament which they had dissolved; the nation, wearied by contending factions, impatiently looked to the restoration of the ancient constitution; their wishes were seconded by the loyal declarations of

general Monk, who, with the government of Scotland, commanded an affectionate and well-disciplined army. Charles was invited to mount the throne of his ancestors; he landed at Dover, took possession of his kingdom without the effusion of blood, and entered his capital amidst the unanimous acclamations of the inhabitants.

The duke of Orleans, the uncle of Lewis, had expired at Blois, but little noticed, and not at all regretted; his death did not interrupt the preparations for the marriage of the king of France: that monarch advanced to Saint Jean de Luz to receive the hand of his bride; the royal pair returned to Paris, and in their triumphal entry into that city displayed a magnificence before unknown; but though on this occasion the cardinal indulged the national taste for splendour, in every other respect he narrowly circumscribed the expences of the king, and Lewis was often reduced to request the loan of that wealth, with which the coffers of his minister overflowed.

A. D. 1661.] In the silent acquisition of riches, the cardinal had now reached the period which permitted him no longer to enjoy them. The treaty of Vincennes with the duke of Lorraine, and which, in some measure towards that prince, softened that of Pyrenees, was the last act of his administration; nine days afterwards he expired; and his concern for his wealth was still apparent in the last moments of his life. By a deed of gift he resigned his riches to the king; and his discernment was justified by the magnanimity of Lewis, who immediately restored the instrument. Though, perhaps, that monarch but little regretted the loss of a minister, whose yoke sat heavy on his shoulders, yet early taught to dissemble, he assumed the external marks of sorrow, and even honoured his memory by the compliment of wearing mourning.

The administration and talents of Mazarin have been compared with those of Richelieu; but those commanding features which distinguished the latter, are in vain to be sought for in the former. Prudent, subtle, and avaricious, he rather endeavoured to soothe than to command; to deceive than to vanquish; and the love of glory either existed not in his bosom, or was lost in his insatiate thirst of gold. That immense hoard was soon afterwards dissipated by the follies and prodigality of the marquis of Meilleraie, who had espoused his favourite daughter Hortensia Mancini, and assumed the title of duke of Mazarin; while Hortensia herself, banished from the bed and country of her husband, long subsisted in England on a pension allowed her by the liberality of Charles the Second.

On the death of Mazarin, Lewis the Fourteenth prepared to throw off those shackles which the ascendancy of the minister had imposed, and hereafter to assume not only the ensigns of royalty, but the duties of a king. The officers of state, who little expected that a young prince only in his twenty third year, would limit the pursuit of his pleasures, to sustain the toils of government, impatiently enquired whom they were to apply to? They were equally surprised and disappointed, when Lewis answered, "to me;" their astonishment still increased

when they found him persevere. He had consulted his own strength, and made a trial in secret of his capacity for government; his resolution once taken, he maintained it to the last moment of his life; he appointed bounds to the power of every minister; obliged him to give an account of every thing at certain hours; restored order to the finances, and established discipline among the troops.

In his transactions with foreign states, he asserted the dignity of his crown with jealous vigilance; the ambassador of Spain at the court of London, had on a public entry disputed the way with that of France; but the firm remonstrances of Lewis extorted from Philip ample satisfaction; and the Spanish monarch dispatched the count of Fuentes with the important concession, "that the ministers of Spain should no longer dispute the precedency with those of France." With the court of Rome he displayed equal firmness. His ambassador, the duke of Crequi, had been insulted, and even his carriage fired into by the guards of that city; the king menaced to avenge the affront by arms; and he compelled Alexander the Seventh, the Roman pontiff, to satisfy his honour, by erecting a pillar in Rome, expressing the injury and reparation.

A. D. 1661, 1667.] The satisfaction that he derived from these events was increased by the birth of a son; and the security of his kingdom was augmented by the purchase of Dunkirk. Charles the Second, whose adversity had not taught him economy, was reduced by his profusion to part with that important place, and Lewis obtained it at the price of four hundred thousand pounds. He immediately employed thirty thousand men to fortify it by land and sea; and dug a large basin between the town and the citadel, capable of containing several men of war. He extorted soon after the strong hold of Marsal from the duke of Lorrain. He secretly supported the crown of Portugal against that of Spain; but though the king of England offered to abandon to him all the Spanish low countries, provided he would suffer him to pursue his advantages over the Dutch, Lewis rejected the proposal, which would have rendered Charles sovereign of the seas; yet the assistance he could on that element afford his allies, the Hollanders, was feeble and unworthy of his greatness; but his succours by land were more effectual and honourable; and his arms protected them from the martial and enterprising bishop of Munster, whom the gold of England had allured to invade the United Provinces.

A. D. 1667.] The peace of Breda reconciled the contending powers, but restored not for a moment the tranquility of Europe. The flame of war was kept alive by the pretensions and ambition of the French monarch. In the silent lapse of six years he had replenished his coffers, created a naval force, augmented his armies, and provided large magazines and an immense quantity of military stores. The two ministers who principally shared his confidence were Colbert and Louvois. The former in the finances, rivalled the fame and abli-

ties of the duke of Sully; the latter first displayed to Europe the means of subsisting large armies at a distance by magazines. The prince of Condé, and the marshal Turenne were still in the vigour of their life; and France might justly boast the proud superiority of her *statéfinen* and her generals.

A. D. 1668.] Anne of Austria, the queen-mother, who no longer retained her influence over the mind of her son, had sunk unnoticed into the grave; the death of Philip of Spain was an event of more importance; he left a son, Charles the Second; but the queen of France, the issue of a former marriage, laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, even to the exclusion of her brother. By the custom of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage, was preferred to a male of the second; and Lewis, in open violation of his solemn renunciation in the treaty of Pyrenees, prepared to vindicate the claim of his consort by arms.

The king of France with an army of forty thousand men, directed by Turenne, paid by Colbert, and amply supplied by Louvois, burst into the defenceless provinces of Flanders—The towns without magazines, without fortifications, and without garrisons, surrendered to Lewis as soon as he presented himself before them—The banners of France were in an instant displayed from the walls of Ath, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Charleroy, and Binche; Lille alone maintained a resistance of nine days, and the king returned to Paris from a campaign, attended by the most important acquisitions, but which in its progress rather resembled a party of pleasure than an hostile expedition.

A. D. 1669.] The reputation which Turenne had acquired in this enterprise, awakened the honourable jealousy of the prince of Condé: The inclemency of the season could not chill his martial ardour, and in the midst of winter he proposed to his sovereign the invasion of Franche Comté. That province, situated on the borders of Switzerland, under the protection of the house of Austria, enjoyed its ancient privileges, and the honourable distinction of a parliament; the inhabitants contented, though poor were awakened from their humble tranquility by the discordant trumpet of war. Besançon and Salins, the two strongest towns, were invested and reduced by the prince of Condé; Lewis hastened to join his army, and laid siege to Dole; in four days that city was compelled to open its gates; and in three weeks the conquest of the entire province was completely achieved.

But the rapid success of Lewis had awakened the envy and the fears of his powerful neighbours. A triple league was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden, to prescribe bounds to his ambition. The arbitration of so formidable a confederacy could not be rejected. A negotiation was immediately commenced, and rapidly concluded. By the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Lewis retained his acquisitions in Flanders, but restored Franche Comté to Spain; though even by these conditions he gained an extensive territory, fruitful and populous, yet he ever after harboured a deep and implacable resentment against the states of

Holland, whose deputies had displayed at the congress the proud and inflexible spirit of the republicans.

A. D. 1670.] At the moment that monarch signed the treaty of peace, he meditated new wars, and prepared to satiate his revenge; his first attention was directed to create a naval force; and his orders were executed by the indefatigable industry of Colbert and Louvois. The sea-ports, which had almost sunk into ruins, again erected their heads, were fortified with works which at once served for their ornament and defence, and were filled with sixty large men of war ready equipped for sea. The next object of his councils was to detach the king of England from his alliance with Holland. His brother the duke of Orleans had married the sister of Charles, and the influence of that princess was exerted over the mind of the English monarch; the necessities of Charles seconded her arts; the sums that his profusion demanded, and his parliament denied, were supplied by Lewis; and the king of England was prevailed upon to relinquish the most settled maxims of honour and policy, and to sign engagements for the destruction of Holland, with whom he had so lately united himself to repress the ambition of France.

A. D. 1670, 1671.] The sudden death of the duchess of Orleans, who had negotiated this alliance, and whose fate was accompanied with suspicions of poison, threw a gloom over the courts, but did not impede the preparations of the confederate monarchs. The liberality of Lewis extended itself to Sweden, and Charles the Eleventh subscribed the new league; while the bishop of Munster, greedy of war and plunder, and naturally an enemy of the Dutch, readily concurred in the measures concerted for their destruction.

A. D. 1672.] But if the alliances and armaments of Charles and Lewis were formidable, the pretences they assigned for their hostile designs were frivolous and contemptible. The former complained that the customary honours had been refused to the English flag, and that pictures injurious to the reputation of the English had been encouraged; the latter maintained greater dignity, if undisguised violence and injustice can merit that appellation; he pretended that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been such that it did not consist with his glory any longer to bear.

At the moment that the United Provinces were menaced by such powerful enemies, they could derive but little satisfaction from the review of their domestic situation. Two factions at that time agitated the republic. The one headed by John de Wit, grand pensionary, a man equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity, but who regarded with jealousy the least shadow of absolute authority; the other less attached to the exterior of liberty, desirous of restoring the stadholdership, and investing the prince of Orange with the posts and dignities of his ancestors.

Into this country burst Lewis the Fourteenth, at the head of an army formidable from its numbers and discipline, but still more so from the skill and experi-

ence of Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and Vauban. De Wit had expected his attack on the side of Maestricht, and provided that town accordingly; but the king of France taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, invaded the provinces from that quarter. He passed the Meuse at Nifat, possessed himself of Orsoi, reduced in four days Burik, Wefel, Emerik, and Rhimberg; and pressed forwards to the Rhine. To all the other calamities of the Dutch, was added the extreme drought of the season, which diminished the greatest rivers; the French cavalry, animated by the presence of their sovereign, plunged into the stream; a few Dutch regiments on the opposite bank made but a feeble resistance; and the celebrated passage of the Rhine, the subject of so much panegyric, was achieved without danger and almost without opposition.

Each success added courage to the conquerors, and struck the vanquished with dismay; and every hour brought intelligence of some fresh acquisition. A list of defenceless cities that opened their gates on the appearance of an enemy, can afford neither instruction nor entertainment to the reader. It will be sufficient to observe, that in little more than a month three provinces, Guelderland, Overysfel, and Utrecht, were in the hands of Lewis; Groningen was threatened; Friezland lay exposed; and the only difficulty that presented itself was in Holland and Zealand. Condé and Turenne exhorted the king to dismantle, with a few exceptions, all the towns that he had taken, and press on to new conquests; but Lewis listened to the counsels of Louvois, who prevailed on him to strengthen his acquisitions with new fortifications; a project which, by weakening the main army, proved fatal to his ambitious designs.

But at sea the Dutch maintained their former renown, and engaged with alacrity the combined fleets of two powerful nations—De Ruyter, their admiral, on this occasion acquired immortal honour, and acknowledged, that of two and thirty actions which he had beheld, this combat was the most obstinately disputed. The loss sustained by the two fleets was nearly equal; the approach of night at length suspended the fury of the combatants; and both retired to their respective harbours to repair the damages which they had suffered.

But the glory of de Ruyter could not inspire his countrymen to emulate his conduct by land; the states determined to implore the pity of the confederate monarchs; but the conditions that Lewis prescribed were little better than articles of slavery—All the towns on the other side of the Rhine were to be ceded, with Nimeguen, and several in the heart of the provinces; the Roman Catholic religion was every where to be established, and a medal was annually to be presented to the French court, importing that the Hollanders retained their freedom by the moderation of Lewis.

The indignation of the people at terms so fatal and disgraceful, broke out in open and violent seditions—Instead of arming to meet the haughty conqueror, they discharged their rage on their own unhappy minister. The unfortunate De Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were torn to pieces by the frenzy of the

populace; the most shocking indignities were exercised on their dismembered limbs: and the united voice of the people invested with the sole administration William prince of Orange.

That prince, though only in the twenty-second year of his age, gave strong indications of all those great qualities by which his life was afterwards distinguished. The whole tenor of his demeanour suited extremely the genius of the people whose councils he was called to direct. Silent and thoughtful, he possessed a sound and steady understanding; was firm in his resolution, and indefatigable in business; and never suffered pleasure to allure, or danger to intimidate him—His appointment once more animated the drooping spirits of his countrymen; they resolved, if unable to maintain their freedom in Europe, to fly to their settlements in the Indies, and erect a new republic in those remote regions. While, to check the present progress of the victor, they called to their assistance that destructive element, against which they had formerly so diligently fortified themselves; and opening the sluices, laid the adjacent country under water.

Lewis had made his triumphal entry into Utrecht; but he now quitted a campaign in which the difficulties of war were increased, and the hopes of conquest were diminished. He returned to his capital to enjoy the acclamations of his subjects for successes which he owed to the merit of his generals, or to the panic of his enemies. But already a confederacy was formed to set bounds to his aspiring ambition. Spain privately assisted, and the emperor openly supported, the United Provinces; Luxemburgh was disappointed in an attempt on the Hague, and the bishop of Munster was repulsed from the walls of Groningen.

A.D. 1673.] The ensuing year extended more widely the flames of war. The emperor and Spain openly declared themselves the allies of the Dutch; and the house of Austria was now engaged to protect those provinces which during so many years she had endeavoured to oppress. De Ruyter still maintained his reputation at sea, and encountered in a second and indecisive action the combined fleets of France and England. A third that soon after ensued, though equally obstinate and bloody, still left the victory doubtful. But Lewis at the head of a numerous army invested, and in a week reduced Maestricht. The prince of Orange in return laid siege to Naerden; and the success of that enterprise confirmed the confidence of his countrymen; he immediately after directed his march to join Montecuculli, the Imperial general, who on the banks of the Rhine was opposed to Turenne; the artful conduct of that commander eluded the penetration of the marshal, and he suddenly sat down before Bonne. Under the walls of that city he was joined by the prince of Orange, who with similar address had deceived and escaped the vigilance of the French generals. Bonne soon surrendered to their combined arms; several other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into their hands; the communication between France and the United Provinces was cut off; and Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and abandon all his conquests with greater rapidity than he had at first made them.

A. D. 1674.] The firm remonstrances of the English parliament, and the clamours of his people, compelled Charles to conclude a peace with the United Provinces. But while he reluctantly deserted his ally Lewis, he still insisted that ten thousand men whom he had detached to reinforce the army of that monarch, should not be recalled, though he consented to bind himself by a secret article of the treaty never to recruit them. Even this reinforcement, small as it might seem, was necessary to the various enterprizes of the French king. The empire, Spain, and Holland, were now firmly united against him. The bishop of Munster and the elector of Cologne had been compelled to renounce his alliance; yet he continued to make head every where against his enemies, and even meditated new conquests. With a powerful army in person he once more invaded Franche Comté; laid siege to and again carried Besançon; and in six weeks reduced the whole province, which has ever since remained annexed to the dominions of France.

In Flanders the allied army was commanded by the prince of Orange, and the French by the prince of Condé. The former, encouraged by his superior numbers, endeavoured to penetrate into France, but in the attempt he rashly exposed at Seneffe a wing of his army, and his active adversary failed not to seize and improve the advantage. But the prince of Orange amply compensated for his error by his behaviour in the obstinate and bloody action that ensued; he rallied his dismayed troops, led them to the charge, and pushed the martial veterans of France. The conflict was continued for some time after sunset, till darkness parted the combatants, and left the victory undecided. But the conduct of William was stamped by the applause of his generous antagonist; "the prince of Orange," said Condé, "has acted in every thing like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a young soldier."

In Alsace, Turenne displayed against a much superior enemy, all that military skill which by long experience, profound reflection, and great genius, he had been able to acquire. By a sudden and forced march he attacked and defeated at Sintzheim the duke of Lorraine and Caprara, the general of the Imperialists, and afterwards extended his bloody devastations over the palatinate. Seventy thousand Germans deluged Alsace; they were surprised by the unexpected appearance of Turenne; a considerable detachment was cut in pieces at Mulhausen; the elector of Brandenburg, who had been entrusted with the chief command, was routed by the active vigilance of the marshal near Colmar; a third body suffered the same fate near Turkheim; and this formidable host, baffled and dispersed, was happy to evacuate Alsace and repass the Rhine.

A. D. 1675.] To oppose Turenne, the Imperialists recalled their celebrated general Montecuculli. The object of the latter was to penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy; the aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and disappoint all the schemes of his enemy. The banks of the Rhine was the theatre on which their skill was displayed. Each encountered the other with persever-

ance, penetration, and activity: but on the moment that they were on the point of staking their reputation on the fate of a battle near the village of Saltzbach, Turenne was killed by a cannon ball as he was reconnoitering a situation to erect a battery. The news of his fate impressed the king, the court, and the people, with the deepest sorrow; but it was in the camp that his loss was most severely felt and sensibly regretted. Montecuculli, who had for three months been kept on the other side of the Rhine by the abilities of the marshal, passed that river the moment he heard Turenne was no more; he penetrated into Alsace; and the French, who had lately aspired to victory, esteemed themselves happy in escaping defeat, and effecting a retreat under the conduct of de Lorges, nephew to the deceased general.

Part of the German army, after the death of Turenne, had formed the siege of Treves; and marshal Crequi, with the troops that he could assemble, advanced to the relief of that place. His negligence exposed him to a total and bloody defeat; with four attendants only he escaped into Treves, and endeavoured by a vigorous defence to efface his disgrace; but the garrison at length mutinied against his authority; they opened the gates to the enemy; and since he refused to sign the capitulation they had made, they delivered him up a prisoner to the Imperialists.

Lewis in person had taken the field in Flanders, and was opposed by the prince of Orange with an equal army; each party was unwilling to hazard a general engagement without some visible advantage. The monarch soon after returned to Versailles, and the late disasters in Germany induced him to recal the prince of Condé to make head against Montecuculli. The prince on this new field confirmed the opinion of his superior genius. He compelled the Germans to raise the sieges of Hageneau and Saverne; he eluded their attempts to force him to a battle; and at length constrained them to repass the Rhine. With this campaign he closed the long series of his martial toils and glory; the remnant of his life he passed in honourable retirement at Chantilly; while Montecuculli, full of years and fame, withdrew at the same time from the scene of action, unwilling to expose that reputation in contests with younger adversaries, which he had acquired as the rival of Condé and Turenne.

A. D. 1676.] Though the death of Turenne, and the retreat of Condé, deprived Lewis of two commanders, whose military talents have seldom been equalled, and never excelled, yet the vigour and discipline that they had infused into the armies, still continued to open the road to victory. The Hollanders themselves soon after sustained a loss which plunged them in the same honourable sorrow as France had lately felt. Messina had revolted, and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was dispatched to support the rebels; the Dutch sent a squadron to assist the Spaniards; an engagement ensued, and de Ruyter, the Turenne of Holland, received a wound which put an end to his glorious life; the Dutch, dismayed at his death, retired in confusion; yet the advantage the French obtained

was but transient; and they were soon after reduced to evacuate Messina, at the moment that they flattered themselves with the hope of becoming masters of it.

In Germany, Charles the Fifth, the new duke of Lorraine, who succeeded his uncle Charles the Fourth, and who like him was stripped of his dominions, had recovered Philipsburgh; but he vainly endeavoured to penetrate into his own territories; marshal Crequi, ransomed from confinement, and grown more prudent by his defeat, defended the entrance into Lorraine, and in repeated actions baffled and defeated the unfortunate duke.

In Flanders Lewis himself early took the field, and provided with ample magazines, began his operations, while the enemy's cavalry were unable to find forage in the open country. The Spanish towns ill fortified, made but a feeble resistance; in the month of April he laid siege to Condé, and took it by storm in four days; while the duke of Orleans invested Bouchain, he posted himself to such advantage as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting but under great difficulties; the prince of Orange, after surmounting a variety of obstacles, came indeed in sight of the French army; but his industry served only to render him a spectator of the surrender of Bouchain; both armies stood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action which might be attended with the most important consequences. Satisfied with his new acquisitions, and the glory he had gained, Lewis retired to Versailles, and entrusted his army to the command of marshal Schomberg; on his departure William invested Maastricht, but Schomberg, who had taken Aire, immediately advanced to the relief of that place, and the prince was compelled reluctantly to retire.

During the various operations of the hostile armies, the language of peace had been resumed, and a congress had been established at Nimeguen under the mediation of the king of England; the Dutch loaded with debts, and harassed with taxes, were desirous of putting an end to the war. But gratitude to their allies, the emperor and the king of Spain, induced them to try the consequences of another campaign; and the prince of Orange, urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animosity against France, endeavoured to keep them steady to this resolution.

Lewis was also sincerely desirous of peace; his kingdom was exhausted by the violent efforts that she had made; but the monarch was conscious that a good treaty could only be attained by a vigorous war. In February he laid siege to Valenciennes, and carried it by storm; he next invested Cambray and St. Omer. The prince of Orange advanced to the relief of the latter place, and was encountered by the French, commanded by the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, and marshal Luxembourg. The former concealed beneath the effeminate manners of a woman, a courage most ardent, and the latter had been the constant friend and pupil of the great Condé. By a masterly movement of that general, William was defeated, and compelled to seek shelter under the walls of Ypres; but Lewis, jealous of his brother's fame, who had fought glory in the thickest ranks of the

enemy, listened to the victory with small signs of external satisfaction, and never afterwards entrusted the duke with the chief command. Cambray and Saint Omer soon surrendered, and closed the operations of the campaign.

A. D. 1678.] Negotiations for peace were still continued, and Charles of England having bestowed the hand of his niece on the prince of Orange, seemed sincerely desirous of acquiescing in the wishes of his people, and of protecting the provinces. The king of France had taken the field with his usual readiness, and had reduced Ypres and Ghent, and the army under Luxembourg had invested Mons, when Van Beverning, the Dutch ambassador, alarmed at his progress, and conscious of the unsteady councils of England, at Nimeguen signed the treaty of peace with the ministers of France; by this treaty Lewis secured the possession of Franche Comté, together with Cambray, Aire, Saint Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchain, Cassel, &c. and agreed to restore to Spain only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Athe, Ghent, and Leonbourg; while in the north, his ally the king of Sweden was reinstated in those dominions of which he had been stripped by the joint forces of Denmark and Germany.

The king of Spain and the emperor reluctantly and successively subscribed to these hard conditions; which were considered by the prince of Orange with equal disgust. The day after they were signed he attacked, near Mons, and gained some advantage over Luxembourg, who rested secure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war finished; William had also reason to believe the peace was signed, though not formally notified; and he wantonly sacrificed the lives of many brave men on both sides, who fell in this sharp and well-contested action.

A. D. 1679, 1683.] The tempest of war which had so long agitated Europe, was succeeded by four years of peace. Lewis, whose restless ambition was ever awake, diligently employed each moment in preparations for future conquests; even the treaty that he had so lately signed at Nimeguen could not suspend his insatiate thirst for dominion; by treachery he possessed himself of the imperial city of Strasbourg; he purchased Casal of the duke of Mantua, and dispossessed the elector Palatine and the elector of Treves of the lordships of Falkenburg, Germaheim, and Valdentz. Ports and harbours were constructed at Brest and Toulon; the docks were filled with ships of war, the army was augmented, and the magazines replenished; while the people, enriched by arts and commerce, willingly submitted to new imposts, and cheerfully acquiesced under their burthens.

A. D. 1684, 1686.] The death of the queen was an event but little regarded by Lewis, who already felt that passion for madame de Maintenon, which accompanied him through the rest of his life; he was doubtless impressed with more real concern at the loss of Colbert, whose skill and integrity as a financier had greatly contributed to his conquests; that minister expired when the ambition of the king had just rekindled the flame of war; on pretences the most frivolous, Lewis had demanded Aloft of the Spaniards, and on their refusal had seized on Luxemburg; the indignation of Spain had compelled her to an open declaration

of war against her haughty enemy; but her own weakness, and the situation of the other powers of Europe, compelled her to sign at Ratibon a truce for twenty years, which left Lewis in the peaceable possession of Luxemburgh.

With equal injustice that monarch had bombarded Genoa, and reduced the republic to sue for peace in the most abject manner, for having stipulated to build some galleys for the Spaniards; but greater glory accompanied the expedition against Algiers, and those licentious rovers, after beholding the greatest part of their city reduced to ashes, submitted to release several hundreds of christian captives. Yet vanity or interest were the sole motives that actuated the sovereign of France; and while he braved the spiritual censures of the Roman pontiff, and stripped that see of Avignon, he revoked the edicts of Nantz, revived the persecutions against the Protestants, and drove by his mistaken policy into exile above five hundred thousand of the most useful and industrious inhabitants of France.

Lewis discovered too late that the characters of a conquerer and persecutor are incompatible; besides weakening his own kingdom by the banishment of myriads, the melancholy fate of the refugees had inflamed against him all the Protestant nations of Europe. The prince of Orange, who well knew how to avail himself of the general indignation, had by his intrigues and influence formed a league at Augsbourg, where the whole empire united in its defence against the French monarch; Spain and Holland became parties in the same alliance; the accession of Savoy was afterwards obtained; Sweden and Denmark seemed to favour the same cause.

A. D. 1688.] The knowledge of this league had not escaped the vigilance of the king of France; and to anticipate the designs of the confederates, he had invaded the empire, and laid siege to Philipsburg; but his intention was engrossed by the affairs of England, which every day more plainly appointed to a new revolution. Charles the Second had expired at variance with his parliament, and despised by his people. His brother the duke of York, as James the Second, succeeded to the throne; the misfortunes of his father served not to restrain the rash zeal and blind obedience of that prince for the church of Rome. He openly violated the laws of his country, he endeavoured to subvert the established religion, and compelled his subjects to seek their safety in revolt, and to call to their protection the prince of Orange.

William, who had married the daughter of that monarch whom he was summoned to oppose, listened with pleasure to solicitations which were at once enforced by policy and religion; he diligently collected a formidable fleet, levied additional troops, and raised considerable sums of money; but Lewis's envoy at the Hague penetrated into the real object of his preparations, and informed his master of his discovery. The king of France immediately conveyed the intelligence to James; and at the same time he offered to reinforce the English fleet with a French squadron, to send over any number of troops, or to march into the Netherlands and engage the Dutch in the defence of their own country; but

these proposals were rejected by the king of England, who dreaded to increase the disaffection of his subjects by so unpopular an alliance.

At length the prince of Orange set sail, and after encountering a violent tempest at sea, landed at Torbay on the coast of Devonshire; he was joined by the principal nobility of the island, and the integrity of his enterprise was fortified by the appearance of the princess Anne, the other daughter of James; that unfortunate prince, deserted by his subjects, his favourites, and his children, yielded to the torrent, abdicated the throne, and sought shelter with his infant son and queen in France; Lewis received the royal fugitives with every mark of respect and assurance of support; while the gratitude of the English placed their crown on the head of the prince of Orange; and that monarch, as William the Third, prepared to assert his own dignity, and to vindicate the liberties of Europe.

A. D. 1688, 1689.] England and Holland, the two great maritime powers of Europe, the empire and Spain, with the greatest part of Italy, were now united against France; but her monarch still confided in his former fortune, and his enemies acknowledged his preparations were worthy of the important contest. Philippsburg was taken; Monheim, Frankendal, Spiers, Worms, and Oppenheim, surrendered; and the fruitful country of the palatinate was, at the unrelenting voice of Lewis, consigned to destruction; her towns were reduced to ashes, her fertile fields became a desert, and the wretched people, driven from their habitations by the fury of the flames and the brutality of the soldiers, were left to perish by famine and the inclemency of the season; such were the means by which the king of France endeavoured to intimidate his enemies and protect his frontier; yet the former were rather exasperated than vanquished; and the imperial armies, under the duke of Lorraine, resumed their courage, and covered the important cities of Bonn and Mentz.

A. D. 1689, 1690.] But the grand object of Lewis was to restore to his dominions the fugitive James; that unhappy prince had still a strong party in Ireland: and the friendship of France liberally furnished him with arms and ammunition of every kind; a considerable fleet was fitted out to second his efforts, and in its course encountered the squadron of England and Holland in an indecisive engagement; he was received into Limeric, and his first success exceeded his most sanguine expectations; but his career was checked by the skill of the duke of Schomberg; and on the banks of the Boyne he was vanquished by the superior fortune and genius of William. James himself abandoned the day with a precipitation unworthy of the crown he aspired to, and hastily returned to France; while his successful rival, by his valour and conduct, extorted the applause of his enemies, and established his tottering throne; a desultory war was maintained for some time after the flight of James, till Ireland gradually withdrew from the support of a prince who had deserted her, and submitted to the authority of William.

In Flanders the mareſchal d'Humieres was defeated by the prince of Waldeck, and Lewis, to retrieve this diſaſter, again entrusted his forces in the Netherlands to the mareſchal duke of Luxemburg. In the plains of Fleurus, near Charleroi, that general avenged the injured glory of his country; the prince of Waldeck was defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand killed and eight thouſand taken priſoners; yet the victor acknowledged the gallantry of the vanquiſhed—"Prince Waldeck," ſaid he, "ought always to remember the French cavalry, and I ſhall never forget the Dutch infantry."

A. D. 1691.] In the enſuing campaign Lewis himſelf was preſent at the ſiege of Mons; and retired, after the ſurrender of that city to Verſailles; while William, who had haſtened from Ireland to oppoſe mareſchal Luxemburg, concluded the campaign finiſhed, and repaired to the Hague; the mareſchal embraced the moment of his abſence, and by a forced march ſurpriſed and routed the rear of the confederates commanded by the prince of Waldeck.

On the frontiers of Germany, and in Spain, a feeble and deſultory war was carried on with various ſucceſs; but in Piedmont, Victor Amedeus, duke of Savoy, a prince brave, penetrating, and active, was oppoſed by the mareſchal Catinat, who had relinquished the early ſtudy of the law for the more glorious profeſſion of arms; and who amidſt camps cultivated the maxims of philoſophy. At Saluces he triumphed over the duke of Savoy in a bloody and obſtinate encounter; and the conqueror ſoon reduced to the authority of Lewis the greateſt part of Savoy and Piedmont.

A. D. 1692.] In two engagements the fleet of France had at leaſt maintained an equality with thoſe of England and Holland; and Lewis, ſtill anxious to reſtore the ſhattered fortunes of James, determined to hazard a general action, and, if victorious, to invade England. The hoſtile fleets met in the channel near Cape la Hogue, and Tourville, the French admiral, obeyed the orders of his ſovereign; but the ſuperior numbers of the confederates ſoon decided the fate of the day. The French admiral's own ſhip, with twenty more of the largeſt veſſels of his fleet, were deſtroyed by the fire of the victors; and James, with a ſigh of deſpair, beheld from a neighbouring eminence, the gloomy ſtroke which for ever blaſted the fond expectations he had nouriſhed.

A. D. 1693.] But on land Lewis ſtill maintained his ſuperiority; Namur, the ſtrongeſt fortrefs of the Netherlands, was reduced even in the ſight of William—and though the activity and vigilance of that monarch ſurpriſed the French camp at Steenkirk, yet the battle was reſtored by the abilities of Luxemburg, and the kindred valour of the princes of the blood; and the king of England, after the moſt daring efforts, was indignantly compelled to give the ſignal of retreat. The next year he ſtill experienced a more deciſive defeat, at Landen the army of the confederates was broken with the loſs of eight thouſand men; Huy and Charleroi were the prey of the victors; while Lewis repaired by

industry his late disasters at sea, and once more disputed the sovereignty of that element.

A. D. 1694, 1695.] Huy was recovered in the ensuing campaign by William—and Luxemburgh, who had so often triumphed over that monarch, soon after found from disease that death which he had in vain courted in fields of battle; the duke of Savoy eluded the vigilance of Catinat, penetrated into Dauphiné, and retaliated the miseries of the palatinate—While France appeared the object of envy to neighbouring states, her distress each day encreased with the number of her victories; her provinces were depopulated to recruit her fleet and armies; the ravages of war were attended by those of famine; and amidst his glories the monarch has been heard frequently to sigh for peace. The king of England, animated by the death of Luxemburgh, had invested Namur—and though that city was obstinately defended by the marechal Boufflers, it was obliged to capitulate in the sight of the French army commanded by Villeroy, who could only gratify his resentment by the unprofitable bombardment of Brussels.

A. D. 1696.] To diminish the numbers of his enemies, the king of France opened a negotiation with the duke of Savoy—and Amadeus was easily induced to prefer his interest to the faith he had pledged his allies. He received again his dominions with four millions of livres to repair the damages they had sustained; Lewis at the same time engaged to him his constant protection, and promised his second son, the duke of Burgundy, to the princess of Savoy—Though this treaty secured France on the side of Italy, yet her coasts were continually alarmed and afflicted by the descents of the English, and Lewis beheld with concern that people again resume their naval superiority.

A. D. 1697.] In Flanders the marechal Catinat reduced Athe—in Spain the duke of Vendosme, grandson to Henry the Fourth, gained a glorious victory; he invested Barcelona, and the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who defended that city with a garrison of ten thousand men, was, after a gallant resistance, compelled to capitulate; in America, Pointis, with a French squadron, surprized Carthage; and the loss sustained by Spain in the plunder of that place was estimated at thirty millions of livres—on the other hand, Lewis in vain attempted to fix the crown of Poland on the head of the prince of Conti, who was constrained to abandon the field to his successful competitor Augustus, elector of Saxony.

Each party at length sincerely inclined to peace; the empire and Spain were weary of a war which had been attended only with misfortunes; the parliament of England had long murmured at the heavy and encreasing expence; and Holland, though more devoted to the inclinations of William, regretted her trade intercepted, and her most fruitful provinces laid waste. Lewis himself could not be entirely indifferent to the tears and miseries of his subjects; the rigour of the season had combined with the rage of the enemy, and the kingdom,

lately so fertile, presented to the eye a dreary and barren prospect. Under these circumstances, the mediation of Charles the Eleventh, king of Sweden, was accepted; and the castle of Ryfwick, near the Hague, was fixed upon as the scene of negociation.

The king of France restored to the Spaniards all those places that he had taken from them, and the conquests that he had made in Flanders during the last war, as Luxemburgh, Mons, Athe, and Courtrai. He acknowledged William the Third as lawful king of England, whom he had hitherto treated as an usurper. To the empire he relinquished Fribourg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philippsbourg; and even submitted to destroy the fortifications of Straßburg on the Rhine; Fort Lewis, and Traerbach, works on which the great Vauban had exhausted his art, and the king his treasure, Lorrain, Treves, and the Palitinate, were resigned to their respective princes, and France, after a long and bloody war, in which her victories can only be numbered by her campaigns, consented to a peace, which could scarce have been expected from her, if humbled by repeated defeats.

The ministers who had signed the treaty, on their return to the capital were pursued with reproach and ridicule; they were execrated as traitors to their country by the unthinking multitude, who had lately clamoured against the prosecution of the war; the policy and judgement of Lewis were generally arraigned; but that monarch, in the late negociation, harboured a design beyond the views of the vulgar; the health of Charles the Second of Spain daily declined; and the king of France revolved in secret his pretensions to that succession, which by the treaty of the Pyrenees he had solemnly renounced.

The dawning lustre of Lewis had been obscured by the power and ascendancy of his imperious minister; on the death of Mazarin, he emerged from that abject state of vassalage, and awed and astonished Europe by the blaze of his meridian glory, but a dark cloud hung over his setting sun; and he survived to behold, in the evening of life, the desertion of his allies and the triumph of his enemies; his cities rased, his people slaughtered, and his children prematurely buried in the grave.

A. D. 1698.] The peace of Ryfwick was succeeded by new negociations; the pretensions of the king of France to the Spanish succession were not veiled from the penetrating eye of William the Third; Lewis, sensible that the emperor urged the same claims of consanguinity, though priority of birth fortified the house of Bourbon, and conscious from late experience that his own strength was not able to contend with the united power of Europe, opened by his minister a new project to the king of England. William entered into it with alacrity; and the celebrated treaty of partition was concluded, which divided the dominions of Spain during the life of her sovereign. To the young prince of Bavaria were assigned Spain and the East-Indies; to the dauphin, son of Lewis the Fourteenth, Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuscoa; and to

the archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor Leopold, only the duchy of Milan.

A. D. 1699, 1700.] Even the feeble and languid soul of Charles was aroused by this daring insult; he heard with indignation in what manner his monarchy had been distributed; and to preserve it entire he signed his will, and bequeathed the whole of his ample dominions to the prince of Bavaria; the sudden death of that prince not only disconcerted the designs of Charles, but even those of Lewis and William; the two latter monarchs signed, however, a new treaty of partition, by which Spain and the East-Indies were transferred to the archduke Charles, and Milan to the duke of Lorrain. To this treaty the emperor Leopold, who flattered himself with the hope of the whole succession, refused to accede.

A. D. 1700.] But it was only the dread of alarming the united fears of Europe, which had prevailed on Lewis to subscribe conditions so inadequate to his insatiate ambition; he still waited in anxious suspense the death of Charles, and the bed of that expiring monarch was besieged by the intrigues and factions of the rival houses of Austria and Bourbon; but the intractable haughtiness of the former had disgusted the ministers of Spain; and they prevailed on their monarch to sign a new will, which blasted the hopes of Leopold, and preserved the Spanish monarchy entire; expressing his indignation at the late injurious conduct of Lewis, Charles bequeathed his dominions to Philip duke of Anjou, grandson to the king of France, and soon after expired.

The treaty of partition augmented the power and dominions of France; the will of Charles aggrandised the house of Bourbon; Lewis preferred the elevation of his family to the interests of the state, and accepted for his grandson the royal fortune that was bequeathed him; at the same time he endeavoured to justify to his allies the infraction of the partition treaty, by observing that he had only departed from the words, and still adhered to the spirit of it, which was to preserve the tranquillity of Europe.

But none felt their disappointment more deeply than the emperor Leopold, and William king of England. The former beheld Spain, and her dependencies, forever separated from the house of Austria; yet his weakness confined him to ineffectual remonstrances; the latter, though secure of the affection of the united provinces, was regarded with jealousy by the English parliament; and he found that people averse to encrease their debt, and sacrifice their trade, to gratify his enmity to Lewis by a new war, in which they considered themselves but little interested.

Philip the Fifth was formally acknowledged by the king of England and the states of Holland; he was supported by the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Savoy, and from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, Lewis beheld the power and influence of the house of Bourbon extended; he was elated with the boundless prospect before him, and his presumption precipitated him into two errors, the source of all his future calamities.

A. D. 1701.] While Leopold still hesitated whether to acknowledge or oppose the elevation of Philip the Fifth, he was aroused by a new proof of the insatiate disposition of Lewis. That monarch prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a garrison into his capital, and all Italy trembled for her liberties; the emperor immediately prepared to assert the freedom of Europe by the sword; his army was entrusted to the command of prince Eugene, son to the count of Soissons. This general, who afterwards became so dangerous an adversary to Lewis the Fourteenth, had aspired to military honours in his native country; but his request of a regiment had been rejected by the king, and the indignant prince for ever renounced the service of France, and sought glory under the imperial standard; his resentment was the subject of derision at Paris, but he soon distinguished his martial genius in successive victories against the Turks, and was now summoned to avenge the wrongs of Italy and his own insults. He entered that country with thirty thousand men, and full powers to act according to his own discretion; he forced the post of Carpi; reduced mareschal Catinat to act upon the defensive; and overwhelmed the country between the Adige and the Adda; Villeroi, the favourite of Lewis, was sent to assume the command over Catinat, and disgusted by his arrogance the duke of Savoy; he compelled his reluctant colleagues to attack prince Eugene; in the strong post of Chiari, on the banks of the Oglio, his temerity was chastised by a severe and bloody defeat; and five thousand of the bravest troops of France perished on that disastrous day.

While the flames of war were kindled in Italy, James, the abdicated monarch of England, closed at Saint Germain's his unfortunate and inglorious life. The tears and importunities of madame de Maintenon prevailed over the counsels of his most experienced ministers, and Lewis, though he had acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryswick, now proclaimed the son of the deceased prince as James the Third. The enmity of William was stimulated by this wanton insult; England, that had hitherto regarded war with aversion, partook in the indignation of her sovereign, and prepared to vindicate by arms her own choice. The discernment of William improved the honourable enthusiasm; he concerted the triple alliance between the empire, the united provinces, and England, and hastened, by his presence and diligence, their formidable preparations.

A. D. 1702.] But these incessant efforts exhausted a frame naturally weak and delicate; a fall from his horse quickened the progress of disease, and in the fifty-second year of his age he yielded up his throne and life. The former was immediately filled by Anne, the daughter of the unfortunate James, and who had married the prince of Denmark; and the new queen dispatched the earl of Marlborough to the Hague, to assure her allies that she would adopt and support the engagements of her predecessor.

That nobleman was soon after appointed to the command of the allied army, and displayed that military skill which he acquired under the mareschal Turenne; Boufflers, to whom Lewis had entrusted his grandson the duke of Burgundy to

train to war, was confounded by the rapid and complicated movements of his adversary. He evacuated Guelderland, retired under the walls of Liege, and finally sought shelter in Brabant; while Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, were successively reduced by Marlborough.

In Italy, prince Eugene, by a daring and well-concerted march, had surprised Cremona, and taken marshal Villeroi prisoner; after an obstinate conflict he was expelled again the town, suffered some loss at Santa Vittoria, and in the battle of Luzara was encountered by the duke of Vendôme; that prince, in whom martial activity and indolence were wonderfully blended, was distinguished by talents worthy the grandson of Henry the Fourth; and though in the battle of Luzara the loss on both sides was nearly equal, yet Vendôme claimed the advantage, and maintained it by the reduction of Luzara and Guastalla.

On the banks of the Rhine a more decisive victory was obtained over prince Lewis of Baden by the marshal Villars; and soon after in the plains of Hochstet, in concert with the elector of Bavaria, he charged and routed the imperial general count Styrum; three thousand of the imperialists were left dead on the field, four thousand were taken prisoners with their cannon and baggage; while marshal Tallard, near Spire, engaged and defeated the prince of Hesse.

In the midst of this success France was alarmed by the desertion of the duke of Savoy, who obtained from the emperor the promise of Montferrat, Mantua, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro. At the same time the enemies of the house of Bourbon were increased by the declaration of Peter the Second of Portugal, who acknowledged the archduke Charles as sovereign of Spain.

A. D. 1703, 1704.] The duke of Marlborough, with increase of dignity and the applause of his country, had returned to Flanders, possessed himself of Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne, retaken Huy and Limbourg, and made himself master of the Lower Rhine; marshal Villeroi, redeemed from captivity, in vain endeavoured to check his progress, and was soon after deceived by his masterly address. To succour the emperor, oppressed by the joint forces of France and the elector of Bavaria, Marlborough rapidly marched into the heart of Germany, and traversing the Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker, was met at Mindelsheim by prince Eugene, who had quitted Italy, to assume the command of the imperialists on the banks of the Danube.

Villars had been recalled to wage an inglorious war in the mountains of the Cevennes against the unhappy Protestants, whom the persecution of Lewis had forced into revolt, and the glory of France was entrusted to marshal Tallard: the lines of the elector of Bavaria, near Donawert, had been forced by Marlborough with considerable loss; but the appearance of Tallard inspired that prince with fresh confidence; it was determined to risk the fate of the war on a decisive battle, and the French and Bavarians with superior numbers advanced to attack the confederates, who effected a junction with the prince of Baden; but the

plains of Hochstet, which had so lately witnessed the triumph of Villars, were rendered memorable by the defeat of Tallard. That general was vanquished by the superior skill of his adversary; he himself was taken prisoner, with fourteen thousand of the bravest troops of France; twelve thousand perished by the sword, or were precipitated into the rapid stream of the Danube; and of an army of sixty thousand men, scarce twenty thousand could be collected from its broken remains.

A. D. 1704, 1705.] The battle of Hochstet, better known in England by the name of Blenheim, exposed to the ravages of the victors the electorate of Bavaria; and Lewis once more summoned the mareschal Villars to the scene of his former glory; an accommodation had restored the inhabitants of the Cevennes to their allegiance; and the conduct of Villars proved him an adversary worthy of Marlborough. He occupied a strong camp, remained on the defensive, and by his prudent measures compelled the duke to relinquish his design of penetrating into France by the course of the Moselle.

The states, anxious for their frontier, soon prevailed on the duke of Marlborough to return to Flanders; and Villeroi, who had taken Huy, and was preparing to besiege Liege, abandoned the enterprise on the intelligence of his approach. Huy was again compelled to surrender to the confederates; and the lines of Villeroi were immediately after forced. That general crossed the Geete and Dyle with precipitation; but the strong ground he judiciously occupied prevented the allies from improving their advantage, and he shortly after restored his reputation by the reduction of Diest.

The numerous armies of the empire on the banks of the Rhine were baffled by the skill of Villars; and in Italy the duke of Vendosme incessantly pressed prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, fought the bloody but indecisive battle of Cassano, gained that of Cassinato, and even menaced Turin with the horrors of a siege. But in Spain, the allies, who had proclaimed the archduke Charles, king, obtained the most rapid and splendid advantages; the earl of Peterborough possessed himself of Barcelona; all Catalonia ranged itself under the banners of the house of Austria; while Gibraltar, which the year before had been wrested by the English from Philip, secure in her native strength, defied the vain and feeble efforts of the mareschal de Tesse.

Lewis had reaped some satisfaction from the gallantry of his natural son, the count of Toulouse, who, with the French fleet, engaged, with honour and without loss, that of England—But this was the last effort of marine greatness; the numerous enterprises of the king had exhausted his treasures, and his navy was gradually suffered to sink into that state of insignificance from whence he had raised it. Even the death of the emperor abated not the ardour of the confederates, and his son Joseph succeeded to his throne and designs.

A. D. 1706.] The campaign in Flanders opened with events the most disastrous. The command there was still entrusted to the mareschal Villeroi; and

that general, impatient of glory, yet unendowed with talents to acquire it, rejected the advice of his officers, and determined to hazard a decisive engagement against the allies. Near the village of Ramillies, France was vanquished by the injudicious disposition of her own, and the consummate skill of the English commander. In the action and pursuit twenty thousand men were slaughtered or taken prisoners; Antwerp, Brussels, Ostend, Menin, and the greatest part of Spanish Flanders were the prey of the victor; the court of Lewis was filled with consternation; but the monarch himself still preserved his magnanimity; instead of reproaching, he endeavoured to console the unfortunate Villeroy, and to his expressions of concern, replied, "People at our time of life, monsieur, are not fortunate."

The flattering prospect in Italy still promised to repair the disasters of Flanders; Turin there was invested by marshal Feuillade; and the siege was covered by the duke of Orleans, the nephew of Lewis, but whose authority was controlled by the superior but secret powers of marshal Marfin. The city was already reduced to the last distress, when the besiegers were alarmed by the rapid approach of prince Eugene. In a long and painful march that celebrated commander had pierced the most difficult defiles, had traversed the rapid streams of the Adige and the Po, and effecting a junction with the duke of Savoy, now pressed forwards to the relief of the desponding capital. The duke of Orleans would have quitted his lines to have met and encountered the enemy; this bold but prudent proposal was over-ruled by marshal Marfin; the French awaited the attack in their entrenchments; but their confidence was extinguished by the dissensions of their generals; prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy charged with rival ardour, and in less than two hours their efforts obtained a complete victory. The duke of Orleans was wounded; marshal Marfin killed; the scattered remnant of the vanquished troops directed their hasty and trembling steps towards Pignerol; and by the fate of one day the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and Piedmont, with the kingdom of Naples, were torn from the house of Bourbon.

An advantage obtained by the French in Mantua over the prince of Hesse, could but ill compensate the disastrous battle of Turin. The courtiers of Lewis stood aghast at the intelligence, and madame de Maintenon alone ventured to inform him that all Italy was occupied by his enemies. His grandson Philip had been compelled to abandon precipitately the siege of Barcelona; Charles had entered in triumph, and been proclaimed in Madrid. But that prince suffered the moment of enterprise to elapse; and was in his turn reduced to evacuate the capital, and fly before the arms of the duke of Berwick, natural son to James the Second of England.

A. D. 1707.] Lewis, humbled by repeated defeat, sued in vain for peace; the allies elated by their victories, determined to pursue their advantages, and rejected his proposals—Yet the war in Flanders was continued this campaign with

little effect; the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French, remained upon the defensive; and the duke of Marlborough was dispatched into Saxony to penetrate into the intentions, and conciliate the friendship of Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden. That monarch, young and warlike, and ambitious of the fame of a conqueror, had already spread his renown through the north. He had prescribed laws to Denmark: he had defeated the Muscovites, a people scarce known in Europe, and just emerging from barbarism; and had pursued with implacable enmity, Augustus king of Poland into his hereditary dominions of Saxony. The confederates trembled lest he should turn his victorious arms against the empire; but Marlborough was equally successful in the cabinet as the field; he gained the ministers of Charles; and that monarch soon after repassed the Oder, and directed his march towards Muscovy in search of barren laurels.

In Spain the duke of Berwick triumphed at Almanza over the forces of the confederates, and restored the sinking fortunes of Philip.—In Germany mareschal Villars passed the Rhine, pressed the Imperialists, and even penetrated to the Danube.—Yet he was prevented from improving his advantage by the recall of a considerable part of his army to the defence of France itself, which was now attacked within its limits. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had forced the passage of the river Var, advanced along the coast of Provence, and encamped under the walls of Toulon.—But the tardy motions of the Germans, who were to have joined them, and the activity of France, compelled them to abandon the enterprise; and they retired, after having bombarded the town, and convinced Lewis that his native dominions were not invulnerable.

A. D. 1708.] The transient success of the last campaign revived the spirits of the king of France; he determined to make one more exertion in favour of the exiled branch of Stuart—Seventy transports, with six thousand troops, convoyed by eight men of war, sailed from Dunkirk; but the coasts of Britain were protected by her numerous fleet; the vigilance of her officers were already alarmed; the adherents of James were secured and disarmed; and the French, after a fruitless attempt to land in Scotland, esteemed themselves happy in safely regaining Dunkirk.

Flanders at first promised a fairer harvest; and the forces of France, commanded by Vendome, were animated by the presence of the duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the dauphin. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, corrupted by the gold of Lewis, opened their gates.—But the hopes of the French were blasted by the approach of Marlborough; on the banks of the Scheld they were attacked by that general, who had effected a junction with prince Eugene; the battle of Oudenarde was long obstinate and bloody; night parted the combatants; the French were rather pressed than vanquished; but the troops of Lewis, from successive defeats, had lost all confidence, and they dispersed under cover of the darkness; Lille, defended by mareschal Boufflers in person, and fortified by the consummate skill of Vauban, was reduced by the confederates; Ghent

and Bruges were recovered; and the elector of Bavaria was compelled to retire from the walls of Brussels.

A. D. 1708, 1709.] In Spain, Germany and Italy, a feeble and languid war was carried on; in the former indeed the honourable attachment of the Castilians to Philip became every day more evident; but in the latter the duke of Savoy eluded the vigilance of Villars, and rendered himself master of Exilles, and Fenestrelles; the British fleet reduced the islands of Sardinia and Minorca; and the difficulties of Lewis increased on every side. The taking of Lille had opened a road to the very gates of Paris, that proud city was insulted and alarmed by the predatory incursions of the enemy; and a prince who had carried his arms a few years ago to the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, now doubted whether he could remain in his capital with safety. The despair of the nation was completed by the severity of the winter; the olive trees throughout the south of France were destroyed, the grain was cut off, and the prospect of impending famine threw a deeper gloom over the calamities of war. Accustomed to prosperity, Lewis reluctantly bowed beneath his adverse fortune, and instructed his minister Torcy to open at the Hague a negotiation for peace.

A. D. 1709.] But though the king of France agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, to cede Furnes, Ypres, Tournay, Lille, &c. as a barrier to Holland, to own the title of queen Anne to the British throne, and to remove the pretender from France, yet these concessions appeared insufficient, and the allies demanded that the king should assist in driving his grandson from the throne of Spain; Lewis rejected the ignominious condition with indignation, and added, "since I must make war, I had rather it was against my enemies than my children."

The internal misery of France served to swell her forces, and the wretched husbandman sought in the profession of arms, that subsistence which he could no longer extort from the earth. Marechal Villars was recalled from Italy to assume the command of an army formidable from its numbers and despair. In the neighbourhood of Malplaquet he diligently fortified a camp naturally strong; Marlborough and Eugene, animated by the capture of Tournay, rushed to the attack. The battle was disputed with an obstinacy scarce to be equalled even in these sanguinary annals; the allies were frequently repulsed, and as frequently returned to the charge; Villars himself was wounded, and Boufflers, who succeeded to the command, at length withdrew his troops from the unavailing conflict. Yet his retreat partook in nothing of flight; it was neither confused nor precipitate; eight thousand of the French were indeed left dead on the ground, but the confederates purchased the honour of the field of battle at the expence of twenty thousand men.

Mons soon after surrendered to the allies, and closed the campaign in Flanders. The efforts of the contending powers in Spain, Germany, and Italy, were still feeble and inadequate; but in the north the king of Sweden, who had endeavor-

ed to penetrate into the heart of Russia, was at Pultowa defeated by the sovereign of that country, afterwards so celebrated as Peter the Great; the Swedish army was entirely destroyed, and Charles, who had aspired to rival the fame of Alexander, wounded and accompanied only by a few faithful guards, crossed the Borysthenes in a small boat, and sought shelter in the Ottoman dominions.

A. D. 1710.] The negociations for peace had been resumed with as little success as in the ensuing year. The allies took the field, and mareschal Villars studiously avoided a decisive engagement. Douay, Bethune, Saint Venant, and Aire, were successively reduced by the confederates; but these towns were long and obstinately defended, and the besiegers lost by the sword, by disease, and fatigue, above twenty-six thousand men; disabled by success, and satisfied with their new acquisitions, they withdrew into winter quarters.

Germany and Italy presented nothing worthy of attention, but in Spain, the campaign that opened with events the most inauspicious to the house of Bourbon, was closed with the most splendid and decisive success. In the battle of Almenara, the rival monarchs encountered each other with mutual rage, but Philip was compelled to yield to the superior fortune of Charles. In the battle of Saragossa he suffered a second and more bloody defeat; Madrid was again occupied by the confederates, and the situation of Philip appeared desperate to his most sanguine adherents. But he was raised from despondence by the courage and conduct of the duke of Vendome. His affability, frankness, and generosity, conciliated the esteem of every class of men; he again kindled the enthusiasm of the Castilians, assembled the troops scattered by the defeat of Saragossa, allured to his standard the most gallant spirits of Spain, conducted the king in triumph to his capital, and pursued with vigour the astonished and dismayed enemy. At Brehuega general Stanhope, with five thousand English, surrendered after a brave resistance; at Villa Viciosa Staremberg was defeated with the loss of near six thousand men; and though his retreat challenged the admiration of his adversary, yet the progress of Vendome was rapid and uninterrupted, and Portugal in her turn was taught by the victors to experience the calamities of war.

A. D. 1711.] The success of Philip in Spain could not alleviate the distress of France, though it might moderate the presumption of her enemies; that kingdom, totally exhausted by her incessant efforts, presented a scene of dreary desolation; but the peace, which she had in vain employed by the most humiliating concessions, was now facilitated by two events as favourable as they were unexpected. Amidst a glorious and successful war, the queen of England was prevailed on to dismiss those ministers who had conducted it, and admit to her councils a new description of men who had systematically laboured to oppose it. About the same time, in the vigour of his age, the emperor Joseph expired; and his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for Spain, was raised to the imperial throne.—The confederates had been aroused to action by the dread of uniting in one hand the sceptres of France and Spain; and they could not but regard with similar

jealousy, the latter kingdom added to the hereditary dominions of Charles, and the power that he derived from the imperial crown.

Though the female passions of his sovereign had exiled his friends from her confidence, yet the reputation of Marlborough preserved him from being involved in their immediate disgrace; he again resumed the command in Flanders; and mareschal Villars, who was also again opposed to him, well acquainted with the ardent desire of Lewis for peace, and conscious that he conducted the last army the state could furnish, dexterously eluded every effort of the confederates to force him to a decisive engagement. He had encamped behind the river Sanfet, and had fortified his lines with such skill and diligence, as obtained for them the character of impenetrable. But he was deceived by the masterly address of Marlborough; he was compelled to abandon the works on which so much cost and labour had been lavished, and had the mortification of beholding the allies invest and reduce the strong and important fortrefs of Bouchain.

A. D. 1712.] This last enterprize of Marlborough closed the long and splendid series of his martial exploits; he was recalled to England, and soon after, disgusted at the ascendancy of a party whose implacable enmity he was no stranger to, resigned his command. His place was supplied by the duke of Ormond, equal to him alone in personal courage, and whose attachment to the new ministry was his principal recommendation. But while each power prepared with vigour for a second campaign, negociations for peace were secretly carried on between the courts of Paris and London. Lewis entrusted this important and delicate concern to the knowledge and address of Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen; certain preliminaries were, by his diligence and prudence, adjusted; but before they could be reduced to form, the operations of war had been resumed in Flanders.

Mareschal Villars still remained upon the defensive, and sustained the cautious part that he had acted in the preceding campaign; but prince Eugene insulted and burnt the suburbs of Arras; and was no sooner joined by the duke of Ormond, than he advanced towards the French, and proposed to the duke to give battle; but the English general had received instructions not to hazard an engagement, and the prince, disappointed in his favourite object, invested Quesnoi. Before that town surrendered, a cessation of arms was proclaimed between France and Great Britain; the duke of Ormond, with the British troops, withdrew from the confederates, and directed his march towards Dunkirk, which was delivered by Lewis to the English as a pledge of his intentions to fulfil the preliminaries of peace which his envoy had signed.

Though deserted by so important an ally, the army of prince Eugene was still formidable. Mareschal Villars beheld with indignation Quesnoi taken in his sight; and the confederates soon after invested Landreci. But prince Eugene is accused of errors on this occasion, which did not escape the vigilance of his veteran antagonist. His lines were too much extended; his magazines at Marchiennes were

at too great a distance, and the earl of Albemarle, who was posted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not near enough to be supported in case of an attack. Marechal Villars ordered his cavalry to advance within sight of the camp of the prince, and while that quarter of the confederates prepared for action, he rapidly pressed forwards with his infantry towards Denain, pierced the intrenchments of Albemarle, cut in pieces those who resisted, forced the survivors to seek their safety in flight, took that general himself prisoner, and slaughtered or dispersed a body of fourteen thousand men. Prince Eugene had marched in haste to their support, but before he could arrive the action was over. In endeavouring to wrest from the French a bridge over the Scheld which they had occupied, he augmented his loss; and was at last obliged to withdraw to his camp, after having witnessed the defeat of his best troops.

All the posts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were swept away by the victors, and Marchiennes itself was soon after invested by Villars; though defended by a garrison of four thousand men, such was the ardour of the assailants, that it was compelled to surrender in three days; all the ammunition and provisions that the enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into the hands of the French; the confederates retired from the walls of Landreci; while Villars reduced Douay and Quesnoi, possessed himself in the latter of the military stores of the allies, and terminated the campaign by the reduction of the important town of Bouchain.

A. D. 1713.] The preliminaries which had been signed between the courts of Paris and London were succeeded by open conferences for peace at Utrecht; these were quickened by the brilliant and rapid success of Villars—the emperor and some of the independent princes of Germany still maintained an haughty and sullen reserve, and refused to sheath the sword. But Great-Britain, Holland, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy, acquiesced in the terms proposed, and signed separate treaties of peace.

By these Philip the Fifth was acknowledged king of Spain, but at the same time he solemnly renounced all pretensions to the crown of France—Lewis, for the other branches of the house of Bourbon, disavowed all right to the future succession of any part of the Spanish territories, and every precaution was taken to separate for ever those kindred thrones. The king of France consented to guarantee the crown of Britain to the Protestant line of the house of Hanover, to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and to yield across the Atlantic, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Acadia—he promised to sequester into the hands of Holland, for the house of Austria, all that France, or her allies, possessed in the Spanish Netherlands, at the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick—he consented to allow the title of king of Prussia to the elector of Brandenburg, and to cede to him the town of Guelders, with part of the Spanish Guelderland; with Portugal, all places that had been taken on either side were mutually restored; to the duke of Savoy were given the island of Sicily, with the title of king; he was also secured in the succession of the Spanish monarchy, in case of failure in the king

of Spain and his posterity; and in exchange for the valley of Barcelonetta and its dependencies, he obtained the restitution of the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and all the country along the Alps towards Piedmont.

By such concessions Lewis disarmed the rage of his most formidable enemies, and rescued his kingdom from the destruction that impended over it; amidst misfortune and defeat, he established his grandson on the throne of Spain, whose pretensions had first excited the hostile confederacy of Europe; and he was now left to turn his whole force against the emperor, who, deserted and alone, still nourished the flames of war. From the Scheld mareschal Villars rapidly directed his steps towards the Rhine; he made himself master of Spires and Worms, took Landau, pierced the lines which prince Eugene had ordered to be drawn from Brisgau, defeated Vauban, and lastly, invested and reduced Friburg, the capital of Upper Austria.

His approach awakened Charles the Sixth from the delusive idea that he had entertained of his own strength, and he now panted for that repose which he so lately indignantly rejected. At Radstadt, mareschal Villars and the prince of Eugene, who had been so often opposed to each other in the field, were now opposed in the cabinet. Both displayed that frankness of character for which they were distinguished; and despising the intrigues of courts, they soon adjusted the different pretensions of their sovereigns. Lewis yielded to the emperor the fort of Keil, the city of Friburg, and old Brisac, with its dependencies; but he retained Strasbourgh and Landau, the sovereignty of Alsace, and procured his allies, the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, to be reinstated in their ranks and dominions.

The domestic misery of Lewis had kept pace with the public calamities; that court, the splendour and magnificent entertainments of which had excited the envy and admiration of Europe, had long been impressed with a deep and settled gloom. The passion of the king for madame de Maintenon, and the address of that lady, who still kept alive his hopes, without gratifying his desires, had induced him to consent to a private marriage; the art of surgery in Europe was yet feeble and crude; a fistula, with which the king was attacked, spread a general alarm; and though the operation was successfully performed, yet he ever after led a more serious and retired life, and chiefly devoted his hours to the conversation of madame de Maintenon, whose influence increased with his years.

But it was while his mind was yet oppressed by a long and bloody war, invariably unfortunate, that he was doomed to experience the severest pangs of domestic affliction. The death of the king's only son, which happened this year; the duke of Burgundy, the duchess his wife, and their eldest son, all swept away within a few months, and laid in the same tomb; the only surviving child at the point of death; these private woes added to those of the public, mark the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth as an æra of calamity; and a wretched people awaited in silence to

behold the former greatness and glory of their monarch extinguished by the dark cloud of misery which obscured his setting sun.

A. D. 1714.] From these gloomy apprehensions they were relieved by the sound of peace; but one mortification still remained to embitter the last hours of the king of France. He had enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and formed an harbour there, which was thought already equal to that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambassador from England, remonstrated against this evasion of the treaty of Utrecht in the strongest terms, and Lewis reluctantly consented to discontinue the works.

The Catalans still refused to submit to the authority of Philip of Spain; bold and hardy, they flattered themselves with the hopes of erecting a republic in that fruitful country; and Lewis, who during the latter part of the war, had not been able to support his grandson, now fitted out an armament for his assistance. A squadron of French ships blocked up the harbour, and marshal Berwick, with a considerable army, invested Barcelona by land. The inhabitants defended themselves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticism; the priests and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches as if it had been a religious war; but the queen of England, faithful to the treaty she had concluded, refused their supplications for assistance; the assailants at length penetrated into the town; and the besieged, after having defended street after street, were overpowered by the number of their enemies; the clemency of Philip granted to them their lives and estates; but their important privileges were for ever abolished; and the spirit of that daring people, who, as Tacitus happily expresses himself, "only seemed to live when engaged in war," was finally broken.

A. D. 1715.] Queen Ann had expired in England, and the life of Lewis now also drew near its end. At the age of seventy-seven, that vanity and ambition which had agitated the years of manhood, were nearly extinguished. He coldly listened to the solicitations of the unfortunate James, who aspired to ascend the throne of his sister, already filled by the elector of Hanover. To the importunities of that prince he granted a small supply of money, and a vessel fitted out in the name of an individual; but while that enterprise hung in suspense, Lewis himself was seized with a disease that brought him to the grave.

In his last hours he displayed a greatness of mind worthy of his elevated situation. "Why do you weep," said he to his domestics, "did you think me immortal?" The fortitude with which he beheld his end, was divested of that glare of ostentation which had tinselled the rest of his life; he had the courage even to acknowledge his errors; and his advice to his infant successor was to avoid that glory which he himself had fought by war, and to consider the happiness of his people as the principal object of his government. To madame de Maintenon he left no fixed stipend, and contented himself with recommending her to the care of the duke of Orleans; she immediately retired to St. Cyr, which had been founded at her persuasion for the education of young ladies of quality,





LOUIS XV

and demanded only a pension of eighty thousand livres ; this was regularly paid her to her death, an event which took place in about four years afterwards.

The character of Lewis the Fourteenth, whose long and various reign was alternately the glory and misfortune of his subjects, has exercised the ingenuity of the most celebrated historians. The masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air ; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with the highest affability and politeness ; elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleasure without neglecting business, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midst of arbitrary power. But his qualities seemed rather those that attract a momentary regard, than command a permanent esteem ! the talents, the fire of the statesman and the hero were still wanting ; vanity rather prompted him to insult, than ambition, to enslave his neighbours ; though he frequently took the field, and reduced in person Franche Comté, and several of the strongest towns of the Netherlands, yet his personal courage has not escaped imputation ; and in repeated campaigns he never exposed his life or reputation to the hazard of a battle. A purer praise attends the care with which he fostered the arts and sciences ; though his own acquisitions in literature were few and limited, yet he patronised the learned with a liberal hand ; and the painter, the sculptor, and the architect, were woken into life by the genial ray of his bounty.

LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH.

THE cares of government, which the tender years of Lewis the Fifteenth rendered him unable to assume, were devolved by the will of the deceased monarch on a council of regency, at the head of which was placed the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood : but the duke received with disgust a disposition, which instead of entrusting to him the sole power, gave him only a casting vote. He appealed from the injurious decision to the parliament of Paris ; that assembly set aside the testament of a king whom living they had feared and obeyed, and declared the duke of Orleans sole regent.

The unfortunate James (from his empty claim to the throne of Great Britain, better afterwards known as the Pretender) had landed in Scotland, and had ex-

perienced in his reception the hereditary attachment of that country to the House of Stuart : but the ardour of his undisciplined followers was repulsed by the veteran troops of George the First, who swayed the sceptre of Britain. The pretender himself escaped from the inauspicious coast, to hide his disgrace in Commerce, in Lorrain ; his unhappy adherents perished on the scaffold, or were driven into exile ; and his future hopes were extinguished by the friendship which the regent of France assiduously cultivated with the House of Hanover.

A. D. 1715, 1716.] The duke of Orleans possessed courage, penetration, and an understanding improved by study : frank and easy in his manners, of all the descendants of Henry the Fourth he resembled him the most ; but his extravagant thirst after novelty and pleasure cast a shade over his more splendid qualities ; and his excessive attachment to the fair, impaired his constitution and diminished his reputation. The early measures of his administration afforded to the people the most favourable impressions of his judgment, his equity and moderation. His gratitude restored to the parliament the right of remonstrating against the edicts of the crown : he compelled those who during the late reign had fattened on the miseries of the people, to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth ; he re-peopled the cities that had been deserted, and the lands that had been laid waste by the ravages of war ; he promoted commerce, rewarded agriculture, and dispelled the jealousy that Europe had entertained of the turbulent disposition of France, by a close alliance with Great Britain and the United Provinces.

A. D. 1716, 1717.] But that tranquillity which the pacific inclinations of the regent promised to maintain, was soon interrupted by the restless and intriguing genius of cardinal Alberoni, first minister of Spain. That statesman, whose extravagant and chimerical projects alarmed and astonished Europe, had re-established in a few years the finances and troops of the Spanish monarchy ; he now formed the design of recovering Sardinia from the emperor ; of wresting Sicily from the dukes of Savoy, to whom it had been assigned by the treaty of Utrecht ; and of establishing the Pretender on the throne of England. He negociated with the Ottoman Porte, the Czar, Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden. The Turks were to resume the war against the emperor, which the courage and conduct of prince Eugene had lately compelled them to relinquish with disgrace ; the Russians and Swedes were to invade Great Britain, restore the family of Stuart, and expel the House of Hanover.

But the project of Alberoni was still incomplete as long as the duke of Orleans retained the regency of France. His intrigues soon penetrated into the very capital of that kingdom ; he kindled an insurrection in Brittany ; introduced in disguise small parties of troops to the support of the insurgents ; and excited those who envied the fortune, to oppose the authority and seize the person of the regent. But the vigilance of the duke of Orleans detected the conspiracy ; the partisans of Alberoni suffered on the scaffold ; the king of Sweden, on whom he principally depended, lost his life in Norway ; the Czar was occupied in the in-

ternal regulation of his dominions ; the Turks refused to enter into new wars ; and the ambitious cardinal saw at once the emperor, the regent of France, and the king of Great Britain united against him.

Yet this powerful combination did not entirely baffle the extensive schemes of Alberoni ; the fleet he had fitted out, ravaged, and reduced the island of Sardinia to the subjection of Spain : from thence it directed its course towards Sicily ; successfully landed the forces of Philip ; and the banners of that monarch were soon displayed from several of the most considerable towns. But while the Spaniards urged the siege of Messina, they were surprised by the appearance of a British squadron. The fleet of Spain was defeated after a feeble resistance ; and the remnant that escaped the pursuit of the victors, abandoned the hopeless enterprise on Sicily, and sought shelter in their own harbours.

The duke of Orleans had declared war against Spain in concert with the English ; and the first hostile operations commenced by Lewis the Fifteenth were against his uncle, whom Lewis the Fourteenth had, at the expence of so much blood, established on his throne. The forces of France were entrusted to the marshal duke of Berwick, whose victories had formerly contributed to place the sceptre in the hands of Philip ; he successively invested and reduced Fonterabia and St. Sebastian in the province of Biscay ; and Spain, overwhelmed with disasters both by sea and land, consented to sue for peace. The conditions were dictated by the regent of France : he insisted that Philip should dismiss his minister ; and Alberoni was delivered to the French troops, and conducted to the frontiers of Italy, having only obtained by his splendid designs the character of a rash and inconsiderate projector. Fonterabia and St. Sebastian were restored to Spain ; but Sicily was transferred to the emperor Charles and the dukes of Savoy, in exchange, acquired Sardinia, and with the title of king have possessed that island ever since.

To cement the kindred thrones of France and Spain, the duke of Orleans projected a double marriage. His own daughter, Mademoiselle Montpensier was united to Don Lewis, prince of the Austrias ; and the infanta of Spain was betrothed to her cousin the king of France. The ties of blood but seldom bind ambitious princes ; but the late rupture between the two courts had reciprocally opened their eyes to their real interests, and the house of Bourbon was convinced that by unanimity alone it could resist its common enemies.

A. D. 1716, 1718.] That spirit of enterprise which could no longer be displayed in war, was now diverted to the internal regulations of the state. A Scotchman named John Law, who had been obliged to fly from England for murder, had formed the plan of a company that might pay off the debts of a nation by notes, and reimburse itself by its profits. This needy adventurer had wandered through Europe, and endeavoured to excite the attention of various courts. He first opened his project to victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and who afterwards acquired the title of king of Sardinia ; but that prince rejected

the proposal, with the reply, "that he was not rich enough to ruin himself." It was received with more favourable prepossessions in France; every circumstance of public affairs contributed to recommend it; a debt of two hundred millions oppressed the state; no common resources appeared equal to the enormous burthen; and the inclinations of the people, ever prone to novelty, were seconded by the disposition of the regent.

The bank at first issued their notes with caution; but the credit with which they were attended, soon increased the amount; its connection with the Mississippi, a trading company, from which great advantages were expected, allured the public with the hopes of extraordinary gain. It now aspired to grander objects; was declared the bank of the king; embraced the management of the trade to Senegal; acquired the privileges which the celebrated Colbert had granted to the old East-India Company; and finally, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

A. D. 1719, 1720.] But this plan, which, if confined in proper bounds, might have been attended with the most salutary effects, soon burst the limits that had been proposed; and sweeping before it the feeble barriers of policy and discretion, overwhelmed the nation in its rapid course. Thousands daily crowded to exchange their gold for bills; and the fluctuation of the stock afforded an opportunity to obscure individuals to acquire immense fortunes. The notes circulated exceeded fourscore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. At length the delusion was dispelled: the basis of the fabric was credit; and the moment a doubt prevailed, the whole edifice fell to the ground. By drawing upon it for considerable sums, the late financiers and great bankers exhausted the royal bank; every one was now as eager to convert their notes into money, as they were lately to convert their money into notes; but the disproportion was enormous; the arrears of the regent, instead of restoring confidence to the people, extinguished it; and the same year that gave birth to the company's actions, beheld them return to their primitive nothing.

Law himself, the author of this fatal project, who had been raised from a mere adventurer to a lord, and from a banker to a minister of state, was the same year loaded with the public execration, obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich, and had entirely ruined. He went off in a post-chaise that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon-Condé with only two thousand louis d'ors, the scanty remnant of his transitory opulence; subsisted some time in London on the liberality of a French nobleman; and died at Venice in a state little removed from indigence.

It was not France alone that was afflicted by the credulous avarice of her people; in London, in Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, the same spirit of speculation prevailed. The English entered with similar ardour into the visionary hopes of the South Sea Company, and experienced a similar disappointment. Those shares which had been eagerly sought after at the price of one thousand pounds sterling, were in the course of the same month sold for one hundred and fifty; and so extensive had the infatuation spread, that Europe trembled at the prospect of a general bankruptcy.

A. D. 1720, 1721.] The attention of the regent was engrossed in assuaging the distraction which the project of Law had excited. An account and valuation were taken of the private fortunes of individuals; and this laborious work was planned, digested, and conducted by four brothers of the name of Paris, who had never before any connection with public affairs, but whose genius and application deserved to be entrusted with the wealth of the nation. They established a sufficient number of offices for the masters of requests and other judges; they reduced to order the huge and misshapen chaos before them; five hundred eleven thousand and nine persons, most of them fathers of families, brought their whole fortunes in paper to this tribunal; the enormous demand was liquidated at a certain sum, and government became responsible for the future payment of it.

The parliament of Paris, by their support of the pretensions of the duke of Orleans to the regency, had excited his gratitude; their opposition to the brilliant but fatal project of Law had aroused his indignation: he banished them to Pontoise; and the citizens, who in the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth had vindicated the privileges of that assembly by a general insurrection, now beheld them exiled without a single murmur. A dearth that depopulated Provence, was submitted to with more honourable resignation—commerce soon repaired the distresses the late innovations had occasioned—and the court, which on the death of Lewis had resumed its wonted magnificence, was now distinguished by superior luxury and profusion.

A. D. 1720, 1722.] The regent had elevated to the post of minister, cardinal Dubois; a man who, descended from an obscure apothecary in a remote province, had acquired the first dignities of the church, and the most eminent situation in the state. By the recommendation of the duke of Vendôme, he was introduced into the family of the late duke of Orleans, and preferred to be tutor to the present—by administering to the pleasures of his pupil he gained his confidence—a small share of wit, a strong turn for debauchery, great flexibility, and above all, a taste like his master's for singularity, raised his immense fortune: yet he still remained rather the companion of the regent's excesses than the partner of his counsels. A court thoughtless, dissipated, and unprincipled, only ridiculed that promotion they ought to have regarded with indignation; and death soon after interrupted the licentious career of the cardinal, who expired as he had lived, with a thorough contempt of all religious ceremonies.

A. D. 1723.] The king had now attained that age which was fixed for his majority—the regency of course expired—and the duke of Orleans assumed the title of minister. But his own life also drew near its end—his constitution was shaken by excess, and his intemperate passions allowed him not to follow that regimen his physicians prescribed: he himself had been strongly addicted to chemistry—and his attachment to that science had awakened the jealousy of the people. At the close of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, when the sudden deaths of the royal family opened to him a prospect of succeeding to the throne, public rumour

had accused him of hastening their deaths by his deadly arts. But his subsequent conduct effaced the injurious suspicion—with paternal care he watched over the tender years of Lewis ; nor is it probable that the man, whose ambition had sought a crown through the death of so many, should have hesitated to complete his crimes by extinguishing the life of a feeble infant.

A. D. 1723, 1725.] On the death of the duke of Orleans, the reins of government were committed to the hands of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. A king young, indolent, and uninstructed—a minister without talents or ambition, and a kingdom at peace, furnish but slender materials for the pen of the historian. In Spain, Philip the Fifth, who in pursuit of that throne had deluged Europe with blood, gave way to a settled melancholy. Devotion served only to inflame him with the love of retirement, and he resigned his crown to his eldest son Don Lewis. On the death of that prince, which happened soon after, he was prevailed on to resume it : but indifferent to the cares of government, he abandoned himself to the ascendancy of his consort, the daughter of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy ; but who, with the island, had acquired the title of king of Sardinia. The late duke of Orleans had engaged the hand of the king of France to the Infanta of Spain ; but though that princess had been received at Paris with the honours of a queen, the tender years of Lewis allowed him not to consummate his marriage. As he advanced to maturity, the courtiers discovered through his natural indolence, and that politeness which he ever cultivated, a pointed aversion to the intended partner of his bed. The people, impatient of an union which might extinguish their hopes of male issue, and expose the kingdom, by a disputed succession, to the calamities of civil war, loudly murmured against the duke of Bourbon ; the minister, though reluctantly, yielded to the general voice ; he sent back the Infanta ; and the queen of Spain, daring, violent, and implacable, would probably have resented the insult by open hostilities, had not her turbulent disposition already engaged her in a dispute with the empire.

A. D. 1726.] This was the only political event that characterised the short and languid administration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. The reins of government soon after dropped from his hands into those of cardinal Fleury : At the age of seventy-three, that prelate devoted the remains of a life which hitherto had challenged the public esteem, to the ungrateful toils that attend ministerial power ; and at a period when the most ambitious seek repose, entered the lists of fame. Yet he himself was distinguished for his simplicity and modesty, and with reluctance had exposed his virtuous manners to the contagion of a court. He had been appointed in the former reign to the bishopric of Frejus, a see in a distant and disagreeable country ; and he was so disgusted with the situation that he soon after subscribed a familiar letter, "Fleury, by the divine indignation, bishop of Frejus." But in that station he practised the same œconomy that he afterwards displayed in a more eminent condition ; and though the see of Frejus, when he was nominated to it, was heavily burthened with debts, yet he resigned it clear and unincumbered.

The state of his health was the pretence for his resignation; and candour will excuse the inoffensive deceit that enabled him to relinquish a dignity so many anxiously fought after. The solicitations of marshal Villeroy prevailed on the late king to appoint Fleury, by a codicil in his will, preceptor to his infant grandson; and if we may believe the confidential letter of that prelate to cardinal Quirini, he undertook the important trust with regret.

But though he unwillingly accepted the envied appointment, yet he discharged it with unimpeached fidelity and diligence. Above the intrigues of a court, he disdained the cabals which a minority foster, and endeavoured to form the mind of his royal pupil to business, to secrecy, and to probity. The soil indeed but ill repaid his culture; yet the regent licentious as he was, saw and approved the virtues which he neglected to imitate—The esteem of the public was mingled with the regard of the prince; and his amiable and prudent disposition excited the universal wish of France to see him at the head of affairs.

A. D. 1726, 1729.] The gratitude of his pupil at length concurred with the voice of the people, and cardinal Fleury, while he rejected the invidious title of prime minister, ruled the kingdom with absolute authority. The administration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé had expired after restoring the Infanta to Spain, with providing a new alliance for his sovereign, more congenial to his inclinations.

Stanislaus Leszczinski had been raised to the throne of Poland by the victorious arms of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and experienced, after the defeat of Pultowa, the vicissitudes which mark the singular life of that royal adventurer. The nobility of Poland had recognised their former sovereign, Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom the Swedish king had compelled to relinquish the crown, and to retire within his electoral dominions. Stanislaus descended from the throne with a mind superior to fortune, and cultivated in private life the virtues which had distinguished him in public. His daughter Mary still retained the title of princess, and that lady was chosen by the prince to share the bed of Lewis; their nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence—The new queen, destitute of personal charms, never perhaps inspired with love the bosom of her consort, who soon began to indulge his taste for variety; but her meekness, piety, and ready acquiescence to his will, extorted his esteem; and the birth of a dauphin, the fruits of their union, established the peaceable succession of the crown, and banished the fears of the people.

A. D. 1732.] The pacific disposition of Fleury corresponded with the immediate welfare of France; he quietly left the kingdom to repair its losses, and to enrich itself by an advantageous and extensive commerce, without making any innovations; and treated the state in his political system like a strong and robust body, which recovers by the vigour of its own constitution.

A. D. 1733.] At length the death of Augustus king of Poland and elector of Saxony, rekindled throughout Europe the flames of war. The free suffrages

of the Poles called Stanislaus, the father-in-law of Lewis, to that throne from which he once already had descended with a magnanimity scarce to be equalled; but his election was opposed by the empire and the Russians, who under the invigorating genius of Peter the Great, had lately emerged from obscurity.—That monarch had given laws, discipline and knowledge, to the immense deserts of Muscovy; had broken the power of the Swedes, which so long had overawed the North; and assumed in the balance of Europe that place which they had formerly occupied. His successor now entered into a confederacy with the emperor to support the nomination of the son of the late king to the crown of Poland; their numerous forces deluged that unhappy country; and Stanislaus besieged in Dantzic, escaped from the tottering walls of that city in disguise, eluded the vigilance of his enemies, and, after a variety of dangers and adventures, reached the dominions of his son-in-law in safety.

A. D. 1734, 1736.] A feeble attempt had been made by Fleury to succour Dantzic; and fifteen hundred French, detached for that purpose, were overwhelmed by an host of Russians. Augustus the Third was established on the throne of Poland by the united arms of Anne of Russia and the emperor Charles the Sixth; the distance of the former was alone sufficient to secure her from the resentment of the French; but the dominions of the emperor were both accessible and vulnerable; and France prepared to avenge by arms the outrage that had dispossessed Stanislaus of Poland. Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, (for Victor Amadeus had resigned his throne) concurred in the views of the courts of Madrid and Versailles; the confederates poured their troops into Italy, and swept all resistance before them; while France asserted her superiority on the banks of the Rhine, and reduced Kehl, Trierbach, and Philippsburgh.

The emperor bent before the storm, and received the conditions of peace, which the victorious arms of France imposed. Don Carlos, second son to the king of Spain, was acknowledged as king of Naples and Sicily, both of which were dismembered from the house of Austria; the king of Sardinia obtained, in the duchy of Milan, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langes; to Francis duke of Lorraine, was assigned the inheritance of the house of Medicis; and the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were ceded by the duke to the crown of France.

Stanislaus, on whose account this war had been commenced, resigned in the treaty his pretensions to the kingdom of Poland, but was permitted to retain the title of king. The liberality of Lewis rendered that dignity more respectable by bestowing on his father-in-law, during his life, the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, which he had just acquired; after the death of Stanislaus these territories reverted to the crown, and were indissolubly united to the dominions of France.

A. D. 1737, 1739.] The disputes of Spain and England, respecting the trade of America, only feebly interrupted the tranquillity of Europe; and cardinal Fleury still pursued in France that pacific system to which he was so strongly at-

tached. Instead of arming the neighbouring potentates against each other, he incessantly laboured to extinguish their jealousies, and reconcile their hostile dispositions. He conciliated for a moment the Genoese and Corsicans, who had already plunged themselves into the calamities of civil war; and his mediation was even accepted by the Ottoman Porte; which desisted from improving its advantages in Hungary, and at his powerful intercession granted peace to the distresses of the emperor.

A. D. 1740.] But this happiness was not of long duration; the emperor Charles the Sixth, the last prince of the house of Austria, expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and his death awakened the pretensions of the different princes of Europe. Maria Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, claimed by right of blood, and by the guarantee of the different powers of Europe, the whole of the Austrian succession. This comprised the kingdoms of Hungaria and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austria, Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four forest towns, Burgaw, Brissaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia.

That princess, though she was permitted peaceably to take possession of this vast inheritance, was not without competitors. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, from the will of Ferdinand the First, brother to the emperor Charles the Fifth, asserted his right to Bohemia; the king of Sardinia resumed his claim on Milan; the kings of Spain and Poland urged their pretensions to the whole succession; nor was Lewis the Fifteenth destitute of a similar claim; he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses married to his ancestors, Lewis the Thirteenth and Lewis the Fourteenth; but he wished not to awaken the jealousy of Europe, and entertained hopes of aggrandising himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by supporting the pretensions of another.

A. D. 1741.] Yet Maria Theresa rather confided in, than was alarmed at, the number of the claimants; she had ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by voluntarily taking the ancient oath of their sovereigns, by which their subjects are allowed, if their privileges are invaded, to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels; and was engaged in traversing, in favour of her consort, the designs of France, that endeavoured to fix the imperial crown on the head of the elector of Bavaria, when she was surprised by the invasion of a new and unexpected pretender. The king of Prussia, Frederick the Third, laid claim to four duchies in Silesia; he suddenly entered that country, defeated the Austrians near Molwitz, and occupied the whole of the duchy.

The victory of Molwitz was the signal for war; cardinal Fleury, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, was indeed but little inclined to relinquish the pacific system that he adored; but he was overwhelmed by the impetuous eloquence and enterprising spirit of the brothers, the mareschal and chevalier de Belleisle. These re-

presented to Lewis that the period was now arrived of finally breaking the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; and that so favourable an opportunity never again would offer of raising the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne. The assent of a monarch, whose vanity was great, and discernment little, was easily obtained to this splendid project; and cardinal Fleury tottering on the brink of the grave, yet still enamoured of power, consented to sanction with his name an enterprise he had never approved, and to preside over a people whose councils he was not permitted to direct.

The count of Belleisle negotiated a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which the elector of Bavaria, with the imperial crown, was to possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese; the king of Poland was to be gratified with Moravia and the Upper Silesia, and Frederic was to retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss, and the county of Glatz. To enforce these conditions, the French troops were immediately put in motion. Lewis appointed the elector of Bavaria, whom he meant to place in the first rank among Christian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the marshals Belleisle and Broglio to act under him.

A. D. 1741, 1742.] The success of the French was rapid, splendid, and transient; the king of England was reduced to conclude a neutrality as elector of Hanover, for his German dominions; the confederates surprised Passau, possessed themselves of Lintz, and menaced Vienna. Maria Theresa retired from her capital to Presburgh in Hungary; and that people vowed to conquer or die in the service of their sovereign. New and formidable armies were in an instant supplied by their enthusiastic loyalty; the French declined the dangerous neighbourhood of Vienna, directed their march into Bohemia, and in conjunction with the Saxons reduced the city of Prague: from that important acquisition the elector of Bavaria pursued his route to Frankfort, and was there elected emperor, under the title of Charles the Seventh, and invested with the ensigns of imperial authority.

But from the moment that he attained his envied dignity, the hours of that prince were invariably devoted to calamity: jealousies already prevailed among the confederates; the French army was in its progress continually diminished by sickness or desertion; George the Second, distinguishing between his capacity of king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover, resolved as the former to support the queen of Hungary; and the very day that Charles was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort, he received intelligence that Lintz had been recovered by the Austrian general Khevenhuller, though defended by ten thousand veteran troops of France.

Even this disaster was soon forgotten in an event more important and more fatal. The king of Prussia had penetrated into Moldavia, but was compelled to retire before prince Charles of Lorraine; reinforced by the prince of Anhalt Dessau, he suddenly turned on his pursuers. At Czaflaw he engaged and defeated the Austrians; but with his usual sagacity, he seized the moment of victory to conclude an advantageous peace at Breslaw, which left him in possession of the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz. At the same time a treaty was signed

between the queen of Hungary and Augustus the Third, king of Poland, which transferred to the latter a considerable extent of country in the kingdom of Bohemia.

The French received with astonishment and dismay the intelligence of the treaty of Breslaw. Deserted by their two most powerful allies, and pressed by the superior numbers of the Austrians, they retreated precipitately under the walls of Prague. A second army, under marechal Maillebois, was detached to their assistance; but prince Charles had already occupied the passes of the intervening mountains: Maillebois was obliged to retreat; and the French in Prague were only saved from the disgrace of surrendering by the skill and courage of marechal Belleisle, who eluded the vigilance of the Austrians, and though incessantly pursued by a superior enemy, in the depth of winter, successfully conducted his army through a hostile country above ninety miles to the friendly walls of Egra.

Italy presented to the contending powers, a campaign equally vigorous and dis-
fusive with that of Germany. Philip the Fifth, who had already established one son on the throne of the two Sicilies, was desirous of placing a crown on the head of Philip his son, by a second marriage with Elizabeth Farnese, daughter to the duke of Parma. Parma, Placentia, and the Milanese, were the territories he aspired to. The king of Sardinia, alarmed at the progress of the house of Bourbon, had lately renounced his alliance with the courts of Versailles and Madrid, and entered into engagements with the queen of Hungary, and the king of England; but the king of the two Sicilies, while he professed himself neuter, secretly prepared to support the ambitious designs of his family. From this intention he was diverted by the unwelcome appearance of an English squadron in the Bay of Naples; commodore Martin, to whom was intrusted the proud commission of humbling the enemies of Great-Britain, threatened to bombard Naples, unless he received a peremptory and satisfactory answer in the space of an hour—and the king, to avert the destruction of his capital, engaged to preserve a strict neutrality during the course of the war.

A. D. 1743.] The hostile armies, by the evacuation of Prague, were transferred from the banks of the Danube to that of the Rhine; and cardinal Fleury, oppressed by increasing years and the disappointments of his country, closed a life, that would have been terminated with more glory before the commencement of war. The king on his decease, determined to be his own minister and to put himself at the head of the army. The king of England had already taken the field with forty thousand English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. At the village of Dettingen, near the banks of the Mayne, he was attacked by marechal Noailles. Had the French patiently occupied the neighbouring heights, the confederates must have surrendered at discretion—but their ardour precipitated them on the allies, and their temerity was chastised by a severe defeat. The king of England, instead of improving his advantage, prosecuted his march to Hanau—and the duke

of Noailles, after collecting his scattered forces, hastened to join mareschal Coigny in Upper Alsace, who was threatened by prince Charles of Lorraine.

In Italy, a bloody but indecisive battle was fought at Campo Santo, between the Spaniards, commanded by count de Gages, and the Austrians and Piedmontese, under count Traun—yet though both claimed the honour of the field, the former thought it prudent soon after to repass the Parenio, and to take shelter in the ecclesiastical territories.

A. D. 1744.] To distract the attention of the English, Lewis the Fifteenth resolved to espouse the fortunes of the exiled house of Stuart. Charles Edward, eldest son to the Chevalier de St. George, the grandson of the unfortunate James the Second, had, on the first sound of war, been invited into France. It was now proposed to prove how far the affections of England stood inclined to him—an army of fifteen thousand men was assembled in Picardy, under count Saxe—a number of transports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne; and Charles, to whom his father had delegated his pretensions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. But an English squadron, under Sir John Norris, rode triumphant in the channel; and though the combined fleets of France and Spain maintained soon after, in the Mediterranean, a doubtful conflict with that of England, yet Lewis ventured not to encounter that people in their own seas; and the young pretender was obliged to wait a more favourable opportunity.

Lewis himself invaded Flanders, and seconded by the duke of Noailles, and count Saxe, natural son to Augustus the Second, king of Poland, and who by his military exploits revived the fame of Condé and Turenne, successively reduced Menin, Ypres and Furnes. From this scene of conquest he was soon recalled to the defence of his own dominions—prince Charles of Lorraine had passed the Rhine at the head of sixty thousand Austrians, had taken Weisenberg, and laid all Lower Alsace under contribution. To repel this invasion, mareschal Noailles was detached with forty thousand choice troops; while mareschal Saxe in Flanders, by his masterly movements, baffled the designs of the allies, though far superior in numbers.

With a considerable reinforcement, Lewis prepared to follow the steps of Noailles; but at Metz he was seized with a putrid fever that threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. His danger diffused consternation throughout the kingdom; and the uncommon transports of joy with which his recovery was attended, touched the heart of the monarch himself, nor could he help exclaiming, “What a pleasure is it to be thus beloved! What have I done “to deserve it!”

But the king depended not alone on his own arms for the defence of Alsace; he had already negotiated a new alliance with the king of Prussia; and Frederic, sensible that if the queen of Hungary should again acquire the ascendancy, the treaty of Breslaw would prove a feeble barrier to her ambition, once more penetrated into Bohemia, and extended his ravages as far as Moldaw. Prince Charles

repassed the Rhine, to check the progress of this formidable enemy; and Frederic, in his turn, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia with precipitation, and retire into Silesia; while Lewis, availing himself of the retreat of the Austrians, invested and reduced Friburg.

The prince of Conti entered Italy, and having effected a junction with Don Philip, whose aggrandisement first plunged Spain into the tumult of war, attacked the strongest post of Chateau Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in person. It was carried after an obstinate conflict, and the confederates immediately laid siege to Conti, the possession of which was necessary to open them a passage into the Milanese. But though they obtained a second victory over Charles Emanuel, disease pervaded the camp; they were compelled to retire from the inauspicious walls, evacuate Piedmont, repass the Alps, and shelter the remnant of their way-worn followers in Dauphiné.

A. D. 1745.] Amidst the various vicissitudes of war, the emperor Charles the Seventh was once more restored to his capital; but his situation, on the retreat of the Prussians, grew more precarious every hour. His frame was exhausted by incessant anxiety, and death delivered him from again exhibiting to Europe the spectacle of imperial misery. His son Maximilian Joseph, a youth of seventeen, concluded, through the mediation of the king of Great-Britain, a treaty with the queen of Hungary, which established him in the peaceable possession of the electorate of Bavaria; and rejected the alliance of France, which had proved so fatal to his father.

Lewis in vain tempted the ambition of Augustus, king of Poland, with the imperial crown; that monarch rejected the splendid allurements, and maintained his engagements with the queen of Hungary and the king of England; and the court of Versailles had soon after the mortification of beholding Francis of Lorraine, the consort of the former, invested with the imperial dignity at Frankfort. Yet France still obstinately pursued the war; and her monarch, accompanied by the dauphin, in Flanders animated his forces by his presence: commanded by count Saxe, they laid siege to Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian Netherlands. The English, the Dutch, and the Austrians, under the duke of Cumberland, second son to the king of England, advanced to the relief of that place: The plains of Fontenoy were rendered memorable by the bloody and obstinate conflict. At length the allies were broken by the numbers of their enemies, and the superior skill of count Saxe; they retreated with considerable loss, occupied soon after a strong camp between Brussels and Antwerp, and remained inactive during the rest of the campaign; while the French reduced by stratagem or force Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Ostend, Nieupoort, and the principal fortified places through Austrian Flanders.

The success of the house of Bourbon in Italy was equally rapid; Don Philip and marechal Maillebois pressed with their superior forces the king of Sardinia and Schulenberg. Charles Emanuel retired behind the Po, and even trembled for

the fate of his capital ; while the kindred armies of France and Spain deluged all Italy ; and Don Carlos closed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan.

Nor were the operations of the king of Prussia less brilliant or decisive. In Silesia and Bohemia he successively defeated prince Charles of Lorraine ; and from the victories of Fridburgh and Slandentz, poured the torrent of his arms into Saxony. He soon made himself master of Dresden ; and the king of Poland, anxious for the capital of his electoral dominions, purchased peace from the victor by the payment of a million of German crowns. It was the intention of Frederick to protect, but not to aggrandise the house of Bourbon ; he had no longer any thing to dread from the Austrian power, and he concluded a second treaty with the queen of Hungary, which confirmed that of Breslaw, and guaranteed to him the possession of Silesia, on acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election.

France was astonished at the repeated desertion of so powerful an ally ; but Lewis was encouraged to persevere by a new enterprize, which at first promised the most decisive advantage. Though the squadrons of France could not hope to elude the vigilance of the naval commanders of Great-Britain, yet the young pretender successfully traversing the seas in a single vessel, landed with a few adherents on the coast of Scotland. The inhabitants of that kingdom had ever been attached to the family of Stuart ; and no sooner was the standard of Charles erected, than it was joined by some thousands of hardy and ferocious mountaineers. He occupied Edinburgh, was solemnly proclaimed there with all the forms of legal authority, and soon after defeated the royal forces at Preston Pans. The road now lay open to London ; and George, though insensible of personal fear, trembled for his capital. But the pretender was intoxicated with success ; he returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty, while the British troops were recalled from Flanders, and a new and formidable army was formed by the zeal of the royalists. It was entrusted to the duke of Cumberland, the second son of George, and who had commanded in the disastrous field of Fontenoy. The pretender, who had at length quitted the pleasures of Edinburgh and penetrated as far as Derby, within an hundred and twenty miles of London, now retired before the veteran forces of the duke. An ineffectual victory which he afterwards obtained over a detachment of the royalists at Falkirk near Stirling, served only to embitter his subsequent defeat. On Culloden Moor, at the head of his brave but disorderly followers, he presumed to encounter the superior forces of the royalists, whose valour was confirmed by discipline, and who were animated by the gallantry of the duke of Cumberland. The decision of the day was such as might have been expected ; the rebels were repulsed, and pursued with cruel slaughter ; and after enduring a series of incredible hardships for five months, and repeatedly eluding the active resentment of his enemies, the pretender himself escaped in a small vessel to France ; but the scaffold was stained with the blood of his principal adherents, and his party in this fatal enterprize was for ever extinguished.

A. D. 1746.] To balance this disappointment, Lewis opened the campaign in Flanders at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men; invested and reduced Brussels, the capital of Brabant; took Mons and Charleroy; and rendered himself master of Flanders, Brabant and Liege. He soon after laid siege to Namur; and that city, situated on the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuse, and defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, was obliged to surrender. The confederates, though commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, were disconcerted and soon after defeated by the superior address of mareschal Saxe; and this victory, which the advanced season of the year prevented the mareschal from improving, terminated the campaign in the Low Countries.

In Italy the house of Bourbon was less successful; Asti, though garrisoned by five thousand French, was surprised by the king of Sardinia; Don Philip and Maillebois were repulsed in an obstinate attack on the Austrian camp at St. Lazaro; and this disaster was succeeded by the intelligence that Philip the Fifth was no more. That prince, the first of the house of Bourbon who sat upon the Spanish throne, was governed by two women, who successively shared his bed, and ruled his kingdom with absolute sway: the latter maintained her ascendancy even after the death of her consort; and under the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth, still continued to direct the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, informed of the death of Philip the Fifth, and still ignorant of the sentiments of his successor, retired before the Austrian army, and took shelter under the cannon of Genoa; they soon after abandoned this situation, and Don Philip retreated towards Savoy, while mareschal Maillebois reposed his harrassed forces in Provence. The Austrians immediately occupied Genoa; and that proud city was subjected to the most humiliating conditions. But the arrogance and rapacity of general Botta at length excited the general indignation of the inhabitants; they rose in arms against their conquerors; despair animated their efforts—and the veterans of Germany were obliged to yield to a crowd of undisciplined citizens. After an ineffectual struggle they evacuated the city; and the Genoese, conscious that they were still surrounded by their oppressors, prepared by every prudent precaution to fortify in future their freedom.

A. D. 1747.] In the East-Indies the honour of the French flag was asserted by La Bourdonnais, who dispossessed the English of their settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel—but it was in the Netherlands that Lewis prepared to make the most vigorous efforts. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand men was assembled under mareschal Saxe; and that celebrated commander detached count Lowendahl with twenty-seven thousand men to invade Dutch Brabant. The French minister at the same time presented a memorial to the States, declaring that his master, by thus entering the territories of the States, meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection that they afforded to the

troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England. In the mean time Lowendahl made himself master of Sluys, Sandberg, and Hulst—and having taken possession of Axtel and Terneuse, was meditating a descent on Zealand, when a British Squadron defeated his purpose, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat necessary.

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themselves betrayed, tumultuously rose against the ministers of the Republic, and compelled the magistrates to declare the prince of Orange Stadtholder—a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William the Third. The beneficial effects of this revolution to the confederates soon appeared in several vigorous measures—and instant orders were given by the States for commencing hostilities against France both by sea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

Lewis himself soon after joined his army in Flanders, and the siege of Maastricht was resolved on. The confederates, to preserve that city, determined to hazard a general engagement; the village of Val or Laffeldt was the object of their mutual efforts: But though the English were compelled to abandon the field with loss, yet the duke of Cumberland in his retreat reinforced the garrison of Maastricht; and marshal Saxe, after amusing the allies with a variety of complicated movements, detached count Lowendahl with thirty thousand men to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant.

The experienced general and great master in the art of reducing fortified places now encountered in the favourite work of Vauban, an object worthy his skill. The town was garrisoned with three thousand men, and could be reinforced on the shortest notice by a considerable army of the allies, which took possession of the lines belonging to the fortification—The eyes of Europe were fixed on the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom—each instrument of destruction was incessantly employed on both sides; the town was reduced to ashes; the trenches were filled with carnage; yet the out-works were in a great measure entire, and the event of the enterprise seemed still doubtful; when count Lowendahl demonstrated that there are occasions when it is necessary to go beyond the established rules of art.

That general resolved to attempt by a coup-de-main those works which still resisted his regular approaches—The attack was made in the middle of the night and at three places at once. The besieged, aroused from their security, in vain endeavoured to repel the assailants; the French grenadiers were already in the town; two regiments of Swiss, and Scotch, who had assembled in the market-place, still disputed the day, and were cut to pieces; the rest, with the governor, retired to the lines: the army that had occupied those, immediately retreated; and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheld.

Lewis, on the intelligence of this event, raised Lowendahl to the dignity of marshal, and returned in triumph to Versailles. But the satisfaction which

attended his acquisitions in Flanders was alloyed by a series of unfortunate events—Mareschal Belleisle had assumed the command in Italy, and had detached his brother the chevalier with thirty thousand men, to penetrate into Piedmont.—On the road to Exilles twenty-one battalions of Piedmontese, secured by ramparts of stone and wood, and defended by a formidable artillery, opposed his progress. Belleisle, daring and emulous of fame, attacked the entrenchments with the greatest intrepidity: in three successive assaults he was repulsed, yet he still returned to the charge; and the moment that he had planted with his own hand the colours of his king on the hostile battlements, he fell dead, having received the thrust of a bayonet, and two musquet balls in his body. The survivors, discouraged by his death, immediately retreated; and so certain was the destructive aim of the Piedmontese, and the obstinacy of the assailants, that the number of the slain more than doubled that of the wounded.

Mareschal Belleisle was no sooner informed of the fate of his brother than he retreated towards the Var, to join the unfortunate army from Exilles; and the king of Sardinia was only prevented by the unfavourable season and heavy rains, from carrying his victorious arms into Dauphine—But the most fatal blow to France, was the total destruction of her marine; the English began at length to exert themselves on that element, on which they have so repeatedly triumphed—The marquis de le Jonquiere with six ships of the line and as many frigates, was intercepted by the admirals Anson and Warren with fourteen sail of the line; the French defended themselves with conduct and courage; but they were oppressed by numbers, and ten ships of war were taken—On the coast of Brittany Monsieur l'Estendeure displayed similar gallantry with the same ill fortune; with seven ships of the line he was attacked by admiral Hawke, who commanded fourteen; and after an obstinate resistance, six of those ships became the prey of the English victors.

In America the English had conquered Cape Breton and reduced Louisburg; and the king of France, while he beheld his marine annihilated and his commerce extinguished, was alarmed by the menacing countenance of a new and formidable enemy. The gold of England had influenced the councils of Petersburg, and fifty thousand Russians prepared to add new horror to the rage of war. In the midst of his victories the king of France had invariably expressed his wishes for peace; and the storm that threatened from the north rendered him still more impatient to deliver his subjects from the calamities of war: an ineffectual congress had been held at Breda, and negotiations were this year resumed at Aix-la-Chapelle with better success.

To enforce his proposal, Lewis commanded mareschal Saxe, with a numerous army, to invest Maestricht. The danger of that city quickened the deliberations of the allies: the French had already affected a lodgement in the covered way with considerable loss; but they were expelled by the gallantry of the besieged, and mareschal Saxe had reason to tremble for his reputation; when intelligence

arrived that preliminaries of peace were signed; and the French were permitted to take possession of Maestricht, on condition that they restored it, with all its magazines and artillery, on the conclusion of the treaty.

By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, a mutual restitution was stipulated of all conquests made during the course of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla were ceded as a sovereignty to Don Philip; but it was provided, in case he or his descendants should succeed to the crown of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, that those territories should return to the present possessors, the empress queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. The English acquired the privilege of sending an annual ship to the Spanish settlements in America; and the contracting powers guaranteed to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he then possessed them.

A. D. 1748, 1749.] The war which had so long afflicted Europe, was succeeded by seven years peace; and that short interval may be considered as the most prosperous and happy period that Europe had ever known; arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; and the manners of society assumed each day a higher polish. But monarchs, while they aspire to the fame of conquerors, seldom condescend to regard the felicity of their subjects; and Lewis, who only had consented to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to restore his navy, in the arms of the marchioness of Pompadour meditated new wars; and prepared to dispossess the English of their principal settlements both in America and the East-Indies.

From these visionary hopes the attention of the king was recalled by violent disputes between the clergy and parliaments of France, which partially interrupted the tranquillity of that kingdom. The famous controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points of theology, had originated in the preceding reign: the opinions of the former had been declared heretical by the court of Rome, in the celebrated bull commonly known by the name of *Unigenitus*. The reception of it was enforced by Lewis the Fourteenth, in opposition to the body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, and fifteen other prelates; who protested against it as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an insult on their private opinions. The duke of Orleans, while regent, extinguished a persecution which had been raised against those who had rejected the bull; but at the same time prevailed on the bishops, who had hitherto opposed, to submit to it.

A. D. 1750, 1751.] Though the bull *Unigenitus* was held in execration by the people, it had hitherto occasioned no public disturbance; but on the conclusion of the peace, an attempt made by the minister of the finances to enquire into the wealth of the clergy, raised the jealousy of that order, and they determined to divert the attention of the court by reviving the former opposition to the bull

Unigenitus. It was resolved by the clergy to demand confessional notes of dying persons; that those notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, or extreme unction, could be obtained. The new archbishop of Paris engaged warmly in this scheme, and he was opposed with equal vigour by the parliament, who imprisoned such of the clergy as refused to administer the sacraments to persons in their last moments. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; and a war was immediately kindled between the secular jurisdiction, and ecclesiastical discipline.

A. D. 1752, 1753.] The king, by an act of his absolute authority, forbade the parliaments to take cognizance of ecclesiastical proceedings, and to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. Instead of acquiescing, the parliament presented new remonstrances, refused to attend to any other business, and came to a resolution that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath. They cited the bishop of Orleans before their tribunal, and ordered all writings, in which its jurisdiction was contested, to be burnt by the executioner: By military aid, they enforced the administration of the sacraments to the sick; and engrossed by these religious differences, they entirely ceased, as supreme courts, to distribute that justice to the subject for which they had been erected.

A. D. 1753, 1754.] Their obstinacy excited the indignation of their sovereign; four of the members, who had delivered themselves with the greatest freedom, were arrested and imprisoned; and the remainder were banished to Bourges, to Poitiers, and Auvergne; and Lewis, to prevent their absence from impeding the administration of justice, established by his letters patent a *Royal Chamber*, for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal. But the counsellors, animated by the same zeal as the parliament, refused to plead before these new judges: and the people, left to themselves, threatened to fall every day into anarchy and confusion. The intrigues of the court had already excited hostilities in America and the East-Indies; and Lewis, intent on war with England, determined to conciliate the affections of his people by recalling the parliament. The members re-entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the archbishop, who continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his seat at Conflans; a similar exile was prescribed to the bishops of Orleans and Troyes; and a transient calm was restored to the kingdom.

A. D. 1748, 1753.] For the source of this unexpected revolution we must turn our eyes to the distant continents of Asia and America. From the moment that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, a man active, intelligent, and enterprising, conceived the design of advancing the interest of the French East-India Company, by acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south of Asia. The feeble successors of Aurengzebe, who had suffered the native governors of the different provinces to assume the authority of independent princes, encouraged by

their weakness the daring project of this aspiring adventurer : The French troops which had been assembled during the late war to protect Pondicherry from the English, were now engaged in the various services of the different viceroys of India ; their superior arms and discipline triumphed over a tumultuous multitude, always without skill, and frequently without courage ; whatever side they inclined to, victory was sure to follow ; and the SUBAH, or viceroy of the Decan, whose authority they had established over the immense tract of country that stretches from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, rewarded the intrepidity of his protectors by the most liberal concessions.

The progress of the French had awakened the jealousy of the servants of the English East-India Company. The attempt of M. Dupliex to impose a nabob or governor on Arcot, a province in which Pondicherry is situated, excited the English to arms. As the allies of the princes of India, the rival nations opposed each other with equal courage and skill, and several battles were fought with various success ; at length the tide of war was turned by the appearance of a great and distinguished military character. Mr. Clive had gone out in the service of the English East-India Company as a writer : His aspiring mind was but ill calculated for this calm and peaceable station ; he exchanged the pen for the sword, and immortalised his name by a series of rapid and successive victories. With a small band he occupied Arcot, the capital of the disputed province ; repelled a numerous army of the French and Indians, who threatened to overwhelm him ; and triumphed, in a decisive battle, over the host that had lately besieged him. In the neighbourhood of Trichinopoli the French and their allies were finally defeated ; the pretensions of Chunda-saib, whose cause they had espoused, were extinguished in his blood ; and his rival, Mahommed Ali, was established by the English on the throne of Arcot.

A. D. 1754.] M. Dupliex was soon after recalled, and a cessation of arms was agreed upon by the hostile powers ; but while Lewis revolved the means of restoring in India the ascendancy of his subjects, his ambitious hopes were flattered by the insidious and hostile enterprises of his governors in North-America. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, their two extensive colonies of Canada and Louisiana ; and to confine the English to that tract of country that lies between the sea and the Apalachian mountains, which run from one end of North-America to another. In consequence of this, France would have enjoyed in time of peace the whole Indian trade ; and the British settlers, continually exposed to the incursions of the faithless and ferocious savages, must have soon been finally extinguished. This project was pursued with ardour and judgment ; forts were erected along the great lakes, which communicate with the river St. Laurence, and also on the Ohio, and the Mississippi ; and the chain was almost completed, when England, alarmed at these rapid encroachments, after repeated and ineffectual expostulations, determined to unsheath the sword.

A. D. 1755.] This measure was no sooner resolved on, than it was executed with equal vigour and promptitude; a formidable squadron was detached to the banks of Newfoundland, to attack the fleet of France; and though a friendly fog enabled the greatest part to escape the superior force of England, yet two ships of the line were taken; the British cruisers swept the seas with such success, that above three hundred trading vessels belonging to France were carried into the ports of Great-Britain; and above eight thousand seamen became prisoners to that crown.

Lewis, astonished and stunned by this unexpected stroke, filled every court in Europe with complaints and negotiations. His naval strength was already fatally impaired; but from the infinite superiority of his land forces, he still flattered himself with the hopes of the most decided advantages. General Braddock, who had been entrusted by the English with the chief command in America, had been allured by the French and Indians into an ambuscade; and scorning to survive a defeat, the effect of his own imprudence, had in the grave found shelter from the reproaches of his country. On the banks of Lake George, Dieskau, who commanded the French forces in America, with a detachment of two thousand men, was exposed to a similar fate. Yet France still maintained on that continent her ascendancy, and England was reduced to wage a feeble and defensive war.

A. D. 1756.] Though George the Second, as king of Great-Britain, while he retained the sovereignty of the seas, might despise the menaces of France, yet as elector of Hanover he was still vulnerable in his German dominions; and Lewis, to avail himself of this advantage, entered into close and secret connections with the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Dresden. The former still harboured a lively resentment of the session of Silesia; and the division of the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, and the invasion of Hanover, were the objects of this formidable confederacy.

But the designs of the confederates could not elude the vigilance and penetration of Frederic; conscious of his danger, he formed an alliance with the king of England, whose interests and apprehensions were similar to his own. Before the designs of his enemies were ripe for execution, the Prussian monarch anticipated their hostile efforts, burst into Saxony, defeated the Austrians at Lowositz, compelled Augustus with his whole army to surrender, occupied Dresden, and possessed himself of the state papers relative to foreign transactions, which displayed to the world the conspiracy that had been formed against him.

While the king of Prussia drained the prostrate territories of Saxony, and Great-Britain, governed by ministers whom she hated and despised, indulged her dishonourable fears, and called to her defence large bands of subsidiary Germans, Lewis assumed new vigour, and prepared to improve the favourable moments of enterprise. Numerous bodies of troops drawn towards the sea-coasts, continually alarmed the opposite shores of England; their hostile appearance served to cover

the secret intentions of the French, who aspired to the conquest of Minorca, an island in the Mediterranean, which the English had formerly wrested from Spain.

The armament for that purpose consisted of fifteen thousand land forces, commanded by the marechal duke of Richlieu; and twelve ships of the line, with five frigates, under the marquis Galissoniere. They reached Minorca with a prosperous wind; the troops were disembarked, and immediately invested the castle of St. Philip's, which commands the town and harbour of Mahon. The English had detached Byng to the relief of the island, with a squadron equal to that of France; Galissoniere soon after engaged the British admiral in an indecisive action. The former returned to block up the port of Mahon; the latter withdrew to Gibraltar; and on his recal to England, expiated with his life the stain which his pusillanimity had fixed on the naval glory of his country: While the garrison of Fort St. Philip, destitute of hope, surrendered, after a siege of nine weeks; and the island of Minorca submitted to the dominion of France.

A. D. 1756, 1757.] The satisfaction which Lewis reaped from this acquisition was allayed by domestic dissensions. The parliament, by their imprudent persecution of the partisans of the bull *Unigenitus*, awakened again the indignation of their sovereign: With an honourable, though perhaps injudicious zeal, they had also, in the midst of a bloody war, refused to register certain taxes, which they considered as oppressive to the people. Lewis, attended by his guards, appeared in the assembly; he suppressed the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inquests; the members of which had distinguished themselves by their firm and animated opposition; he commanded the bull *Unigenitus* to be respected; and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacraments. Fifteen counsellors of the Great Chamber lodged their resignation at the office next day: one hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example; and the people, who participated in the sufferings of the champions of their religious freedom, displayed their discontent in loud and impatient murmurs.

A. D. 1757.] Their clamours, most probably, would have been little respected by a monarch, who, early nursed in despotism, considered the will of the sovereign as the sole rule for the actions of his subjects. But Lewis was soon taught that the affections of his people were the best guards to his throne; and that in the plenitude of his power, he still was exposed to the rage of gloomy fanaticism. Francis Damien, an unhappy wretch, whose sullen mind, naturally unsettled, was inflamed by the disputes between the king and his parliament relative to religion, embraced the desperate resolution of attempting the life of his sovereign.—In the dusk of the evening, as the king prepared to enter his coach, he was suddenly wounded, though slightly, between the ribs, in the presence of his son, and in the midst of his guards. The daring assassin had mingled with the crowd of courtiers, and was instantly betrayed by his distracted countenance. He declared it never was his intention to kill the king; but that he only meant to wound him,

that God might touch his heart, and incline him to restore the tranquillity of his dominions, by re-establishing the parliament, and banishing the archbishop of Paris, whom he regarded as the source of the present commotions. In these frantic and incoherent declarations he persisted amidst the most exquisite tortures; and after human ingenuity had been exhausted in devising new modes of torment, his judges, tired out with his obstinacy, consigned him to a death, the inhumanity of which is increased by the evident madness that stimulated him to the fatal attempt.

But whether the mind of Lewis was deeply impressed by his late danger, or that he dreaded in the midst of a bloody and extensive war to alienate the hearts of his people, it is certain that he a second time banished the archbishop of Paris, who had been recalled; and found it expedient to accommodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to business.

In respect to foreign engagements, the councils of France were not influenced by the late attempt on the life of the king; and Lewis still persevered in his resolution of attacking the electoral dominions of the king of England. Marechal Saxe, the source of so many victories to France, was now no more; and marechal d'Etrees was appointed to the command of an army which consisted of eighty thousand men. He passed the Rhine, compelled the duke of Cumberland (who at the head of about forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Prussians, watched his motions, and in feeble skirmishes endeavoured to retard his progress) to retire behind the Weser; he effected the passage of that river, drove the duke from an advantageous post in the village of Hastenbach, and amidst his triumphant career was recalled by the imprudent partiality of his sovereign.

The marechal duke of Richelieu, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aspired to unite with the character of an accomplished courtier the reputation of a consummate general. Lewis could not long resist the solicitations of his favourite, and Richelieu was appointed to the chief command in Germany. The duke of Cumberland pushed from post to post, at length took refuge under the cannon of Stade. Surrounded on every side he was there reduced to the necessity of signing the singular convention of Closter-seven, by which an army of thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic majesty, was dissolved, and distributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being disarmed, or considered as prisoners of war.—The French were left, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns, in full possession of the countries they had conquered; though under the express condition of abstaining from future violences, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides.

With the capitulation of Closter-seven the fortune of France expired; and an event which promised the most brilliant advantages, was succeeded by five years of continual defeat and incessant calamity. To describe the different actions of a war, wide, bloody, and recent, would exceed the limits prescribed to the work before us; and the reader perhaps will not be displeased, if, abandoning the order

we have hitherto pursued, we place before him a slight sketch of the principal occurrences during that period in the different quarters of the world.

In Europe, the king of Prussia, driven out of Bohemia, and menaced by the hostile armies of Sweden, Russia, and Austria, was now deserted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependance; and beheld the forces of France ready to penetrate into Saxony.—Prince Soubise with twenty thousand French had joined the Imperial standard; and Frederic saw the necessity of giving battle to the combined army, consisting of fifteen thousand French and Imperialists, with less than half its number; but the presumption of prince Soubise decided the fate of the day; he advanced without caution or order, as to a certain victory; his temerity was chastised by a bloody defeat; and Frederic from the triumphant field of Rossbach directing his march towards Silesia, arrived in time to join the prince of Bevern, and to renew his laurels, by a second victory over the Austrians at Lissa.

In Hanover, the rapacity of the duke of Richelieu exhausted the subjected country. A demand from the court of France of the arms of those troops who had capitulated at Closter-seven, aroused their indignation: they considered this as the last disgrace of soldiers; and secretly resolving to relieve their country from oppression, they assembled from their different cantonments under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom his Britannic majesty had invested with the chief command of his electoral forces. The French, dispersed and unprepared, were successively expelled from Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden; four thousand were taken prisoners in the city of Minden; and the duke of Richelieu, better calculated to shine in courts than camps, with the wretched remnant of his once victorious army, repassed with difficulty the Rhine, before a body of men whom he had so lately vanquished and trampled upon.

A. D. 1758, 1762.] While the gallant Frederic maintained the war with various success, and alternately afflicted the dominions of his adversaries, or beheld his own capital insulted by their presence, the French were doomed to number their campaigns by successive defeats. At Crevelt, count Clermont, at the head of fifty thousand men, was attacked and broken by prince Ferdinand, and compelled with considerable loss to retire under the cannon of Cologne; Mareschal de Contades, who succeeded him, suffered in the ensuing campaign a more decisive defeat at Minden; and mareschal Broglio, who superceded Contades, was equally unfortunate, and on the heights of Warbourg sunk beneath the superior genius of prince Ferdinand. The death of George the Second, and the accession of his grandson George the Third, to the throne of England, changed not, at first, the councils of the English, nor the fortune of the French; and the court of Versailles, pressed on every side, implored the support of the kindred crown of Spain. That kingdom was ruled by Charles the Third, late king of Naples and Sicily, and the son of Philip the Fifth. His elder brother, Ferdinand the Sixth, had invariably distinguished himself by his pacific disposition, and resisted the intrigues of France: but the present monarch, more am-

bitious, or more attached to the house of Bourbon, signed the celebrated *family compact*; an alliance which, with the single exception of the American trade, naturalizes, in the dominions of the house of Bourbon, the subjects of each crown; and stipulates that the kings of France and Spain shall look upon every power as the enemy of both, which becomes the enemy of either.

Yet the assistance of Spain was feeble and inadequate; her attempt to wound Great Britain through her ally, and to invade the neutral kingdom of Portugal, was ill-concerted and worse executed, and the Spaniards were compelled to abandon their hasty conquests with disgrace. Lewis was still doomed to regret the unavailing slaughter of his subjects; and marechal Broglio, near the village of Kirch Denkern, was repulsed by prince Ferdinand, with the loss of five thousand men. France had indeed hitherto repelled the desultory descents of the English on her coasts; but her pride was deeply wounded by a loss, less important in its real value than humiliating in the eyes of Europe. Belleisle, an island of about twelve leagues in circumference, and situated between Port Lewis and the mouth of the Loire, was reduced by an armament from England; and the British banners displayed from Palais, insulted and alarmed the inhabitants of the adjacent coasts. The recall of Broglio from the German army, with the joint appointment of the Prince of Soubise and Marshal d'Etrees, interrupted not the rapid and triumphant career of prince Ferdinand. The French were compelled entirely to evacuate the electorate of Hanover; and in the landgraviate of Hesse they now occupied Ziegenhayen alone: while the king of Prussia, by the death of the empress of Russia, was delivered from his most formidable and implacable enemy.

A. D. 1757, 1762.] In Asia, the war, which had been scarce suspended by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was revived with increase of fury, and with the most disastrous consequences to France; her settlement of Chandernagore, on the banks of the Ganges, was taken by admiral Watson and colonel Clive; general Lally was compelled to retire from a fruitless attempt against the walls of Madras; he was afterwards defeated in successive engagements, and reduced to seek shelter within the fortifications of Pondicherry: that settlement, the last that remained of any consequence to the French on the coast of Coromandel, was invested by the English. After a gallant defence, Lally was obliged by famine to surrender: his obstinacy and violence rejected those terms of capitulation which he might have obtained; and the victors, informed soon after of the hostile confederacy of the house of Bourbon, turned their arms against the settlements of Spain, and possessed themselves of Manilla, the capital of Luconia, one of the principal of the Philippine islands.

A. D. 1758, 1762.] In America, Louisbourg, garrisoned by near three thousand troops, under the command of chevalier du Drucourt, was attacked by admiral Boscawen, and the generals Amherst and Wolfe: for six weeks the governor maintained a gallant defence; he was at length compelled to surrender prisoner with his whole garrison; and the island of Cape Breton shared the fate of the

capital. The conquerer next directed his attention to the continent, and swept away in his progress the forts of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and Niagara. But in Canada the force of the French was still entire; and the marquis of Montcalm, a brave and enterprising general, advantageously posted, protected with a formidable army, Quebec, the capital of that province. His superior force, and almost inaccessible situation, could not repress the adventurous spirit of the English; animated by the example of their general, Wolfe, they climbed the rugged ascent of the Heights of Abraham; and were formed for battle on the summit, before Montcalm, lulled into security by the temerity of the attempt, would give credit to the intelligence. Convinced that the report was too true, he now determined to decide the fate of Canada in a general engagement: but the adverse fortune of France prevailed. Montcalm, after displaying equal skill and courage, perished on the field, with above a thousand of his bravest soldiers. The English also purchased their victory at the expence of their general, whose early martial genius promised to rank him among the first commanders of any age or nation; but their success in every other point was brilliant and unalloyed; Quebec surrendered; and a subsequent attempt of M. de Levi to recover that city, was, after an ineffectual victory, baffled by the persevering valour of the garrison. The remnant of the French forces, destitute of subsistence, mouldered away; the town of New Orleans, and a few plantations on the Mississippi, alone remained to France, of all her settlements in North America; while in the West Indies, the powerful armaments of the English wrested from her the important and fruitful islands of Guadaloupe and Martinico; and soon after shook to the very basis the grandeur and prosperity of the house of Bourbon, by storming the Havannah, the principal sea-port in the island of Cuba, the key of the Gulph of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the New World.

A. D. 1758.] In Africa, France was driven from the forts and factories which she had established on the river Senegal. Mons. St. Jean, the governor of Goree, an island which lies at the distance of thirty leagues on the same coast, attempted to defend it from an English armament, conducted by commodore Keppel and colonel Worge; but his ardour was ill seconded by his garrison, and he was reluctantly compelled to submit to the superior numbers of his enemies.

A. D. 1758, 1759.] But it was on the sea, that element ever fatal to the ambition of France, and the proud theatre of British triumph, that the house of Bourbon beheld its lofty hopes finally overwhelmed; that marine which the treasures and resources of Lewis had been devoted to create, was in a few years totally annihilated. The marquis du Quesne, with three ships of the line and a frigate, was intercepted between Cape de Gatt and Carthage, by a considerable English squadron, under admiral Osborne; the frigate escaped by the swiftness of her sailing, but two of the ships of the line were taken after an obstinate resistance and the third was driven on shore on the Spanish coast. M. de la Clue, in attempting to pass the straits of Gibraltar with twelve ships of the line, was en-

countered by admiral Boscawen with fourteen; the French soon fought their safety in flight; de la Clue was wounded himself; two of his largest ships were taken, two more destroyed, and the remaining eight found shelter under the cannon of Cadiz. But the principal fleet of France, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, still remained at Brest, under the command of M. Conflans, and meditated a descent on the coast of Ireland. In the prosecution of this design, that admiral availed himself of a storm which had driven the British squadron into their own harbours—but he had scarce put to sea before his hopes were blasted by the appearance of admiral Hawke, with twenty-two ships of the line. Conflans who dreaded the encounter, sought shelter among the shoals and rocks of a lee-shore. He was pursued by his daring antagonist—his own ship the *Royal Sun*, was driven on shore, and burnt by the French themselves—the *Hero* shared the same fate, by the hands of the English, the *Formidable* struck her colours, and the *Thésée*, the *Superbe*, and the *Juste*, were buried in the ocean by the British cannon, or the fury of the waves; the rest sought refuge in the river Vilaine. The victors themselves did not entirely escape the rage of the tempest; two of their ships struck on a sand, and were totally lost; but to the French marine, the wound, during the course of the war, was incurable; and those ships which had escaped into the Vilaine, could never elude the vigilance of a British squadron constantly stationed to block up the mouth of that river.

A. D. 1762.] Such repeated disasters humbled the pride of Lewis; his finances were exhausted: his commerce at a stand; his marine annihilated; in the four different quarters of the world his arms had proved unfortunate; and his alliance with Spain had only introduced that crown to a participation of his calamities. Happily for him, the English councils were equally disposed to peace. George the Third had dismissed from administration the man whose commanding genius had changed the fortune of his country, and raised the British empire to a glory that astonished the world. The new minister listened with readiness to the proposals of the court of Versailles: the great outlines of the treaty were soon adjusted, as both parties agreed to withdraw themselves totally from the German war, and to restore the places they had taken. France also ceded to Great Britain, Canada, and the greatest part of her settlements in America; but retained the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, with the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. She received back Martinico, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belle-île, with the neutral island of St. Lucia; and her East-India Company were established in their former settlements; but in return she consented to destroy the harbour and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; restored Minorca; yielded Grenada and the Grenadines; and gave up all claim to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. Her ally, Spain, obtained again the Havannah, and all that part of the island of Cuba which had been conquered by the English; but in return, Charles engaged to permit the English to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras, to evacuate Portugal, and to cede Florida to Great Britain. The king of Prussia soon after concluded a treaty with the empress-queen, by which all the

conquests were mutually restored ; and after a tedious and bloody war, the tranquillity of Europe was once more happily re-established.

The late treaty, which delivered Lewis from the storms of foreign war, promised a season of rest and tranquillity to his declining years, his lust of transatlantic dominion had exposed the vessel of the state to imminent danger, and at length escaped from the fury of the tempest, it might naturally have been expected that his caution and vigilance would have been exerted to steer clear of the shoals of domestic contention. But his reign was destined to prove equally inimical to the happiness of his people, and to the despotic power of his successor—the political horizon began already to be darkened with those clouds which afterwards burst with accumulated violence on the head, and shook to the very foundation the throne, of his grandson.

The power of the first monarchs of France had been bounded by the national assemblies, to which was frequently applied the name of Parliaments : but when the feeble successors of Charlemagne suffered the reins to drop from their hands, the barons assumed those privileges which had been formerly annexed to the crown ; and while they governed their own districts with independent sway, neglected the general concerns of the state, and unless urged by private advantage, seldom deigned to attend the public summons. The vigour of Philip, surnamed Augustus, restored the semblance of regal authority ; while the justice and wisdom which his edicts displayed, allured the concurrence rather than commanded the obedience of his subjects. He united to the crown several of the most considerable provinces of France ; he embellished the principal towns and cities of his dominions ; and generally successful in war, he was respected and imitated in peace.

The integrity and piety of his son and successor, Lewis the Ninth, cast the same lustre on the crown as had adorned it during the prosperous reign of Philip. Though defeated and even made captive in his unfortunate expedition against the infidels, his justice and devout humility blended with that of king the holy appellation of saint ; and his subjects were disposed to listen with reverence to a legislator, who, severe to himself, directed his whole views to the benefit of the state : his patience and vigilance were continually exercised in alleviating the distresses of his people, and restoring that order which had been subverted by the haughty and restless spirits of a martial age.

The encouragement which St. Lewis gave to the code of Justinian, and the body of institutions which in his reign were compiled from the Roman laws, established a grand revolution in the maxims of jurisprudence, and in the cognizance of civil causes. New courts were erected by his authority or example throughout the kingdom ; the feudal judges who presided over them, brave and indolent, by genius and habit were but ill qualified patiently to investigate the theory of a complicated science, or to toil through volumes which daily increased upon their hands ; the numerous charters of enfranchisement, which had been granted to different towns and villages, required a variety of stipulations and exceptions ; and the

opinions and judgments of canonists and clerks were incessantly demanded, either to frame new regulations, or to explain the old ones.

Hence this class of men, by degrees, entered into the functions of judicature, and became constituent members of those courts of justice which were summoned by the kings, either for the determination of general feudal questions, or of private claims of right; and which were convened at any time, or in any part of the kingdom, according to the royal pleasure. The secular peers and lords, whom they at first only assisted with their advice, soon yielded to their superiority in those tribunals; instead of the simplicity and conciseness which characterised the feudal forms of trial, and that martial appearance which can be compared only to the warlike splendour of a Polish diet, the judges, in peaceful dignity, devoted their attention to the nice discussion of law questions, and encouraged those subtleties which at once perplex and protract, and which throughout Europe so universally disgrace the modern courts of justice.

Yet those who had raised themselves to eminence by the knowledge of the law, were still confined to decisions which affected only the life or property of the subject, and remained excluded from the discussion of matters of political importance. The national assemblies had sunk into disuse; the court of peers, which originally was composed of only six secular and six ecclesiastical peers, but which had insensibly admitted the most powerful barons and bishops, and the principal officers of the crown, were restrained to appeals which involved the interests of persons of the same rank, the privileges of the peerage, or the pretensions of the throne; and Philip the Fair, the grandson of St. Lewis, alarmed by the thunders of the Vatican, and desirous of finding some support in the concurrence of his people at large, convened an assembly of the three orders of his kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons; and for the first time introduced the latter into the grand council of the state.

The example of Philip was imitated by his successors; and these assemblies, which obtained indiscriminately the names of States-General or Parliaments, were held as the necessities of the sovereign suggested till the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth. But the kings of France, ever jealous of their spirit, endeavoured to prevent them from assuming a determined form or regular establishment; the place of their meeting was frequently changed, and several provincial assemblies, to diminish the danger of their unanimity, were repeatedly held at the same time, and attended by commissioners from the crown. The later princes of the house of Valois even endeavoured to substitute in their place conventions of the notables, and other partial meetings of the nobles; and whenever distress impelled them, it was still with reluctance they had recourse to their last resource the States-General or Parliaments.

But while the sovereigns of France were impressed with evident jealousy of these assemblies, they nourished with care that court of justice which was composed of the most eminent among the nobility, the clergy, and the professors of the law, and which, equally with the national assembly and the states-general, had acquired

the denomination of Parliament. Philip the Fair fixed the permanent seat of it at Paris; and as one chamber was insufficient for the arrangement and dispatch of appeals, he formed another, which was called the Chamber of Inquests. These chambers were appointed to meet twice in the year at the terms of All Saints and Easter, when their sessions were continued for two months: but it is probable, that during the anarchy of the unfortunate reign of Charles the Sixth, the magistrates continued to sit without intermission; and the sessions of the parliament have ever since been only legally prorogued by their own consent, and the termination of public business.

From the moment that the Parliament of Paris was established, the progress of it was rapid and interesting. The principal barons presided with their swords by their sides, as the supreme judges; but ignorant of the jurisprudence, their decisions were directed by the opinions of the most able lawyers, who, as counsellors, explained to them the edicts of the state and the customs of the kingdom. The nobles, during the calamities which afflicted the æra of Charles the Sixth, deserted their judicial station; and it was immediately occupied by the most able professors of the law. When Charles the Seventh recovered Paris from the arms of the English, it was his first care to re-establish the administration of justice; he composed the grand chamber of parliament of thirty counsellors, half lay and half ecclesiastics; the chamber of inquests he augmented to forty members; and confining his appointments to those only versed in the law, delivered his people from the capricious partiality of an ignorant nobility.

The necessity of providing some permanent repository for the royal edicts, induced the kings of France to enroll them in the journals of their courts of parliament; and the members of those courts soon availed themselves of this custom, to dispute the legality of any regulation which had not been thus registered. But the right of remonstrating, which in modern times has been asserted with so much vigour, only feebly appeared in the reign of Lewis the Eleventh; and during the minority of his son, Charles the Eighth, when the duke of Orleans disputed the regency with the lady of Beaujeau, and endeavoured to allure the parliament of Paris to support his pretensions, in opposition to the determination of the States-General, the president of that court replied, "that it was the business of the parliament solely to administer justice to the people; and that war, the management of the revenue, and the government of the king, were not within their province:" and he strongly recommended to the duke, to restrain himself within the limits of his allegiance, and not to interrupt the tranquillity of the kingdom.

But this moderation was of short duration. As the influence of the States-General diminished, that of the parliament daily increased; the court of peers, resigning its separate claim of jurisdiction, was blended with it; and the kings of France, by holding their supreme beds of justice in this court, invested it with the supreme authority of the state both in civil and criminal affairs. The

encroachments of the see of Rome first engaged the attention of the parliament; and in the reign of Francis the First, some strong remonstrances were presented against the mismanagement of the finances, and the impious rapacity which had stripped St. Martin of the silver rails that had been bestowed on his shrine by Lewis the Eleventh.

In the transient and feeble reign of Francis the Second, when the progress of the reformed religion awakened the fears of the most zealous catholics, and afforded a pretence to the ambition of the house of Lorraine, the members of the parliament were summoned to deliver their opinions on religious toleration; and the lords of the council and the Guises mutually agreed to refer the decision of this important question to that court. After long and warm debates, the majority of the parliament, by an edict, established the authority of the Roman or apostolic church; they declared the administration of any other religious rites capital crimes, and the judgment of them was left to the provincial courts. Heretical opinions were consigned to the ecclesiastical tribunals; but the power of punishing the culprits remained with the secular magistrates, who were restricted from pronouncing a severer sentence than banishment.

When Charles the Ninth, the brother and successor of Francis, on the fatal eve of St Bartholomew, involved the unsuspecting Hugonots in one promiscuous massacre, and stained the memory of his reign with indelible infamy, the court of parliament praised the prudence of the king, who declared in that court, that he had only anticipated the designs of Coligny and the protestants against his own person; yet the president, de Thou, could not forbear adding, "That if the conspiracy of Coligny was real, he ought to have been proceeded against legally."

In the subsequent reign of Henry the Third, when France was agitated by the ambition of the house of Lorraine, and the formidable confederacy of the League, the parliament maintained pure and unshaken their allegiance to their sovereign. On the assassination of the duke of Guise, the capital was subjected to the licentious caprice of the council of sixteen; and Harlai, the president of the parliament, with Messrs. de Thou and Potier, who had incurred the displeasure of the zealous leaguers, were by the triumphant faction committed to the Bastile. A more unfortunate fate awaited the president Brisson, who after the assassination of Henry the Third, had endeavoured to awake the loyalty of the Parisians towards Henry the Fourth, and was executed, without the form of trial, by a sentence of the council of sixteen.

When that monarch recovered his capital, he restored the parliament to its dignity and freedom; and those edicts which had been extorted by the power of the league, against himself and his predecessor, were formally annulled. But when Henry himself grateful for the former services of the protestants, whose religious tenants he had abjured, in the edict of Nantz, which was registered in parliament, granted to the reformed permission to assemble at what place and at what

time they pleaded, to admit foreigners into their synods, and at pleasure to quit the kingdom and join foreign synods; the parliament hesitated not to remonstrate against a concession so dangerous to the royal authority. The sovereign listened with pleasure to the language of loyalty; but the reformed were entitled to his confidence; he wished to extinguish the rancour between the protestants and catholics by a generous toleration; and he compelled the parliament reluctantly to register the edict.

On the death of Henry the fourth, the parliament confirmed the title of his widow to the regency, during the minority of Lewis the Thirteenth. Even after that prince came of age to assume the reins of government, they vindicated their authority against the duke d'Epernon, who had presumed to release by force a foldier from the prison of St. Germain. The king, partial to the duke, commanded the parliament to discontinue their proceedings; the parliament obeyed; but at the same time they determined to stop the administration of justice, till they should have received satisfaction for this insult to their body; and though the king disapproved of their resolution, the duke d'Epernon was at length compelled to a personal submission.

But when the commanding genius of Richelieu guided the counsels of his sovereign, the parliament was taught to respect the voice of a master: Their mediation in favour of the queen-mother was severely reprov'd, and they were reduced, at Metz, to implore the pardon of insulted majesty. By acquiescing in the desires of the court in dissolving the marriage of the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, with Margaret of Lorraine, they reconciled themselves to the haughty cardinal; yet, unmindful of their late humiliation, they again exposed themselves to his resentment, by resisting the establishment of the French Academy; and though their opposition was ineffectual, that minister ever after regarded them with jealousy and aversion.

The death of the cardinal was soon succeeded by that of Lewis the Thirteenth, and the minority of his son was entrusted to the care of the queen-mother, Anne of Austria. That princess called to the supreme direction of affairs the cardinal Mazarin, and the nation submitted with reluctance to the authority of a foreigner and a priest. The parliament availed themselves of the general indignation, to shake off the fetters which Richelieu had imposed, and to assume powers unknown to them before. Some vexatious edicts which they refused to register, was the signal of public revolt; the queen, to force obedience, arrested several of the counsellors; and the people espousing the cause of the parliament, whom they considered as their champions against an oppressive minister, tumultuously assembled in arms, and barricaded the streets. The court, alarmed at their hostile appearance, restored the members of the parliament to their freedom, and soon after abandoned a capital which they could no longer govern. For four successive years the parliament alternately opposed the authority of the regent, and launched its edicts against the princes of the blood. Amidst every species of anarchy and civil commotion, Lewis the Fourteenth attained the age fixed for his majority; he

appeared in his parliament, boldly reprimanded their presumption, and banished those members whose activity had rendered them most conspicuous. The rest of the assembly submitted to the mandates of their sovereign; they cancelled the obnoxious edicts against Mazarin; they received that minister with every mark of regard and approbation; and during the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth the parliament of Paris was content to administer justice in obsequious silence.

Towards the close of the reign of that monarch, some feeble murmurs escaped them against the bull *Unigenitus*, which they considered as an infringement on the liberties of the Gallican church; but no sooner had Lewis expired, than the parliament embraced the opportunity of escaping from that subjection in which he had held them; and, contrary to the will of the deceased monarch, they vested the sole power of the regency in the hands of the duke of Orleans. Yet the freedom of their expostulations with that prince, on the ruinous system of Law, determined him to dismiss them to Pontoise; and they were compelled to purchase their recall by the most degrading concessions. We have since beheld them, on the resumption of the bull *Unigenitus*, resisting Lewis the Fifteenth in the plenitude of his power; and though repeatedly banished, yet constantly recalled, and gathering from each fall encrease of vigour.

From the time of Philip the Fair, the parliament of Paris advanced rapidly, and continually gathered strength in its progress. In the different and most flourishing cities of France, other parliaments, on a similar principle, were gradually erected; but though we have traced the counsellors of law thus elevating themselves to the highest and noblest offices of government, and dispensing justice in the supreme court of the kingdom, yet the notions of honour peculiar to the Gothic nations precluded them from being ennobled by their places: they were officially associated with the peers, and had sat in judgment on princes of the blood; yet for several centuries they in vain struggled to obtain admission into the order of Nobility; and it was not till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, who had humbled their power, that their vanity was gratified by the indulgence of that monarch, whose edict first entitled them to the honours and privileges of the nobles.

A. D. 1762.] While Lewis sunk beneath the fortune and genius of his foreign enemies, the parliament of Paris were vigorously engaged in pursuing their triumph over their domestic foes. The arts and influence of the Jesuits had obtained and enforced the bull *Unigenitus*; and their victory had been considered as a dangerous wound to the dignity of the parliament. But that order, that had obtruded itself into the cabinets of the most powerful potentates of Europe, that had attained almost an independent sovereignty in America, now tottered on the brink of destruction. A conspiracy which they had framed and encouraged against the life of the king of Portugal, excited the general detestation; and while they laboured under this odium, some fraudulent practices to which their avarice stimulated them in France, completed their disgrace, and exposed them to the severity of the civil law.

La Valette, chief of their missionaries at Martinico, had ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle carried on, for the benefit of his society, an extensive and advantageous commerce: by his ingenious and bold speculations, he had augmented it to such a degree as to excite the jealousy of the merchants and inhabitants of the colony; he formed establishments in the neighbouring islands, and had factories at Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent; he drew bills of exchange on Marseilles, Nantz, Lyons, Paris, Cadiz, Leghorn, and Amsterdam; and his ambition aspired to monopolize the trade of France in the West-Indies, when his projects were blasted by an event as calamitous as it was unexpected.

His vessels laden with riches went over the seas in security, when the English commenced those hostilities fatal to so many speculators, and especially to the brothers Lionay and Gouffre, merchants at Marseilles, who, in expectation of two millions of merchandize, had accepted notes to the amount of a million and a half, drawn by the Jesuits. Stunned by this heavy blow, they in vain implored the support of the society of Jesus; that order, blind to its real interest, was either deaf to their intreaties, or too tardy in its assistance. Before their courier arrived, the house of the Lionays stopped payment, and throughout the principal commercial towns in France involved a multitude of unfortunate persons in their ruin.

A. D. 1761, 1762.] Those who were interested as sufferers in the failure of the Lionays, fought for indemnification from the order of the Jesuits; they asserted that La Valette had acted, as a monk indeed necessarily must do, for the benefit of his society; and on the refusal of the order to make good the losses they had sustained in their connection with their agent, they carried their cause before the parliament of Paris.

That assembly eagerly seized the opportunity of humbling their domestic enemies. The Jesuits were every where cited before their tribunals, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. In vain did they urge that commerce being forbidden to religious orders by the canons of the church, and by the laws, the engagements of La Valette were personal, and ought not to involve the ruin of a whole society. But the completion of their errors was the giving into the snares that had been prepared for them by their adversaries: these, in order to prove that the government of the Jesuits was despotic; that every thing was submitted to the power of the general: and that Father de la Valette neither was, nor could be, any thing else than the agent of the society, appealed to the constitutions of the order. The Jesuits imprudently accepted the challenge, and referred to the same authority to justify their assertion, that the society had no property, and that the funds belonged to the several houses or colleges.

The mysterious volume which had been so carefully secluded from the light, was now produced in open court: it was found to contain an admirable, but alarming picture of the order; all the members of which being united by the conformity of their morals, and the resemblance of their doctrine and manners, submitted implicitly to their chief; and formed a distinct body in the state, subject

to the sole controul of their general, who was absolute over their actions, their fortunes, and their lives.

At the same time it was discovered, that from the period of their former expulsion they had again been admitted into the kingdom on certain conditions, which they had never fulfilled, and to which their general had obstinately refused to subscribe; so that the contract between this religious order and the state had never been completed; and their existence in France was the effect only of toleration, and not of adoption.

To these fatal discoveries were added the dispositions of the marchioness de Pompadour, and her favourite minister. The mareschal Belleisle, who had entrusted the education of his only son to the Jesuits, died before the conclusion of the peace: and to his influence succeeded the duke de Choiseul, a nobleman who disliked, and was honoured by the hatred of, the order. This minister, of an active and bold turn of mind, endeavoured to effect revolutions not only in states, but also in the opinions of the people; strongly prepossessed in favour of modern philosophy, and an enemy to the power of religious communities, his sentiments gave weight to the proceedings of parliament; the writings of the Jesuits were pronounced to contain doctrines subversive of all civil government, and injurious to the sacred persons of sovereigns: — The attempt of Damien on the life of the king was attributed to their suggestions, and every thing seemed to foretel their speedy dissolution.

Yet one feeble ray of hope broke in upon the gloom from the prospect of royal favour; and Lewis who had beheld the late proceedings with indifference, was now allured by the solicitations of the friends to the society, faintly to interpose in their behalf. The royal mandate, for the space of a year, averted their impending destiny; and during that period, all decisions against the society were commanded to be suspended. A plan of accommodation was drawn up, and submitted to the pope and the general of the order; but the latter, at this critical moment, displayed an ill-timed haughtiness, and imprudent inflexibility: "*Let them exist as they were, or not exist at all,*" was his injudicious answer. The indifference of the king returned; the activity of the parliament was rekindled; and the decree of proscription immediately ensued.

The parliament declared the bulls, briefs, constitutions, and other regulations of the society called of Jesus, to be encroachments on authority, and abuses of government; they dissolved the society; forbade the members to wear the habit of the order; and interdicted them from the possession of any prebends, livings, or pulpits, or any other clerical or municipal offices. Their colleges were seized; their effects confiscated; and the king joining in the general resentment, seconded the decree of the parliament, by an edict which utterly abolished the order of Jesuits throughout his dominions.

A. D. 1763.] But the king of France, while he reposed in the arms of beauty, little thought that in joining to suppress a religious order, he had kindled a flame which might prove fatal to despotic government. The French parliament, elated by their victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, now attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. An edict which Lewis issued for the continuance of some taxes which were to have ended with the war, was considered by the parliaments as an unwarrantable burthen; and a second edict, which enabled the crown to redeem its debts at an inadequate price, was represented as a violation of the public faith. The flame rapidly spread through the kingdom; the different parliaments strongly remonstrated against, and ultimately refused to register, the edicts; and those of Paris and Rouen distinguished themselves by their firm and animated language. "The subject," said the latter, "has a right to the easiest and least burthensome method of contributing to the wants of the state. This right, which is founded in nature, belongs to every nation in the world, whatever may be its form of government; it is principally the right of the *Franks*, and in a more especial manner that of your province of Normandy. The Norman charter furnishes on this head the most respectable monuments of our national immunities, and of the justice of the kings, your august predecessors. We there find that no tax can be laid on your subjects of this province, unless it be agreed to in the assembly of *the people of the three estates*. *This charter subsists in its full force; it makes part of your people's rights, which you swore to maintain before Him BY WHOM* KING'S REIGN."

From the south they echoed, without any diminution, the voice of the northern parliaments, and that of Bourdeaux, hesitated not to declare, that it was their duty in registering an edict to bear witness to the people that the tax was just, and to the king, that his people are still able to furnish the supplies: at Thoulouse, at Grenoble, and Besançon, they pursued the same measures, and held the same language.

A. D. 1763, 1764.] The court, to combat this opposition, sent down the different governors of the provinces, with orders in the king's name to register the edicts by force, and to cause them to be obeyed. The duke of Fitz-James accordingly repaired to Thoulouse, the duke of Harcourt to Rouen, and Mons. Mefnil to Grenoble. The former in vain set guards upon the houses of the principal magistrates, and menaced the rest with the same restraint; the patriotic party was provoked rather than intimidated by this rigour: the neighbouring parliament of Provence espoused with ardour the cause of their brethren of Thoulouse; they declared, that by the outrage in the capital of Languedoc, the whole nation, and the throne itself, was wounded by tyrannical acts; the members of the parliament of Thoulouse, animated by the friendly assurances of Provence, as soon as they could assemble, came to more effectual resolutions, and determined to arrest their governor, though acting with the authority and under the immediate direction of the crown, and to proceed against him as a criminal.

The duke of Harcourt and Monsieur Mefnil, in Rouen and Grenoble, imitated the conduct of the duke of Fitz-James, and were encountered by a similar opposition; their respective parliaments commanded their bodies to be seized, and to be brought to the prisons of the court; and in case they could not be apprehended, their estates and effects were to be confiscated, or put under the administration of a legal commissary.

A. D. 1765.] The fatal influence of the marchioness of Pompadour had terminated with her life; and amidst these convulsions, the dauphin of France, a prince of a pious and mild disposition, expired in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Maria Theresa, the infanta of Spain, whom he had first espoused, died in child-bed; and the daughter of which she was delivered, survived her mother but a short time. His second marriage, in 1747, with Maria Josepha, of Saxony, proved more fruitful; and he left behind him three sons, the duke of Berri, the count of Provence, and the count of Artois, with two daughters. The king immediately conferred the title of dauphin on the duke of Berri; but with a proper attention to the memory of his deceased son, ordered that the dowager dauphiness should retain precedence of his royal highness.

A. D. 1766.] But if the heart of Lewis was on this occasion sensible of paternal emotions, the cares of sovereignty allowed him not to indulge his sorrows in retirement. The voice of freedom had been heard through the different provinces of the kingdom: the parliament of Brittany had refused to the crown a free-gift of seven thousand livres; and they were singled out to experience the weight of the royal vengeance. The old parliament was dissolved; a new commission of sixty members was appointed in its room, and a severe prosecution was at the same time carried on against the degraded members: But in the instant that sentence was to have passed, Lewis prudently stopped the process, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his people, by publishing a general amnesty in their favour.

The clemency of the monarch was treated with disdain; the counsellors of the parliament of Brittany refused to resume their functions; and alledged, that as they had taken an oath to their parliament, they could not plead before the commission which the king had appointed in its room. Lewis, enraged at their opposition, ordered them to be included in the list of those who were to be drafted for the militia; such as the lot fell on were immediately obliged to join their respective battalions, and the rest were employed in forming the city-guard.

The parliament of Paris had not beheld with indifference the fate of their brethren in Brittany; they had applauded their conduct, and exhorted them to persevere in their opposition. But the freedom of their remonstrances soon drew upon them the royal censure; Lewis suddenly appeared in the capital, presented himself in the public court, and severely reprimanded the temerity of the members; he added, with the dignity of offended majesty, "I will not suffer an association to be formed in my kingdom, which might grow into a confederacy of resistance."

The deputies from the parliament of Rouen had pointedly reminded the sovereign of his coronation oath, and insinuated a compact between the king and the people. The answer of Lewis was conveyed in the strongest terms; "The oath that I have made, not to the nation, as you take upon you to say, but to God alone." This distinction proclaimed his determination to suffer no earthly opposition to his will; the parliaments were for a moment awed by the imperious voice of the monarch; and a transient and deceitful calm succeeded the hollow murmurs of discontent.

A. D. 1767, 1768.] From curbing the free and daring spirits of his parliaments, Lewis directed his attention to the state of foreign powers. Poland was afflicted with all the calamities that attend religious rancour and civil commotion: The distance of that country prevented the interference of France; and her king, with superior policy, limited his views to Corsica, an island in the Mediterranean. Previous to this enterprize, the patrimony of St. Peter, defended alone by spiritual arms, was doomed to experience the more formidable weapons of the king of France. On the refusal of the pope to recall a brief which he had published against the duke of Parma, Lewis thought proper to reclaim the territories of Avignon and the Venaissin, as fiefs belonging to him; and the Roman pontiff, having no troops to oppose him, could only denounce against him the penalties incurred by those who seize on effects belonging to the church. But the thunders of the Vatican, once so terrible, were no longer regarded; and the marquis of Rochecouart, with the regiment of Dauphiné, expelled the feeble train of the pope; and received, in the name of the king, the homage and submission of the people.

A. D. 1768. 1769.] But far different preparations were necessary to bend the hardy and stubborn natives of Corsica. These had resisted, with manly firmness, the oppressive councils of the Genoese, who claimed the sovereignty of the island by right of conquest. But Genoa, unable to support her pretensions, transferred them to France, on condition that Lewis should put her in full possession of the adjacent island of Capraia, which the Corsicans had lately invaded and reduced. To execute his engagements, powerful armaments were fitted out by Lewis, at Antibes and Toulon; twenty battalions of French were landed in Corsica; and the natives, whose free suffrages had summoned Paoli, one of their principal chiefs, to the supreme government of the island, determined to defend their liberties to the utmost. A sharp and bloody war, such as suited the inferior numbers of the inhabitants and the nature of the country, was carried on in all the fastnesses and mountainous parts of the island. And it was not till after the French had fatally experienced, in two successive campaigns, the enthusiastic courage which animates the champions of freedom, that they overwhelmed by their superior numbers this unfortunate people; nor had Lewis much reason to triumph in an acquisition, to attain which he had sacrificed several thousands of his bravest troops; and only extended his dominion over a rugged and unproductive island.

While France abroad was exhausting her treasures in a ruinous and unprofitable conflict, at home her merchants were exposed to every species of failure and distress. Her East-India company, formerly so flourishing, became totally bankrupt; the most capital commercial houses were involved in the same calamity; and the despotic manœuvre of the minister, the duke of Choiseul, in reducing the interest of the public funds to one-half, and at the same time taking away the benefit of survivorship in the tontines, increased the general gloom, and struck at the root of all national faith and credit.

But though the arms of Lewis had extinguished the flame of freedom in Corsica, in France it was revived by the breath of the parliaments, and cherished with a fond regard that threatened the most important consequences. An edict issued by the king, which transferred some new and extraordinary powers to the grand council, was strenuously opposed by the parliament of Paris; sixty-four members of that assembly voted for utterly abolishing that council; and the question was only lost by a majority of two, though all the princes of the blood attended to support the court, and the duke of Choiseul endeavoured to overawe the independent spirit of the patriotic party by continuing in the assembly throughout the debate.

That minister, wearied with ineffectual struggles, now exerted his address to conciliate those whom he had in vain attempted to intimidate. Though the king had hitherto resisted the solicitations of his people to restore the parliament of Brittany, he now aspired to popularity by doing voluntarily, that which he had been vainly importuned to grant; and the duke de Duras was sent into that province, to re-establish the parliament, and to recall the members from exile.

A. D. 1770.] But a concession, which a short time since would have been ascribed to the benignity of the monarch, was now attributed to the fears of the court; and the parliament had scarce assembled before they convinced their countrymen, that oppression had confirmed and not extinguished their zeal for the public welfare. The province of Brittany had long groaned beneath the iron rule of the duke d'Aiguillon, and for four years he had persecuted with unremitting vengeance M. de Chalotais, the attorney-general to the parliament. That unfortunate gentleman, whose genius, learning, and integrity merited a better fate, had opposed, with the indignation of a virtuous magistrate, the oppressive measures of the duke; and a malevolent rage of the haughty governor, seconded by the influence of the countess du Barré, the new and favourite mistress of the king, whose confidence he had acquired, drove the unhappy object of his enmity into exile; pursued him from dungeon to dungeon; and at length, by the subornation of false witnesses and the profligacy of dependant judges, procured against him a sentence which involved his life; and which his persecutor hastened privately to carry into execution.

But though the parliament of Brittany had received intelligence of the dark designs of their governor, the humanity of the duke of Choiseul was interested

by their representations ; and an order in favour of M. de Chalotais arrived time enough to stop the hand of the executioner, which was already armed against his life. The rescue of that gentleman laid open a scene of the blackest iniquity ; and the parliament of Brittany, possessed of new proofs, commenced a process against the duke d'Aiguillon, whose trial was conducted in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, the peers, and the parliament of Paris. Before these judges the written proceedings carried on against M. de Chalotais were produced, and displayed such a complicated system of guilt and cruelty, as exceeded whatever could have been furnished.

It was amidst these domestic disquietudes that the dauphin received the hand of Maria Antoinetta, sister to the emperor of Germany. But even these nuptials, that promised to cement the alliance of France with the house of Austria, were attended with events the most inauspicious : The crowd that hastened to be spectators of the fireworks, tumultuously pressed upon each other ; those who were foremost sunk down by the weight of encreasing numbers behind, and it is supposed that about a thousand persons perished in the fatal confusion, besides double that number grievously maimed and bruised. This disaster was considered as omenous. The dauphin in the first transport of his commiseration, bestowed the amount of a months expences towards the relief of the surviving sufferers, and the dauphiness followed the noble example. The king also ordered that no expense should be spared to alleviate their distress. But even this signal and mournful occurrence, could not divert the public attention from the prosecution of the duke d'Aiguillon.

At the moment that the nation awaited the decision of this important cause, Lewis thought proper, by a violent exertion of power, to put a total stop to the whole course of justice, and to all further enquiries into the conduct of the duke. At the same time, conscious of their sentiments, he forbade the princes of the blood from attending the parliament. A procedure so inconsistent with the rights of the peerage was openly reprobated by the prince of Conti ; and the partiality which the king evidently displayed towards the duke d'Aiguillon, could not repress the determined resolution of the parliaments against him. That of Paris prohibited him from exercising the functions of his peerage, till his character should be cleared by an open trial ; and though the king annulled their arret by his absolute authority, they maintained their resolution with incredible firmness, and their remonstrances were seconded by the representations of the princes and peers, who complained that their honour was sacrificed, and the rights of the peerage annihilated.

The other parliaments were not behind in vigour or resolution that of Paris ; but the general detestation that pursued the duke d'Aiguillon, seemed only to encrease the attachment of his royal master ; and Lewis, after having severely reprimanded the parliament of Paris for their temerity, ordered two of the members to be arrested, and sent to the castle of Vincennes ; yet the rest, instead

of being intimidated by this severity, still displayed an astonishing magnanimity, and persevered in repeated deputations and remonstrances.

At length the king arrived suddenly at Paris, and having with his guards surrounded the parliament, entered the assembly, reproached the members in the severest terms, dismissed the two chambers of Inquests and Requests; and ordered all proceedings against the duke d'Aiguillon to be erased from their registers. The parliament, however, still continued to assemble, and observed that the late acts of arbitrary power, both against the letter and spirit of the constitution, left no room to doubt that a premeditated design was harboured to change the form of government; and that though they should for a while postpone their deliberations, they proclaimed their resolution still to persevere in carrying truth to the foot of the throne.

Measures equally violent were adopted against the provincial parliaments. That of Brittany was surprized by the intrusion of a major-general, who produced lettres de cachet for the first-president, solicitor-general, and register, and compelled them by an armed force to erase from their registers the arrears obnoxious to the court. The members, however, assembled soon after, and issued a strong protest against this act of power, which they pronounced in the highest degree to be arbitrary and illegal.

At Metz, marshal d'Armentieres entered the parliament-house at the head of eight companies of grenadiers, tore to pieces several of the arrears, and banished the most distinguished members; Besançon was insulted by similar instances of military violence; yet Rouen still persevered in its deputation, and its complaints were echoed by the chamber of aids at Paris; who, after in vain seeking access to the throne, to the amazement and confusion of the court, printed its remonstrance.

The discontent of the populace, who looked up with admiration to the patriotism and heroic firmness of the parliaments, was increased by a dearth which prevailed this year throughout the kingdom. A scanty supply was procured by opening the ports, and permitting foreigners as well as natives to import or export corn at will, without any retrospect to the price for which it might have been sold during the continuance in the ports: but though this regulation might alleviate the public misery, yet so fatal were the ravages of famine, that in Limosin and Marche only, four thousand persons are supposed to have perished.

The monarch, immersed in sensuality, heard with indifference the cries of his people; but he listened with more respect to the solicitations of his mistress, the countess du Barré. The hatred of that lady to the duke de Choiseul, was constant and undisguised; and her royal lover, amidst the blandishments of amorous intercourse, was incessantly urged to dismiss the obnoxious minister. But whatever promises were drawn from the easy king in the hours of dalliance, were repeatedly revoked on reflection; and it is probable that the duke of Choiseul might have long continued in his post, had not the imprudence of his sister, and his own enterprising genius, precipitated his downfall.

The pride of the duchess of Grammont was severely mortified by the ascendancy of the countess du Barré; though neither young nor handsome, she had aspired to the royal bed, and hoped to confirm, by her influence as mistress to the king, the power to which her brother had attained as minister. This prospect was blasted by the fond attachment of Lewis to his new favourite; and the duchess, instead of remaining at Versailles, and endeavouring secretly to undermine her enemies, gave open vent to her indignation; she inflamed the parliaments of the different provincial towns; and in a progress through France, assured them, that in their remonstrances to the crown, they would be supported by the duke of Choiseul.

But the impetuosity of that minister plunged him into a more fatal error. The court of Spain had already formed designs against Port Egmont, a settlement on one of the Malouine islands, and possessed by the English. The duke of Choiseul, who had with impatience submitted to the triumphs of that people, assured the cabinet of Madrid that Lewis would firmly maintain the union of the house of Bourbon, and the engagements that he had contracted by the Family Compact. The intrigues of the duke could not long be kept secret from the king; he heard with astonishment the presumption of that statesman, who had hazarded an answer of such importance without the concurrence of the crown; he trembled at the thoughts of war, and at duties which must obtrude upon hours which he had devoted to pleasure; he was still embarrassed by the remonstrances of his parliaments; and he determined to get rid of a minister whom he suspected of too much complacency towards those assemblies. The count de St. Florentin, lately created duke de la Vrillière, was appointed to carry him the fatal *lettre de cachet*, which was couched in the following terms: "the dissatisfaction I experience in your services, obliges me to banish you to Chanteloup, where you will repair in twenty-four hours. I would have sent you much further, if it had not been for the particular esteem I have for the duchess de Choiseul, in whose welfare I am much interested. Be careful that your conduct does not force me to take some other step; and I pray God to keep you in his holy protection."

A. D. 1771.] The duke of Choiseul found some compensation for the loss of royal favour in the approbation of the public; and he retired with the acclamations of the people at large. But his retreat secured not the submission of the parliaments of France; and those assemblies, though deprived of the support that they had looked up to, still maintained a conduct equally firm and honourable. The members long withstood the royal edict, by which they were to acknowledge themselves obliged in future to register all the edicts of the king, even against their own remonstrances. The presence of the monarch at length compelled them to enter on their journals the fatal edict; but in their next assembly the parliament of Paris complained of it as an act of force, and appointed a deputation to the king to entreat him to withdraw it. Their language on this occasion was bold, firm, and animated: "Your edict, Sire, is destructive of all law; your parliament is charged to maintain the law; and the law perishing, they should perish with it; these are, Sire, the last words of your parliament."

Lewis, enraged at their perseverance, now yielded to the most violent councils, and prepared to support his authority by the most decisive measures; the members, in the dead of night, were awaked in their beds by parties of the guards, who presented to each of them a *lettre de cachet*, which enjoined them to declare whether they would resume the administration of justice, which they had abandoned, or persist in their refusal. Though in the moment of confusion a few were surprised into acquiescence, yet these soon retracted; they were commanded to attend at court, to receive their dismissal; and maintaining, even in the presence of the sovereign, the same decent but inflexible firmness, the whole body of the parliament was banished from the capital.

The chief adviser of a conduct so daring and odious, was the chancellor de Maupeou; a man who had ascended to power by the practice of every species of fraud and deceit, and who shared with the duke d'Aiguillon the public hatred. At his suggestion a temporary tribunal was erected, at which the lawyers of the crown were compelled to assist; but this phantom of a parliament, and the hopes of the people that the old one would be restored, were soon extinguished. The king, at the last bed of justice that he held, issued three edicts; the first for the dissolution of the present parliament; the second for the suppression of the Court of Aids; and the third for the transformation of the Grand Council into a new parliament. The king closed the assembly with these decisive words; "You have just heard my intentions; it is my will that they should be executed. I command you to begin your functions next Monday; my chancellor will go to inform you. I forbid all deliberations contrary to my will, and all representations in favour of the ancient parliament: for I will never change." Soon after the king declared that the jurisdiction of the new parliament, which reached from Lyons to Arras, was too extensive, he now divided it into six different parts; each court was to have a similar jurisdiction, and to be held at Arras, Lyons, Clermont, Blois, Poitiers, and Paris; a new code of laws, which had been framed by the chancellor, was also presented and approved; and measures accordingly taken for carrying them into execution.

The parliament of Rouen had not beheld in silence the fate of their brethren at Paris; they declared the new parliament usurpers, and enemies of the state, and strictly forbade the acknowledgment or execution of any of their arrets. The court was awed by the danger of a contest with the powerful and high-spirited duchy of Normandy, and it is surmised that the generous refusal of the duke of Harcourt to command the troops intended to crush that province, induced Lewis to relinquish the violent measures that he meditated. But the same respect was not paid to the parliaments of Besançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thoulouse, and Brittany: these were totally suppressed, the members driven into exile, and new parliaments erected in the room of the old.

The public discontent at the suppression of their ancient parliaments was not lessened by the appointment of the duke d'Aiguillon to the post of minister for

foreign affairs. That nobleman, by the friendship of the countess du Barré, and the dishonourable interposition of the royal authority, had eluded the sword of justice, and it was the strong expression of the duke of Brissac, a nobleman of a lively and romantic disposition, "that he had indeed saved his head, but that his neck had been twisted." He was now preferred to an office of the highest importance, and the king, by constant marks of favour, seemed desirous on every occasion of triumphing over the feelings of his people.

A. D. 1771, 1772.] Yet the insensibility of Lewis was not entirely proof against one instance of opposition. The princes of the blood had strongly protested against the late innovations, and their firmness had drawn upon them the king's indignation, they were forbid to appear in the royal presence, and ultimately banished from court—but these illustrious persons ill brooked their exile from scenes of gaiety and magnificence—with the life of the count of Clermont their fortitude expired, they languished to return to the circle of royal pleasures; and the king, who beheld the lustre of his court clouded during their absence, accepted, with pleasure, their overtures of accommodation.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid saw with regret the duke d'Aiguillon, as minister for foreign affairs, possessed of a post to which their wishes were incessantly recalling the duke of Choiseul; and the new secretary, though not destitute of capacity, yet suffered the partition of Poland to be concluded against the evident interest of France. Lewis himself was so struck at the first intelligence of the event, that he could not help exclaiming, "Alas! if Choiseul had been here, this would not have happened." But this transient emotion soon subsided in the arms of the countess du Barré; and the revolution of Stockholm, accomplished under the auspices of France, which overthrew the power of the aristocracy, and established the authority of the sovereign, restored the reputation of the duke d'Aiguillon.

Delivered from the remonstrances of his parliament, and devoted to voluptuousness, the hours of Lewis seemed to glide in constant enjoyment; the chancellor de Maupeou took care that all money edicts were registered; and the inventive spirit of finance, by oppressing the people, liberally supplied the profusion of the court. The holy deference of the king for the see of Rome was soothed by ceding to pope Ganganelli, Avignon and the county of Venaissin, which had been reclaimed in the administration of the duke of Choiseul. The marquis of Monteynard was, by the intrigues of the duke d'Aiguillon, dismissed from the war department; and the latter nobleman, by the fond partiality of the sovereign, was invested with the spoils of the disgraced minister.

A. D. 1774.] But in the moment of satiety, the mind of Lewis still appeared impressed with settled melancholy; the sudden death of the marquis de Chauvelin, the companion of his sensual excesses, strongly affected him; and the subsequent fate of mareschal d'Armentieres, who expired in a similar manner, and who was nearly the same age as the monarch, increased his gloomy sensations. He was

insensible of the daily diminution of his strength; and even the charms of the countesses du Barré could no longer excite desire; and though that lady still retained her influence, new objects were requisite to rouse the languid powers of the king. To provide these was the incessant care of the countesses; and her assiduity in this office, proved at once fatal to her own grandeur, and the life of her royal slave.

A new beauty who was introduced into the bed of the monarch, communicated to the despoiler of her innocence the fatal seeds of disease. The symptoms of the small-pox already appeared on the king, and by the advice of his physicians he was hastily removed from Trianon to Versailles. The danger hourly increased; and Lewis, apprised of the nature of his disorder, found, with the approach of death the sense of religion return; he desired that the countesses du Barré, who had officially attended him, might be removed; he received the sacrament; and declared his intention to exert himself ever after for the maintenance of religion, and the happiness of his people.

But it was not permitted to him to evince the sincerity of these declarations; the ignorance of his physicians co-operated with the virulence of the disease; a momentary change for the better was succeeded by certain indications of speedy dissolution, and eight days after the first attack, that monarch closed a reign of fifty-nine, and a line of sixty-five years.

Such was the fate of Lewis the Fifteenth, who at length fell a victim to those sensual appetites, in the gratification of which he had sacrificed his own fame and the welfare of his subjects. The enviable appellation of *well-beloved*, which had been conferred in the moment of danger by a lively and enthusiastic people, was effaced by thirty years of lascivious excess, profusion, and rapacity; his example had loosened the bands of morality, his prodigality had exhausted the credit and resources of his country, and his wanton pride had trampled upon the remnant of the constitution. His affections seemed to have been confined within the narrow limits of his personal pleasures and security; the marchioness of Pompadour, who so long enjoyed his confidence and shared his embraces, expired without a sigh of regret from the monarch, who, during her life, had obeyed and adored her; and the death of his son, the dauphin, was received without any mark of emotion by the royal insensible. It was by incessantly suggesting to him his personal danger, that the countesses du Barré stimulated him to the decisive measure of suppressing the ancient parliaments of France: but though concealed from the public eye, the embers of freedom were still carefully cherished; the magnanimity of those assemblies had awakened new ideas in the bosoms of the French; they were taught by the late remonstrances to consider their inherent rights; and the glorious flame, in the succeeding reign, burst forth with accumulated force, and overwhelmed the throne of despotism.

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH.

A. D. 1774.] LEWIS the Sixteenth, at the age of twenty, succeeded to the throne of his grandfather; and whatever satisfaction might arise from the splendid prospect before him, was alloyed by the general distress that presented itself throughout the kingdom. Domestic cares were added to those of the public; the contagious disorder of which the late king died, had been communicated to his three daughters, the princesses Adelaide, Sophia, and Victoire; a general consternation took place; the people trembled for the safety of the king and his brothers; and it was scarcely deemed an improbable event, that the whole royal family might have been swept off by that fatal pest, which had so long been its inveterate enemy.

But these fears were of short duration; the princesses recovered from the natural disorder; and the king, with the two princes his brothers, and the countess d'Artois, wife of the younger, were all inoculated at the same time, and were soon released from any apprehensions by the ease and safety of the operation; their example contributed to remove the prejudices against that important discovery, and to extend the practice from the court throughout the provinces of France.

The health of Lewis was no sooner confirmed, than he diligently employed himself to extinguish the discontent and alleviate the calamities of his people. He immediately determined to remove those persons from office whose errors, or oppressive conduct, had rendered them disagreeable to the nation: he recalled the count of Maurepas, who had formerly occupied the marine department, but who had been banished from the court for three and twenty years; and whose ability and integrity had been esteemed and recommended by the deceased dauphin. This statesman, however, declined the resumption of his former station; and with a seat in the privy council, without any particular office, influenced the most important concerns of government.

The countess du Barré, whose ascendancy over the passions of the late monarch had occasioned so many evils, was permitted to shelter herself in contempt and obscurity; several ladies who had distinguished themselves by their servile assiduity to her, were banished from the royal circle; while the duchess of Grammont enjoyed at once the disgrace of her enemy, and the favour of the present sovereign; she was recalled to court by a letter from the young queen herself, and was treated with every mark of distinction and honour.

At length the duke d'Aiguillon resigned his office of prime minister ; and the chancellor de Maupeou, who had divided with him the hatred of France, was dismissed from his high and important trust ; yet, even on this occasion, the moderation of the king was conspicuous ; the punishment of Maupeou was limited to the loss of his employment ; he was permitted to retire to the noble estate he had acquired in Normandy, and to enjoy without restraint the spoils of an oppressed people. The seals were delivered to monsieur Miromesnil, president of the parliament of Rouen ; the count of Vergennes, who had filled with reputation the post of ambassador to the courts of Constantinople and Stockholm, was called to preside over the foreign department ; and the count of Mury, afterwards created marechal, was nominated secretary of war.

The dismissal of the duke d'Aiguillon had filled the partizans of the duke of Choiseul with the highest exultation ; their ardent fancy beheld him again invested with the supreme authority, and extending his negociations into the different courts of Europe ; but whether the enterprising genius of that nobleman was deemed inconsistent with the present pacific system, or that the subordinate ministers dreaded his haughty spirit, and silently traversed his return to power, the hopes of his adherents were suffered gradually to subside : he was indeed recalled to court, and shared with his sister, the duchess of Grammont, the smiles of his sovereign ; but these favours were only extended to him as a private person, and he was sedulously excluded from all participation in public affairs.

A still more popular step was an edict published in the name of the king, in which he engaged to pay unremitting attention to the management of the finances ; to restore the discharge of the public debt, which had been intercepted by his predecessor ; and to make full compensation to those who had suffered by that injurious measure. At the same time several schemes of œconomy were introduced ; and though these were more pleasing in their appearance than beneficial in their effects, yet the people received with transport, plans which promised some future attention to their happiness, and at least a desire to deliver them from the burdens under which they groaned. The price of bread, which had also risen to an excessive height, was reduced by the prudent management of the ministers : and those who in the confusion of the last reign had treasured up the corn in their granaries, were now persuaded to bring it to market.

Such attentions could not fail to command the gratitude of the populace, and whenever the monarch appeared in public, he was attended by the acclamations of the multitude ; yet one circumstance was wanting to establish the general joy, and France still panted after the restoration of her ancient parliaments. When the solemn funeral service for the late king was performed in the abbey church of St. Denys, the new parliament was summoned to attend the ceremonial ; but the duke of Orleans refused to appear, or to act in any manner in conjunction with that body. In a letter to the king he avowed his reasons for absenting himself ; and the monarch, disgusted with this unexpected opposition, and uncertain what

effect it might produce upon the other princes of the blood, exiled the duke of Orleans, with his son the duke of Chartres, from his court.

The people, who had flattered themselves that the dismissal of the obnoxious ministers would have been attended by the restoration of their idol, the parliament, were stunned by this stroke; they considered the two dukes as victims to the public good; the general discontent immediately revived; and Lewis, when next he presented himself to the inhabitants of the metropolis, instead of the usual marks of applause, was received in awful silence; dejection was strongly painted in every countenance; and the young monarch soon perceived, that he could only reign in the hearts of his subjects by a ready compliance with their wishes.

Preparations were immediately made to soothe the anxious minds of an enthusiastic people; the duke of Orleans was again invited to join the royal councils, and his presence gave confidence to their resolutions. The lettres de cachet which had been issued against the members of the ancient parliament were revoked; guards were posted to secure the obnoxious persons who composed the new from the rage of the populace; and the king, after attending divine service, went to the great chamber of parliament, accompanied by his brothers, by the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, the other princes of the blood, and the great officers of state, and commanded the edict to be registered which re-established the ancient parliaments and for ever suppressed the new.

But though the prudence of Lewis had suggested to him this compliance with the ardent desires of his subjects, he endeavoured still to preserve pure and undiminished the royal authority; and was equally averse with his predecessor to granting to these popular assemblies any power that could possibly circumscribe his own. He explained his intentions by the speech in which he addressed that distinguished body. The step that he had taken to ensure the tranquillity and happiness of his subjects, ought not, he observed, to invalidate his own authority; and he hoped, from the zeal and attachment of the present assembly, an example of submission to the rest of his subject. Their repeated resistance to the commands of his grandfather had compelled that monarch to maintain his prerogative by their banishment; and they were now recalled, in the expectation that they would quietly exercise their functions, and display their gratitude by their obedience. He concluded with declaring, that it was his desire to bury in oblivion all past grievances; that he should ever behold with extreme disapprobation whatever might tend to create divisions and disturb the general tranquillity; and that his chancellor would read his ordinance to the assembly, from which they might be assured he would not suffer the smallest deviation to be made.

That ordinance was couched in the most explicit terms, and was immediately registered by the king's command: The articles of it limited within very narrow bounds the pretensions of the parliament of Paris; the members were forbidden to look upon themselves as one body with the other parliaments of the kingdom, or to take any step, or assume any title, that might tend towards, or imply, such

an union: They were enjoined never to relinquish the administration of public justice, except in cases of absolute necessity, for which the first-president was to be responsible to the king; and it was added, that on their disobedience, the grand council might replace the parliament, without any new edict for the purpose.

They were still however permitted to enjoy the right of remonstrating before the registering of any edicts or letters-patent, which they might conceive injurious to the welfare of the people, provided they preserved in their representations the respect due to the throne. But these remonstrances were not to be repeated; and the parliament, if they proved ineffectual, were to register the edict objected to within a month at farthest from the first day of its being published: They were strictly forbidden to issue any arrets which might excite trouble, or in any manner retard the execution of the king's ordinances; and they were assured by the king himself, at the conclusion of his code for their future conduct, that as long as they adhered to the bounds prescribed, and attempted not to enlarge the powers granted to them, they might depend upon his protection and countenance.

Such were the terms on which Lewis contented to restore the ancient parliaments of his kingdom; and while he delivered himself from the odium that involved his predecessor, he reduced the authority of those assemblies which had shaken the infant throne of Lewis the Fourteenth. Yet the concessions of the parliament may be vindicated as prudent and politic; they had to contend with a young monarch, possessed of the affections of the people, and whose short reign had not yet allowed them an opportunity of changing their opinions. Most of the members had purchased their places at a considerable expence; and though their zeal amidst the popular applause had triumphed over every other consideration, yet they could not be entirely indifferent to the honours and affluence they had renounced. Each day more firmly established the jurisdiction that had been erected on their ruins; and should a continuance of their absence gradually extinguish the regard of the Parisians, they were sensible the jealousy of the crown would ever afterwards preclude their recall from exile; but if once reinstated in their dignities and the administration of justice, new opportunities might offer of reasserting what they had surrendered.

Even in the first moments of their return, they displayed a spirit unsubdued by adversity; the article respecting remonstrances was darkly and doubtfully worded, and they already aspired to their former pretensions; but their infant opposition was crushed by the decision of the monarch; and the answer to one of their representations, "That he must be obeyed," was conclusive.

It was not only the parliament that silently bowed before the majesty of the new sovereign; the archbishop of Paris had renewed the commotions of the bull *Unigenitus*, and had opposed the administration of the sacrament; but he was vanquished by the stern justice of the king, who declared, that instead of consigning him to that exile which the late monarch had repeatedly inflicted, on his

again disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom he would give him over to the utmost rigour of the law.

The provincial parliaments of Besançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thoulouse, and Brittany, that had been suppressed by the deceased monarch, were also restored by the present; and unanimity established at home, France had leisure to direct her attention to her late conquest of Corsica, which still struggled to throw off the yoke, and resume her native independence.

To justify the severities which were afterwards practised against those brave but unfortunate islanders, the court of Versailles had industriously circulated a rumour of dark and bloody conspiracy. But as no detail of this plot had been given, the reality of it has been questioned; and it is more than probable, the revolt of the Corsicans originated in the oppression of their governors, and was the result of momentary indignation, rather than the consequence of any settled plan.—Whatever was the source of it, the effects were fatal to that unhappy people; some transient successes in the first desultory hostilities, were soon effaced by a series of sanguinary chastisements. The new ministers were desirous of displaying their vigour and activity, fresh reinforcements were continually poured into the island; and the inmost recesses of that mountainous country were penetrated by the perseverance, and overwhelmed by the numbers of the victors: those who had appeared most forward in opposing the government of France, atoned for their imprudence by the loss of their lives; and great part of their followers, who had been excited to arms by their rash suggestions, were transported to the West India islands, and condemned to perpetual slavery.

In the final reduction of Corsica, France had seized the moment of favourable enterprise; and her ancient and formidable rival, England, was diverted from attending to her conduct, by her own momentous and immediate concerns. The last war, which had so deeply wounded the glory and power of the house of Bourbon, had established the dominion of the English over North America; but with an extent of territory, that people seem not to have possessed, or to have cultivated the affections of their colonists. The idea of imposing various taxes on the Americans had been alternately adopted and abandoned; it was now finally determined to be enforced, and the ministers of great Britain proclaimed their resolution of drawing a settled revenue from their valuable dependencies across the Atlantic. A small duty was laid upon tea; but even this, trifling as it amounted to, was spurned at by the Americans: associations were formed, and subscriptions cheerfully entered into; and on the arrival of the ships that were freighted with the obnoxious commodity, several of them were boarded by parties of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, who, without committing any other act of violence, instantly threw the tea overboard; the captains of the other ships, alarmed for the interest of their owners, thought it most prudent to avoid risking a similar loss, and steered back their course to England.

These tumultuous proceedings in America were heard with resentment by the ministers of Great Britain; and it was determined severely to chastise the town and port of Boston, which had been distinguished as the scene of outrage. The British parliament condemned the town of Boston to pay for the tea thus destroyed; and as a further punishment, they resolved to deprive it of the privilege of a port, until the sovereign should be satisfied of the disposition of the inhabitants to carry on trade quietly, obey the laws, and submit to the duties imposed; until that should appear, the custom house of Boston, and consequently the commerce, was to be removed to Salem, a port about seventeen miles distant.

This act of regulation was succeeded by another for the better government of Massachusetts-Bay, the province in which Boston is situated. The bill for that purpose, altered entirely the form of constitution throughout the province; it took the whole executive power out of the hands of the people, and vested the nomination of judges, counsellors, and magistrates of all kinds, in the crown, and in some cases in the king's governor; and to give weight to these innovations, general Gage, an officer who had long served in America with reputation, was sent out as governor of the province with a considerable military force.

But the Americans received with indignation, instead of submission, the bill that had been framed for their coercion; at Boston they resolved to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East-Indies and Great Britain, until their grievances should be fully redressed; and they strongly recommended every possible encouragement to be given to the manufactures of their own country. The other provinces of the continent, whose jealousy of the superior trade of Boston, it was supposed, would have allured them to a concurrence in measures calculated for its depression, displayed a similar spirit of resistance: A general alarm was spread from one end of North America to the other; meetings were held in every town; and these numerous assemblies all agreed in expressing their dread, that their grants and charters, with all their rights and civil immunities, might be extinguished by the breath of parliament. Even Salem, the town to which the government and trade of Boston was to have been transferred, disdained to profit by the spoils of her oppressed brethren, and joined in the general reprobation of the injustice of Great-Britain.

The new judges who had been appointed by the mother-country were everywhere rendered incapable of proceeding in their office; upon opening the courts the juries throughout the province refused to be sworn, and rejected any other establishment than what had been warranted by the ancient laws and usages of their country; an end was put to all forms of law and government, and the province of Massachusetts Bay was relinquished to the same independent anarchy as had existed in the earliest ages. At length the twelve colonies that stretch from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, and are distinguished by the names of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island, Providence, Connecticut, New-York, New-

Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, animated by one spirit, nominated deputies to represent them in a general congress. This was held at Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania; and their first resolution was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts-Bay, and a determination that if force should be employed to carry the acts against that province into execution, all America should join in the defence of it. They unanimously concurred in discouraging all goods imported from Great-Britain, and they strongly exhorted the inhabitants to countenance their own manufactures: to this was subjoined an energetic address to the French inhabitants of Canada, inviting them to join the standard of freedom, and to render complete the confederacy of the continent of North America.

While the discontents of the colonies of Great-Britain assumed the form of serious resistance, the empress of Russia was employed in terminating a long and successful war which she had maintained against the Ottoman Porte. The haughty spirits of the Moslems had been broken by repeated defeats; their camp presented a disgusting scene of mingled terror and mutiny; and the Divan at length condescended to subscribe a treaty which exalted the glory of one empire as much as it debased the other. The independency of the Crimea was established; the districts of Kilburn, Kerche, and Jenickala, with the extensive country between the Bog and the Dniپر, were ceded to Russia; and a free navigation was granted to the Russians in all the Turkish seas, in which was included the passage of the Dardanelles, with all the privileges and immunities which had been allowed to the most favoured nations. With equal success Catharine at the same time extinguished a rebellion which had been excited in the ancient kingdoms of Casan and Astracan; the impostor, who had assumed the name and title of Peter the Third, was taken, and suffered the just punishment of his presumption; a few examples in the places most remarkable for their disaffection were necessarily made: but the clemency of the empress soon after extended a general pardon to the obscure and misguided multitude.

The death of pope Ganganelli, who had filled the apostolical chair with prudence and moderation, was an event generally regretted by the countries which yet acknowledged the dominion of the holy see. His pontificate had been rendered memorable by the abolition of the society of Jesus; and a vague and idle rumour pervaded Europe, that he had fallen a sacrifice to the effects of poison, and to the resentment of that order. The falsehood of this charge was proved by the united testimony of the different ministers of the house of Bourbon: these were present at the opening of the body; and the physicians and surgeons who assisted at the operation, pronounced his decease to be the consequence of a gradual and natural decay. Though the authority of the successors of St. Peter hath long been disregarded by the enlightened ages of Europe, yet the vacant dignity was warmly contested: and it was not till the ensuing year that the votes of the conclave fixed the tiara on the head of John Angelo Braschi, a native of Ravenna in the Romagna, and who assumed the name of Pius the Sixth.

A. D. 1775.] Though Lewis could not behold without secret satisfaction the disturbances in America, which menaced the grandeur of Great-Britain, yet the tranquillity and happiness of his own kingdom were far from being established; the wounds which had been inflicted by the supine profusion of the late monarch, still required time to heal; and the elevation of monsieur Turgot to the chief direction of the finances, afforded no small share of discontent to the powerful body of the farmers-general. That minister, endued with integrity and ability, had delivered the commerce of grain from many injudicious restrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation; but the scarcity of corn happened to coincide with the moment of his regulations, and those effects which arose from dearth, were ascribed to the innovations he had suggested. His secret enemies industriously circulated rumours, that the public distress was the consequence of certain political combinations; and the people, whose real misery was augmented by an idea of the incapacity and injustice of their rulers, tumultuously assembled in large and formidable bodies. They insulted the magistrates, plundered the houses, and in the commission of these outrages not only destroyed vast quantities of corn and flour, which might have alleviated their wants, but increased the general distress by deterring the proprietors of provisions from bringing them to market. A distemper which had extended its fatal ravages amongst the cattle through the heart of the kingdom, added to the public gloom, and at Dijon, the Capital of Burgundy, the insurrection of the populace was attended with the most fatal consequences. The unhappy people, stimulated by want, and inflamed to madness, had pillaged the house of the intendant, who with difficulty escaped from their fury. To check their progress, it was necessary to summons to the support of government a body of regular troops: yet the hungry insurgents for some time maintained their ground against the disciplined valour of their adversaries; and it was not till near five hundred of these miserable wretches had fallen, that they relinquished the ineffectual conflict.

The capital itself was not exempt from similar distress and disorders; and Lewis, after having in vain endeavoured to sooth the turbulent misery of the people by the mildest remonstrances, now prepared to repress their outrages by the most decisive measures. He ordered the parliament of Paris to attend him at Versailles; and after representing to them the immediate exigency which compelled him to deviate from the usual course of justice, he expressly forbade them from making any representations on the steps that he was determined to pursue: that august body seemed indeed sensible of the necessity of adopting some quick and vigorous system, and silently acquiesced under the mandate of their sovereign.

The king having thus fortified the royal authority by the silent approbation of his parliament, commissioned the Marechaussee, a military body dependant on the police, to disperse the seditious multitude, and to execute summary justice on the most guilty. At the same time a pardon was held out to those who should retire home, and make restitution for the corn they had taken away. The good effects of these regulations were soon discernible; numbers endeavoured to efface their

misconduct by reimbursing the persons whom they had plundered; a few atoned for their crimes under the hands of the executioner; and a plentiful harvest, which ensued, banished the distress of the people, and confirmed the tranquillity of France.

To divert the minds of his subjects from the late gloomy scenes of misery, the king resolved to celebrate his coronation with royal magnificence at Rheims. The liberality of the clergy opportunely supplied a gift of twenty millions of livres; and the ancient dignities of the kingdom were revived on this occasion. The count de Provence represented the duke of Burgundy the count d'Artois; the duke of Normandy; the duke of Orleans, the duke of Aquitaine the duke of Chartres; the count of Thoulouse the prince of Condé, the count of Flanders, and the duke of Bourbon, the count of Champagne.

The marriage of the princess Clotilda, sister to the king of France, to the prince of Piedmont, eldest son of the king of Sardinia, was an event but little interesting in modern politics. The courts of Paris and Turin had long been joined in the closest connection; and the futility of these alliances, unless the mutual advantage of both parties cemented their subsequent union, had been too often experienced to occasion any alarm to the other powers of Europe.

The humanity of Lewis was conspicuously displayed in an edict which he caused to be registered in parliament, and which in future sentenced the deserters from his army to work as slaves on the public roads, instead of punishing them as formerly with death; and with equal attention to the general welfare of his subjects, he seized the moment of peace to reduce part of his numerous forces, and to fulfil those promises of œconomy which on his accession he had given to his people. The death of the marechal de Mury, who filled the post of secretary at war, was succeeded by the appointment of the count de St. Germain to the vacant department: that nobleman, during the last war, had enjoyed a high command in Germany; and the prince and his subjects were alike impressed with the most favourable opinion of his genius and application.

While one royal branch of the house of Bourbon thus emerged from the clouds that had obscured its glory, the other still more eminently displayed the weakness of its government, and the deficiency of its judgment. Charles the Third, king of Spain, was roused from his peaceful slumber by the hostile insults of a barbarian, who ruled over part of Africa, and who stiled himself emperor of Morocco. This Moorish prince, without any pretence of injury, in a letter to the king of Spain, declared himself enjoined by the laws of the Alcoran to expel the Christians from the forts they held on the African coast; at the same time that he professed his wish in every other respect to maintain the peace that he subscribed to with the court of Madrid, and to preserve inviolate the commercial intercourse of the two nations.

This singular manifesto of Mahomed Ben Abdalla was answered by the court of Madrid by a declaration of war; but before Spain could transport her forces to

this distant scene of contest, the Moorish prince, with a numerous and ill-disciplined army, had laid siege to Melilla, in the kingdom of Fez, on the shores of the Mediterranean, and opposite to Almeria in Spain. Though that fortress was in every respect but badly provided, yet the constancy and conduct of the governor repelled the desultory attacks of the assailants; and the emperor, after having continued the blockade for some months, retired from the inauspicious walls.

If Spain had been tardy in affording succour to her distressed subjects in Africa, her preparations to avenge the insult were proportioned to the length of time that had been employed in making them. Twenty-six thousand of the best troops of that kingdom, supplied with every engine for offensive or defensive war, were embarked on four hundred transports. These were escorted by seven ships of seventy-four guns, eight of forty, and thirty-two frigates. This formidable armament, which threatened to overwhelm all Africa, after a tedious voyage, cast anchor in the bay of Algiers; and the count O'Reilly, to whom the command of the land-forces was entrusted, determined immediately to commence his operations.

While the ships diverted the attention of enemy by a feigned attack on the town of Algiers, four thousand of the Spanish infantry were successfully landed; but these, instead of obeying the commands of their general, and patiently awaiting the junction of their companions, rushed to the encounter with the Moors, and were received with a degree of firmness that was little expected. The consequence of this presumption was what might have been easily foreseen; as fast as fresh troops were landed, they hastened to the support of their friends already engaged; and the advantages of skill and discipline were renounced, in a combat which was only distinguished by desperate courage and blind fury. For thirteen hours the sense of national honour supported the Spaniards against the torrent of their enemies; at length, after the loss of near four thousand of their best troops, they were obliged to retire under the shelter of the cannon of their ships: notwithstanding the fatigues they had undergone in the course of the day, it was deemed prudent to avail themselves of the night for a speedy embarkation; and an armament that was considered so superior to the object of its destination as to awaken the jealousy of the European powers, returned to Spain, baffled and defeated by naked and undisciplined barbarians.

Whatever concern Lewis might feel for the disgrace of the kindred throne of Spain, was amply compensated by the difficulties in which he observed the ancient and uniform rival of France rapidly involving herself. The language of resistance adopted by America had not shaken the resolution of the ministers of Great-Britain, and the eyes of Europe were impatiently turned on the approaching contest. The inhabitants of Rhode-Island were no sooner informed of the prohibition to export military stores from Great-Britain, than they seized on the ordnance belonging to the crown in that district, and openly avowed their intention, in this act of violence, was to defend themselves against any power that should presume to molest them. Their example was followed by the people of New-

Hampshire, who surprized a small fort, called William and Mary, and supplied themselves with a quantity of ammunition.

General Gage did not behold with indifference these acts of outrage; and on information that some brass cannon were deposited in the town of Salem, he detached a body of troops, commanded by a field-officer, to seize them; but the cannon had already been removed: a subsequent detachment of nine hundred men, for a like purpose, was directed to penetrate to Lexington; the march of these was interrupted by the provincials, who had taken the alarm, and began to assemble. They were dispersed by some shots fired by the regulars, and a few of the Americans were wounded and killed. The inhabitants of the adjacent country were in a moment summoned to the support of their friends; their numbers increasing rapidly pressed upon the British troops, who effected their retreat with considerable loss and difficulty; it is probable indeed the whole detachment must have been cut off, had not the prudence of general Gage, apprehensive of the event, directed a more considerable body to hasten to their relief. Strengthened by this reinforcement, they continued their retreat in better order, but harassed by a variety of desultory attacks, and with some additional loss, reached Boston.

The attempt on Lexington excited the indignation of the whole province; the people immediately flew to arms, and Boston was invested by twenty thousand men, under the command of colonel Putnam, an officer who had acquired experience and reputation in the two last wars. But general Gage in the interval had been joined by the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with a considerable body of troops from England; and it was determined to drive the Americans from some works which they had erected on Bunker's-Hill, an height that commanded the town of Boston. This service was committed to the generals Howe and Clinton, at the head of two thousand select soldiers; they were received with a firmness that might have staggered veteran troops; and it was not until they had half their number killed and wounded, that their persevering valour triumphed over the obstinacy of their enemies, and drove the Americans from their entrenchments.

The general Congress at Philadelphia had not in the meantime been idle; the province of Georgia had acceded to the confederacy; and the different states now assumed the appellation of *The Thirteen United Colonies*. Mr. Washington, a gentleman of fortune in Virginia, and who had fought at the head of several provincial bodies during the last war, was nominated commander in chief of all the American forces; the Congress also fixed the pay both of officers and soldiers, the latter of which were provided for with the utmost liberality.

But an expedition which was planned by the Americans against Quebec, the capital of Canada, was not attended with that success which the authors of it fondly expected: They had surprized and swept before them all the important fortresses that commanded the entrance into that province; but in an attempt by

a coup-de-main to possess themselves of the town, they were repulsed with cruel slaughter. General Montgomery, who commanded the assailants, an officer of a respectable Irish family who had been trained to arms in the British service, fell on this occasion, lamented not less for his military skill and valour than for the more rare domestic virtues; colonel Arnold, the second in command, was severely wounded; and the besiegers, after this check, retired to an awful distance, and were content to change the siege into a blockade.

While Lewis anxiously directed his attention towards America, and watched the gradual progress of hostility, he was not indifferent to the internal regulation of his own country. The count de St. Germain justified the opinion that had been formed of his courage and abilities; and intent only on the advantage of the state, ventured on a reform which menaced him with the resentment of the most noble families of France.

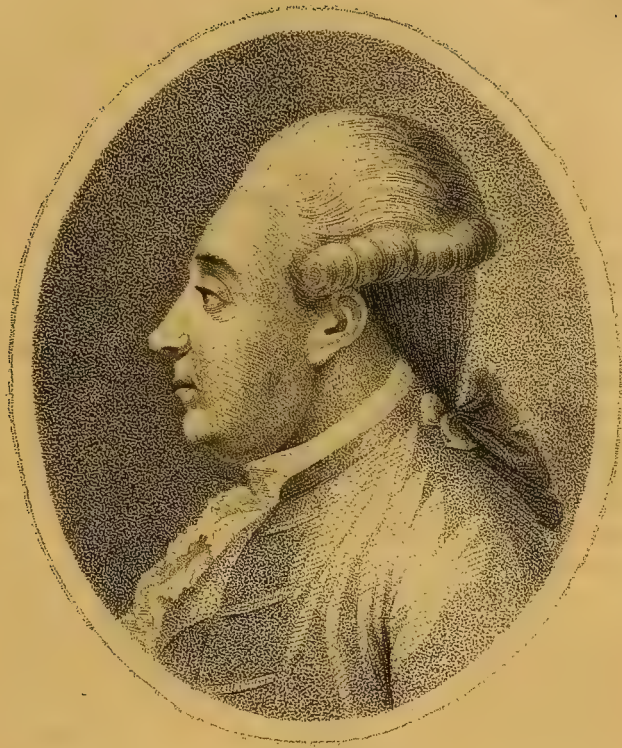
The mousquetaires, a corps instituted for the protection of the royal person, were composed of young men of the most illustrious extraction; and though such a guard must have been highly flattering to the dignity of the sovereign, yet the expence attending it was severely felt, and frequently regretted. The suppression of it had been repeatedly agitated; but no minister had yet been found sufficiently hardy to encounter the odium with which it was likely to be attended. This instance of political fortitude was reserved for the count de St. Germain; he enforced to Lewis the considerable savings that might be applied from the reduction of a corps, the offspring of pageantry, to the effective marching battalions; an edict was accordingly published for the suppression of the mousquetaires; and those brave men, whose courage had always been celebrated, received the news of their dismissal with marks of the deepest despair. Attached to each other by similarity of habits, and cemented in friendship by common dangers and service, they regarded the decree that separated them with equal grief, as if had sentenced their immediate execution. Monsieur de la Chaise, a veteran officer of approved resolution, and one of their commanders, fainted away on receiving the fatal mandate; and all the rest vented their sorrow in the loudest and most poignant exclamations: but the king and his minister were inexorable; and the capital was not sorry to be delivered from a corps, whose impetuous and overbearing spirit too frequently insulted the more humble class of citizens.

A. D. 1776.] The naval department was inspected with equal diligence and care: When the administration of the duke of Choiseul expired, and his cousin the duke of Praslin was dismissed from superintending the marine, that nobleman declared, that he left sixty-four ships of the line in the ports of France, besides those that were on the stocks; this force had not been suffered to decline in the present reign, and the appointment of Monsieur de Sartine to the marine department did honour to the penetration of the sovereign. That minister, fruitful in resources, and unwearied in his application, was incessantly engaged in augmenting the naval strength of his country; and the various preparations that filled the ports and docks, created no small uneasiness to the court of London.

One appointment more was still necessary to stamp the royal mind free from prejudice and open to the impression of merit. Monsieur Turgot, though possessed of integrity and industry had not been able to command the public confidence; On his retreat, Monsieur Clugny, intendant general of Bourdeaux, had been elevated to the vacant post; on his death, which happened soon after, M. Taboreau des Reaux was appointed his successor; and Lewis soon after associated with him, in the management of the finances, Monsieur Necker, by birth a Swiss, and by religion a Protestant. That gentleman, in the preceding reign, had been chosen to adjust some differences between the East India Company and the crown; and had discharged his trust with such rare discretion as to challenge the approbation of both parties. Possessed of distinguished and acknowledged probity, his appointment would have excited no surprise, had it not been contrary to the constant policy of France, which had carefully excluded the aliens of her country and faith from the controul of her revenue. It now stood forward as a new instance of enlargement of mind and liberality of sentiment; and will to posterity mark the prominent features of the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth.

With equal zeal to extend the dominion of science, Lewis fitted out several vessels on astronomical discoveries. The Chevalier de Borda was instructed to ascertain the exact position of the Canary Islands and Cape de Verdes; and the different degrees of the coast of Africa from Cape Sparte to the island of Goree: the Chevalier Grenier, who had traversed the Indian seas to improve the charts and correct the errors which had misled former navigators, was liberally rewarded by a monarch who aspired to immortalize the æra of his power by expeditions beneficial to mankind.

But as often as the eyes of Lewis were recalled, so often did they return with increase of anxiety to the continent of North-America. The contest between Great-Britain and her colonies became each hour more important, and the humanity and interest of European powers were deeply concerned in the event. General Gage, as commander in chief, had been superseded by general Howe; and that officer, pressed and closely blockaded by the superior numbers of the Americans, determined to quit the narrow limits of the town of Boston and to retire to Halifax, until he should be joined by the succours that he expected from England. Though he was permitted to embark his troops without molestation, yet the acquisition of Boston reflected no small lustre on the arms of the Americans. Throughout the different provinces, the governors nominated by the king of England, had been almost universally expelled by the rising indignation of the inhabitants; each day seemed to establish more firmly the jurisdiction of the states; their privateers overspread the seas, and captured the rich merchant vessels of the English; and Lewis, while he professed to the court of London, a strict neutrality, afforded to the vessels of America a secure refuge in his harbours, where they bartered their spoils for arms and ammunition so necessary for the support of their cause.



NECKER

But Great-Britain, however astonished by the unexpected resistance of her colonies, determined not to resign so rich a sovereignty without a struggle; a force was prepared which it was thought must look them into submission, large bodies of German troops were hired from the princes of Hesse Cassel and Brunswick, sovereigns who supply the splendour of their courts by the blood of their subjects. These were strengthened by considerable detachments from the electorate of Hanover, and by a number of British regiments, and when added to the troops that had been embarked from Boston, the whole army under general Howe could not be estimated at less than thirty thousand men.

Previous to the arrival of these reinforcements, general Howe had directed his course from the sterile coast of Halifax, and landed his troops on Staten-Island, in the vicinity of New-York. He was there successively joined by his brother lord Howe, and the armament from Great-Britain. All overtures of accommodation were fruitless; the thirteen colonies of America had already declared themselves free and independent states, and abjured all allegiance to the British crown; and the sword alone could terminate the dispute.

The possession of New-York would enable Great-Britain, by its central position, either to carry on the war in Connecticut on the eastern side; or, on the western quarter, to penetrate through New-Jersey to Pennsylvania. To reduce that province was therefore the grand object of general Howe, and the operations that he immediately commenced were attended with the most brilliant success. Though general Washington with a numerous army occupied both Long-Island and New-York, yet his soldiers were raw and undisciplined; their officers were ignorant of the art of war, and only inflamed with an enthusiastic love of freedom; and they were astonished and confounded by the rapid evolutions and superior skill of their adversaries. The British forces had first landed on Long-Island, from which the Americans were chased with the loss of above four thousand of their best troops; thence the victorious army, flushed with success, passed over to New York; while general Washington, convinced by fatal experience of the inferiority of his soldiers, determined to avoid in future any decisive action, and to protract the war amidst the woods and wilds with which the country abounds. In pursuance of this plan he abandoned New-York without a blow; retired to the higher grounds, and with no small degree of dexterity constantly eluded the pursuit of the victor; while general Howe, after harassing his troops in fruitless attempts to overtake him, returned to reduce the fortresses in the neighbourhood of New-York, and extended his posts far into the Jerseys.

The distress of Quebec had not escaped the vigilance of Great-Britain, and an important reinforcement was destined to its relief: but before this could arrive, general Carleton, who, as governor of Canada, commanded in that town, strengthened by the marines, and a detachment from some ships of war that had entered the harbour, had achieved his own deliverance. The small band of

Americans, disheartened by their former repulse, and weakened by disease, was easily broken; they retired in disorder, and the forces of the king of England in Canada, swelled by the arrival of the expected regiments to thirteen thousand men, pursued with vigour the fugitives, and expelled them from that important province.

Hitherto the United States of America had suffered a series of heavy and unexpected defeats. One instance of success alone gleamed through the clouds which obscured their dawning glory. An attempt had been made on Charleston, the capital of South-Carolina, by commodore Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton, previous to their joining lord and general Howe. But the fort which commanded the passage to Charleston, was gallantly defended by colonel Moultrie, an American officer; and general Lee, with a considerable body of forces, preserved his communication with the fortress, and could at discretion augment the garrison. After a severe and furious cannonade for several hours, the British commodore withdrew his shattered vessels from the action, and relinquished the hopeless enterprise.

But in the neighbourhood of New-York, the advantages of general Howe had been rapid and uninterrupted: Fort Washington was taken by assault; the garrison of three thousand men were made prisoners; Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton reduced Rhode-Island; and lord Cornwallis, with a separate detachment, penetrated through the Jerseys, appeared on the banks of the Delaware, and threatened the safety of Philadelphia, the seat of the Congress.

The loss which the Americans had sustained by the sword, by captivity, and by desertion, though severe and discouraging, equalled not the embarrassments that arose from the temporary engagements which their soldiers had entered into: these were mostly enlisted for a year only; and unaccustomed to restraint, at the expiration of that term, they panted to return to their families, and few were prevailed upon to continue in the service. Yet amidst these various difficulties, the mind of general Washington was a stranger to despondency; he continued to observe with a vigilant eye the motions of his enemies: their posts, in the moment of triumph and security, had been extended to the Delaware; and the American commander suddenly assembling a small but select body of men, silently marched to attack colonel Rall, a Hessian officer, who with fifteen hundred Hessians occupied Trenton, on the banks of that river. The enterprise was attended with the most brilliant success; colonel Rall with a few of his soldiers were killed, and near a thousand were made prisoners: the British general, taught caution by this chastisement, contracted his posts; and Philadelphia was for the present delivered from a dangerous and hostile neighbour.

A. D. 1777.] The exultation of France had been openly and constantly proportioned to the success of the Americans; the princes of the blood and the chief nobility were eager to embark in the support of freedom; and the prudence of the king and his most confidential ministers, alone restrained their ardour. The fatal

events of the last war were still impressed on the mind of Lewis ; and he could not readily consent to expose his infant marine in a contest with a people who had so frequently asserted the dominion of the seas, and so lately broken the united strength of the house of Bourbon. Yet he was sensible that the opportunity of humbling these haughty islanders should not be entirely neglected, and that some advantages should be taken of the present commotions in America. Two agents from the United States, Silas Deane and doctor Benjamin Franklin, had successively arrived at Paris ; and though all audience was denied them in a public capacity, still they were privately encouraged to hope that France only waited the proper opportunity to vindicate in arms the freedom and independence of America. In the mean time the military preparations of that kingdom were diligently continued ; the American cruisers were hospitably received into her ports ; artillery and all kinds of warlike stores were freely sold or liberally granted to the distress of the colonists ; French officers and engineers, with the connivance of government, entered into their service ; and the marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman of affluent fortune, and nearly allied to the illustrious house of Noailles, under pretence of visiting some relations in Italy, hired a frigate ; and impatient to join the standard of Liberty, steered towards America : he was received with open arms by the United States, and soon after promoted to a principal command.

At this critical juncture, the death of Joseph the First, king of Portugal, was not a matter of indifference to the house of Bourbon. Attached by gratitude and long and intimate connections to the English, he had a short time previous to his decease entered into a dispute with the court of Madrid respecting the limits of their different settlements in South-America. The influence of the king of France had prevented the desultory hostilities that were commenced in that quarter of the globe from communicating to Europe ; yet every appearance proclaimed a disposition jealous and inimical ; and it is probable that the opportune death of the king, only, deterred Portugal from engaging in an open war with Spain. His eldest daughter, the princess of Brazil, succeeded to the vacant throne : in compliance with the custom of the court of Lisbon, she had already received in marriage the hand of her own uncle, the brother of her father : and her son, the prince of Beira, the presumptive heir of the crown, had united himself to the younger sister of his mother. The new sovereign immediately applied herself to terminate the differences which had originated in the former reign ; a perfect good understanding was soon established between the two courts ; the island of St. Catherine's, on the coast of Brazil, which had already been reduced by Spain, was instantly restored ; the limits of the settlements in South-America were amicably ascertained ; and the most explicit treaty of peace, union, and friendship, was finally ratified between the two crowns ; nor could France be totally unconcerned in a negotiation which thus converted the ancient foe to the firm ally of the house of Bourbon.

The visit of the emperor of Germany to the court of Paris was another occurrence that excited the attention of Europe. Averse to pomp he chose to travel under the humble title of count Falkenstein; he was received by Lewis with that respect which was due to the imperial dignity, and the regard that he was impatient to testify to the brother of his royal consort. During six weeks that the emperor remained at Paris, his hours were incessantly devoted to the examination of the various establishments of that capital, and in viewing the manufactures; with the same spirit of enquiry he made a tour through the different provinces of France, and in his journey endeavoured to glean whatever might be advantageous to his own dominions.

His example was in some measure imitated by the brothers of Lewis, the counts de Provence and d'Artois: these also resolved to visit the distant districts of France; their liberality and amiable manners commanded, in their progress, the esteem of all ranks of people; they were every where received with unbounded acclamations; and the French, taught to be enthusiastic admirers of their king, endeavoured to display their loyalty by the marks of regard which they paid to these princes of the blood.

Some changes were about this time introduced into the different departments of state; the conduct of Monsieur Necker in the finances had been attended with universal approbation; Monsieur Taboureaux des Reaux, his colleague, had resigned his situation, but still retained the dignity of counsellor of state. To afford full scope to the genius of Monsieur Necker, Lewis determined no longer to clog him with an associate, but with the title of director-general of the finances, submitted to him the entire management of the funds and revenue of France.

The spirited measures of the count de St. Germain in suppressing the Mosquetaires have already been remarked. Whether the consequences were such as every minister had dreaded, and the resentment of the noble families of France had oppressed the secretary of war; or that statesman was found, as has been hinted, too intractable in the cabinet, and too partial to his own system, has never yet transpired; his official station for some time, however, had been extremely uneasy, and he now determined to resign; his death, in the ensuing year, prevented that recall which probably would have taken place; and the prince de Montbarey, who had already filled an inferior situation in that department, was now appointed secretary at war.

Lewis was not less attentive to his negotiations with foreign courts, than he was desirous of providing the state with able and industrious ministers. He concluded a new treaty of alliance with Switzerland; vigilantly observed the motions of the different princes of Germany on the death of the elector of Bavaria, and when closely questioned by the English ambassador, lord Stormont, respecting the various warlike preparations which were diligently continued through the kingdom, he replied, That at a time when the seas were covered with English fleets and American cruizers, and when such armies were sent to the New World

as had never before appeared there, it became prudent for him also to arm for the security of the colonies, and the protection of the commerce, of France.

The king was not ignorant at the same time, that the remonstrances of Great-Britain, and the importunities of the agents of the United States, would soon compel him to adopt some decisive line of conduct. Though general Howe, after the defeat of colonel Rall, had continued in force at New-York, yet he had abandoned his former design of penetrating through the Jerseys to Philadelphia. With the return of spring he determined to proceed against that city by sea, and avail himself of the superiority of his naval force. He embarked eighteen thousand men; and after a tedious voyage entered Chesapeak-Bay, sailed up the river Elk, as far as it was capable of admitting his transports; and landed his troops in the highest health and condition.

General Washington had not been deceived by the preparatory movements of his military rival, but had early penetrated into his designs, and with an army of fifteen thousand men, had marched to the defence of Philadelphia, and advanced to Brandywine-Creek, which, crossing the country at some distance from that city, falls into the Delaware. As the British army moved forwards from the head of the Elk, a variety of skirmishes took place; and on general Howe passing the Brandywine, the American commander relinquished his usual caution, and hazarded a more decisive action. On this occasion, the marquis de la Fayette charged among the foremost; and, though wounded, continued to animate the corps that he commanded by his example: but the Americans were at length compelled to yield to the superior skill and discipline of their enemies; night saved their army from a total defeat; and general Washington retiring to Chester, pursued next day his march to Philadelphia.

Towards that city the British forces rapidly advanced; and the Americans judged it prudent to abandon without a battle the capital of Pennsylvania, and the seat of Congress. It was immediately occupied by the English; but the major part of their army was quartered at Germantown, a considerable village, about seven miles distant from Philadelphia. The Congress, on quitting Philadelphia, transferred the seat of empire to York-Town; and general Washington encamped at Skippach-Creek, about sixteen miles from Germantown.

Amidst these various disasters one consolation remained to support the confidence of the United States. In Great-Britain it had been represented that the majority of the Americans were still attached to the mother-country, and averse to the new government; but though general Howe had traversed a vast extent of country, though he had possessed himself of the rich and populous cities of New-York and Philadelphia, yet the active adherents of the Crown were found to be inconsiderable, both in property and numbers; while general Washington, after the defeat of Brandywine, had been largely reinforced by the zeal of his

party, and now meditated the surprise of the royal army in its camp at Germantown.

This enterprise, though planned and executed with a degree of ability and vigour that reflected honour on the character of the general, was yet unsuccessful. The Americans indeed penetrated into the middle of Germantown; but by that time the main body of the English army had taken the alarm, and the raw troops of the States were obliged to give way before the veteran valour of their enemies. The inclemency of the season soon after suspended their mutual animosity; the British forces were quartered in Philadelphia, and the villages adjacent, and general Washington with the army of the States, occupied a strong camp on the banks of the Schuylkill, about sixteen miles from that city.

If in the south of America the events of the campaign furnished matter of triumph to Great-Britain, the United States received ample compensation by an advantage on the northern side, as decisive as it was unexpected. After the expulsion of the Americans from Canada, the ministers of England were determined to pursue their advantages in that quarter; an army of near eight thousand men was diligently collected, and entrusted to general Burgoyne, an officer who had acquired some reputation in the last war in Portugal: The chief object of his destination was to penetrate from Canada through Albany, to New-York: and scattering terror as he past, at length to effect a junction with general Howe. His success at first was rapid and uninterrupted; the Americans, seized with panic, abandoned Ticonderoga, a strong fort between Lake-George and Lake-Champlain, and retired precipitately towards Fort-Edward, upon the Hudson river.

Towards the banks of that river the British army also directed its march; but whether the general himself was too dilatory in his motions, or the roads opposed insuperable obstacles to troops incumbered with heavy baggage and a vast train of artillery, certain it is that their progress was slow and laborious; and the interval was assiduously employed by the United States in restoring the courage of their adherents, and summoning their scattered forces to their defence. General Arnold, who had distinguished himself in the attack of Quebec, advanced from Connecticut with a considerable corps, and several pieces of cannon; and general Gates, who had been trained to arms in the British service, but who had joined the standard of the Americans, soon collected a formidable army, to the command of which he was nominated by the Congress.

General Burgoyne had no sooner prepared to pass Hudson's River, than he was fatally convinced of the number and strength of his adversaries. A detachment of near nine hundred men, which had marched into the country to procure a supply of cattle, was almost totally cut off; and a second, that had been directed to support them, effected their retreat with considerable loss. Yet these inauspicious events did not deter that commander from passing the North-River near Saratoga; and probably the strict tenor of his orders allowed him not to decline a measure pregnant with every species of calamity. The Americans, under

general Gates, were encamped at a small distance, at a place called Still-Water; and no sooner did they perceive the approach of the British forces, than they quitted their lines and pressed forward to engage them; the action was long maintained with mutual rage and obstinacy; at length the troops of the States gave way; but the darkness of the night covered their retreat; the victors obtained at an irreparable loss only the empty honours of the field; while the vanquished, confiding in their numbers, prepared to renew the conflict.

In two successive actions the hostile armies again encountered each other with similar courage but with different success; and the British troops in their turn were broken and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of their enemies. Though they recovered their camp, and still maintained some appearance of resistance, their situation was deperate: Reduced to half their original number, worn out with toil, and distant from all hopes of succour, their general consented to open a negotiation; and an army that had threatened to carry destruction through the continent of America, was compelled to pile their arms before a general of the United States; who, in the name of Congress, subscribed a treaty by which the vanquished troops were to be transported to England on condition that they should not serve again in America during the course of the war.

A. D. 1778.] The success of the Americans in the last campaign was received at Paris with unbounded exultation; monsieur Sartine, who presided over the marine department, was impatient to measure the naval strength of France with that of Great-Britain; the queen, who had long seconded the applications of the agents of the United States, now espoused their cause with less reserve and with increased ardour; the phlegmatic temper and the pacific disposition of Lewis were overborne by the reiterated zeal, imperceptible but weighty, of the numerous body of philosophers which pervaded every rank of life—by the suggestions of his ministers, and the influence of his royal consort; and it was at length determined openly to acknowledge the independence of the United States of America.

The situation of Europe at this juncture was peculiarly favourable to the determination of the king of France, and the ambitious views of his council. Some differences between the court of Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte, respecting the Crimea, threatened a revival of these hostilities which had been so lately adjusted; and had the empress of Russia been willing, must have precluded her from affording any assistance to the English. The flames of war had been rekindled between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg; and the claims of the former to some part of the succession of the electorate of Bavaria, had summoned the rival monarchs to the field. Spain, by the family-compact, was bound to accede to the designs, and to strengthen the arms of France: Portugal, by her late treaty with Spain, had formed an intimate union with the house of Bourbon; and if her weakness prevented her from joining the hostile confederacy of that family, her neutrality was at least secured; while Holland pursuing those pacific maxims

which the policy of commerce dictates, avoided every overture which appeared likely to involve her in the war which now extended to the principal powers of Europe, and transferred to her peaceful ports all the advantages of trade and neutrality.

Such was the state of the most considerable European powers, whose dangerous enmity might have controlled the designs of the court of Versailles ; and Lewis, satisfied that he had nothing to apprehend from their interference, now turned his whole attention to the approaching contest with the ancient rival of his kingdom. For a considerable time his internal regulations had proclaimed a degree of wisdom and liberality, rarely to be found in a crown that had been long characterised by blind superstition and jealous despotism. The transcendent genius of Turgot had for a short term presided over the policy of France ; but although the combined resistance of superstition and Gothic institutions was opposed to the bold and comprehensive measures of this philosophical statesman, and prevailed so far as to remove him from the helm which he had directed with the most beneficent effects, but without a sparkle of ostentation, the spirit of the minister triumphed after he had retired into private life, and his plans which remained on record became the guides, as his friendships greatly influenced the measures pursued by Lewis, in the internal concerns of his own and the future destinies of other nations. The elevation of a Protestant to the direction of the finances, was one of the most signal effects of this great change, a new spirit seemed to breathe throughout the cabinet ; and a royal ordinance was issued, that suppressed several of those numerous holidays so injurious to the industry of the people and the resources of the state.

The councils of Lewis had been long suspended on the manner of procedure proper to be adopted with regard to America ; the constant declarations of the British ministry appeared to be corroborated by the numbers of the colonists which joined the royal army, and the vigorous cruelty of their enterprises ; a much more numerous body was known to have adopted a passive but suspicious neutrality ; and the progressive steps by which the colonists had arrived from resistance to oppression at a complete declaration of national independence, accompanied in every stage by the most liberal and manly offers of accommodation from the Americans, and the most blind and confident rejection of every measure short of implicit submission, tended to enforce an opinion which appears not to have been confined to the cabinet of Versailles, that the great body of the Americans were not earnestly disposed to an irrevocable separation from Great-Britain. The quarrel became every day more serious, and the private activity united with sagacity of the principal agent of the United States removed every impression which retarded the decisive and effectual measures of France.

Doctor Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, who had hitherto acted as private agents, were now acknowledged as public ambassadors from the United States to the court of Versailles ; and a treaty of amity and commerce was signed between the two powers in the month of February. The principal articles of it, after

stipulating the mutual advantages of trade and the liberty and sovereignty of the United States, formed a confederacy against Great Britain, or any other power that should presume to interrupt their commercial intercourse: they provided also against either of the contracting powers, should war break out between France and Great-Britain during the continuance of the present rupture between the United States and England, concluding any truce or peace without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they finished with an invitation to any other powers that might have received injuries from England, to make a common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance.

The duke of Noailles, ambassador to the court of London, was in the month of March instructed to acquaint the ministers of Great-Britain, that his sovereign had formally acknowledged the independence of, and signed a treaty of commerce with the United States of America; at the same time he declared, that the contracting parties had paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of France; and that the United States had reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever on the same footing of equality and reciprocity: but this stipulation was affected to be treated by the English with contempt; and the recall of lord Stomont their ambassador at Versailles, was the signal for the commencement of hostilities.

But Lewis had already prepared for this event; and in the month of April the count d'Estaing, who, during the course of the last war, had in the East-Indies maintained the glory of his country, sailed from Toulon, with twelve ships of the line, and four frigates. On board this fleet were embarked eight hundred select soldiers; and Silas Deane, who had been deputed by Congress to the court of Versailles, and Conrad Alexander Gerard, secretary to the council of state, and appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America, accompanied the count on board the Languedoc.

While this armament directed its course to the coast of America, a more considerable fleet was assembled at Brest, to vindicate the seas from the enterprises of the English, who had intercepted the trade, and captured the *Licorne*, a frigate belonging to France. This fleet consisted of thirty-two ships of the line; the command was entrusted to the count d'Orvilliers; the van was led by the count de Chafault, and the rear was animated by the presence of the duke of Chartres, by the death of his father now duke of Orleans. Off Ushant the count d'Orvilliers discerned and engaged the English fleet, equal in force, and commanded by admiral Keppel. The event of the action was indecisive; the French on the approach of night, withdrew to their own coasts; and the English, soon after, retired within their harbours to refit.

But though in this engagement France had acquired no advantage, and by first retreating seemed to yield the glory of the day to her rival, yet it afforded no inconsiderable triumph to that nation, that she had been able to face without loss her powerful adversary on an element that had so frequently proved fatal to her.

In a letter written by his own hand, the king bestowed the most liberal commendations on the count d'Orvilliers; he condoled with the count de Chafault, who had been wounded in the action; and added, that proper care should be taken of the widows of those who had fallen in supporting the honour of his flag. The fleet was once more refitted with all possible expedition; the duke of Chartres was raised to the command which before had been occupied by the count de Chafault; and count de Guichen succeeded to the duke of Chartres; after a cruize uninterrupted by the sight of an enemy, it re-entered the harbour of Brest.

In the mean time the count d'Estaign pursued his course to America; and though his voyage was tedious, yet he arrived in the middle of July in sight of the British fleet at Sandy Hook. Since the last campaign, the face of affairs in America had undergone a considerable change; general Howe had been recalled by the ministers of Great-Britain, and the chief command devolved on general Clinton; that officer had deemed it prudent to evacuate Philadelphia; and general Washington, during his retreat towards New-York, had pressed close upon his footsteps, and even engaged him with some advantage; but the persevering valour of the British troops, and the disobedience of general Lee, an officer of high rank in the service of the States, as it was alledged, frustrated the hopes of Washington; and general Clinton, after a long and toilsome march, reached Navesink, in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook; and by the fleet, still commanded by lord Howe, was conveyed to New-York.

Count d'Estaign had reason deeply to regret the unfavourable winds which had prevented him from more speedily reaching the place of his destination; had he arrived a few days sooner, it is more than probable he would have intercepted the British transports on their passage from the Delaware, escorted only by two ships of the line and some frigates; these must have fallen an easy prey to his superior force. From the coast of Virginia he now steered his course to New-York, in expectation of overwhelming lord Howe in the unequal contest: but that admiral, whose squadron was composed of only six ships of sixty-four guns, three of fifty, with some frigates and sloops, was already in possession of the harbour that is formed by Sandy Hook: and the French commander deemed it expedient not to hazard his own large ships in the passage of the bar.

He, therefore, immediately steered towards Rhode-Island, the invasion of which he had planned in concert with the United States. While the French fleet occupied Newport harbour, and the several inlets to that island, general Sullivan, an American officer, landed on the North-point with a considerable army: they had scarce commenced their joint operations before lord Howe, reinforced by several ships from England, appeared in sight; and count d'Estaign, unwilling to be braved by an enemy still inferior to him in strength, quitted his situation in search of naval laurels. The two fleets contested during the first day, for the weather-gage with rival skill; but on the second, when every thing indicated an immediate action, a violent tempest arose, which scattered both. It was not till several days

after that the French admiral was able to collect his shattered vessels ; and after transiently visiting Rhode-Island, he sailed for Boston to repair the damages that he had sustained.

General Sullivan, deprived of the assistance of his ally, soon after abandoned the attempt on Rhode-Island ; and the reader, perhaps, will not be sorry for a moment to withdraw from hostile fleets and armies, and attend the different negotiations which were carried on during their operations. Monsieur Gerard, the plenipotentiary from France, had been received by the Congress with every mark of respect and regard : but a short time previous to the appearance of that minister, commissioners from Great-Britain had arrived, empowered to treat with the Congress, and effect a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother-country. These commissioners were the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone, with whom was joined the commander in chief, sir Henry Clinton. They proposed to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land ; to extend every freedom to trade that the respective interests on both sides should require ; to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different States of North-America without the consent of the general Congress, or of the particular assemblies ; to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation ; to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great-Britain ; and in short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishments, and to give to the states of North-America, acting with Great-Britain under one common sovereign, the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force on which their common safety depended.

Though the Congress had been informed some days before of the favourable disposition of the court of Versailles, and had even received copies of the two treaties of alliance and commerce which had been concluded between France and the United States, yet the terms now offered by Great-Britain were the object of serious deliberation ; Mr. Laurens, the president of that assembly had, with the approbation of it, refused indeed a passport to the secretary of the commissioners ; but the papers with which he had been charged, were received through a different channel, and the debates on them were resumed during six successive days ; if the Congress, however, were dilatory, they were decisive in their answer. They observed, that the commission supposed the people of those states to be subjects of Great-Britain, an idea that was totally inadmissible : they added, that they were still inclined to peace, notwithstanding the injuries they had suffered during the course of the war ; that they were ready to enter into a treaty of commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great-Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose ; but the only

solid proof of that disposition would be an explicit acknowledgement of the independence of those states, and the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

This peremptory language precluded all further hopes of negotiation, and the disappointment of the commissioners was rendered still more mortifying by the reception that was immediately after given to Monsieur Gerard : but their publications afforded the marquis de la Fayette another opportunity of displaying his vivacity ; some expressions he conceived had fallen from the pens of the commissioners injurious to the honour of his country, and he challenged the earl of Carlisle, as chief of the commission, to answer for these reflections. That noble lord, however, considered the proposal as resulting from the fire of youth ; and declined to grant, in a national concern, that satisfaction which has ever been confined to personal differences.

If the fortitude of Congress in their late resolutions excited the admiration of Europe, the good faith of that assembly, in a previous transaction, had not been less severely arraigned. The army of general Burgoyne had capitulated, on the express condition that it should be allowed to return to England, but not to bear arms in America during the present war. This stipulation had been long artfully eluded ; it was now openly violated ; and when the transports for the conveyance of these troops were assembled at Rhode Island, the Congress passed a resolution, that the soldiers not having delivered up all their accoutrements, the convention was not binding ; and continued still to detain them prisoners, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the British commanders.

From the continent of America the flame of war had been rapidly communicated to the West-India islands. The marquis of Bouille, governor-general of Martinico, was informed of the defenceless state of the island of Dominica, which on the late peace had been ceded by France to England. The works had indeed been repaired and augmented by the ministers of Great-Britain ; but these, destitute of a sufficient garrison, only enhanced the value of the temptation. Under the cover of some frigates and privateers, the marquis landed unexpectedly on that island, at the head of two thousand men : he soon overpowered a handful of regulars that had been entrusted with the defence of the forts and batteries ; and in the course of the same day advanced to attack the capital of Roseau. The garrison, incapable of resistance, solicited terms of capitulation ; and the generosity of the marquis, besides allowing to the troops all the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, granted to the inhabitants the fullest security of their estates and property of every sort ; the maintenance of their rights, privileges, and immunities ; and permission to retain their civil and religious government until the conclusion of the war ; when, if the island should be ceded to France, they should be left at liberty to adhere to their own political form of government, or to accept that established in the French islands.

In the same quarter France was, in her turn, soon after taught to regret the vicissitudes of war. General Clinton had detached from America a body of

troops, under the command of general Grant ; and these, in their attack on the French island of St. Lucia, were seconded by a British fleet under admiral Barrington. The chevalier de Michoud, the French commandant, with his small band of regulars and militia, were successively pushed from post to post ; and his fate appeared inevitable, when his hopes were revived by the unexpected appearance of the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estaign.

That officer had diligently occupied every moment at Boston, since the tempest that had separated him from lord Howe, in refitting and reequipping his ships ; he had received on board a body of land forces, amounting to near eight thousand men ; and had sailed with a lively expectation of overwhelming in his course all the British Leeward-islands. In his passage he received intelligence of the attempt on St. Lucia ; and was not displeased at an expedition which he flattered himself would be the means of throwing an easy prey into his hands, the whole British force by land and by sea. His own fleet consisted of twelve large sail of the line, besides frigates : that of admiral Barrington, of one of seventy-four, one of seventy, one of sixty-four, two of fifty, and three frigates. Yet the French admiral could not entirely conceal his chagrin at the precautions that his adversary had taken, and the security he derived from his position in the harbour. He determined, however, to risk the event, in hopes that his formidable force might strike terror into the breast of the English commander ; but that veteran had distinguished himself through a series of service, by steady courage and undaunted resolution ; he received the attack of the count with calm intrepidity ; and seconded by the batteries from the shore, in two successive days repelled the fury of the assailants. The French convinced, under these unfavourable circumstances, that no effectual impression could be made on the fleet, now directed their attempts against the land-forces. The count d'Estaign landed his troops, and marched at the head of them to attack general Medows, a British officer, who occupied a strong post on the island. Though his superior numbers might justly inspire him with the most sanguine hopes of success, yet he was compelled again to endure the mortification of defeat ; the advantages that the English possessed by their situation, they maintained by their desperate valour ; and the count d'Estaign, after the loss of near five hundred of his men, thought proper to retire to his ships : he soon after hoisted sail for Martinico ; and the chevalier de Michoud, thus deprived of all expectations of succour, abandoned the idea of further resistance, and surrendered to the English.

In the East-Indies the settlements of France were still more fatally exposed to the enterprizes of her enemies : these, in the course of the last war had been totally subdued ; and though restored on the peace, were by the conditions of it left in a state of weakness and degradation. Before any public declaration of war, the English East-India company, apprised of the disposition of the court of Versailles to vindicate the independence of America, dispatched orders to their governors to anticipate all dangers in that quarter, by immediately attacking the settlements of the French. Though the preparations of the governor of Madras

could not escape the vigilance of Monsieur de Bellecombe, governor of Pondicherry, and commandant of all the French settlements in the Indies, yet, destitute of resources, he could only aspire to the glory of a gallant defence. Monsieur Tronjolli, the French commodore, had indeed disputed the sovereignty of the seas, in an obstinate action with the English admiral, Sir Edward Vernon; but instead of returning to the road of Pondicherry, he steered his course for the Mauritius to repair the damages he had sustained; and Monsieur de Bellecombe, with about three thousand men, scarce one fourth of whom were Europeans, was closely invested by general Munro, at the head of fifteen hundred British and nine thousand black troops, and supported by the English squadron under admiral Vernon.

The fortifications of Pondicherry had in some measure emerged from the ruins in which they had been left at the conclusion of the preceding war; but they were still feeble and incomplete; and the gallantry of the governor and resolution of the garrison alone supplied the numerous deficiencies to which they were exposed: for a month they nobly sustained the attacks of the besiegers, and protracted the hour of submission; but in that time they had lost, in killed and wounded, one-fourth of their original number, and the rest were worn down by incessant fatigue. The artillery of the enemy had already made a practicable breach; and general de Bellecombe, sensible that he had used every possible exertion to preserve the settlement, determined not to involve the garrison and inhabitants in total destruction by a fruitless perseverance. On the day preceding that intended for a general assault, he proposed a capitulation, which was readily listened to by the British commanders, who, in the terms of it, gave the most honourable testimony to the gallantry of his conduct. The regiment of Pondicherry, in honour of Monsieur de Bellecombe, and at his particular request, were allowed to keep their colours; the European part of the garrison were to be transported to France; and the Sepahis, or black troops, were to be disbanded in the country.

The victors, at the same time, swept away the different factories of the French in Bengal, and on the coast of Coromandel; the English flag was erected on the walls of Chandernagore, Gemaun, Carical, and Masulipatam; the fort of Mahé, in the dominions of Hyder-Ali, and protected by the name of that prince; but the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, strong in the number of their inhabitants and the advantages of their situation, alone defied the storm.

While France was thus stripped of her settlements in the East, the attention of her people at home was in a great measure occupied in restoring the memory of a man to whose misconduct the loss of those very settlements in the course of last war had been imputed, and who had fallen a victim to the public indignation. Count Lally, who from the original station of an adventurer, had raised himself by his valour and enterprising genius to the command of the French forces in India, after the reduction of Pondicherry by general Coote, had returned to

France; and was there pursued by the accusations of the governor and superior council of Pondicherry. To his violence, extortion, and oppression, they attributed that ruin in which they had been involved; and his impetuous temper and unbridled arrogance, unhappily furnished but too much advantage to the enmity of his accusers. The parliament was authorised by the late king to proceed against him; and their report was fatal to that brave but imprudent officer. He was declared convicted of having betrayed the interests of the king and the East-India company; and of having oppressed with impartial rapacity, every description of persons that had sought refuge or protection within the walls of Pondicherry. He was stripped of his cross, the honorary reward of his former services; and after having received fourteen wounds in advancing the glory and interests of France, was condemned to fall by the hands of the executioner. He heard his sentence with the indignation of injured innocence; and poured forth the most violent imprecations against the malice of his accusers, and the sanguinary partiality of his judges; but in the last hour of his life he resumed, however, his wonted firmness, ascended the scaffold quietly, and received the fatal stroke without uttering a word.

But the sentence that terminated his life, could only for a time obscure his honour; and his natural son, since known by the title of count Lally-Tollendal, rose to vindicate the memory and justify the fame of his father. Devoted to this pious care, renouncing the frivolous amusements of his youth, and endowed with every talent of nature and art, he applied himself to the study of the several criminal codes of Europe; he even found access to the throne; and Lewis the Fifteenth who had been inexorable to the father, suffered himself to be moved by the virtues of the son. He extended to him the royal favour, and honoured him with his particular esteem; on the death of that monarch, count Tollendal desisted not from his unwearied assiduities; his constancy and importunities at length triumphed over the power of his opponents; the voice of justice was heard; and this year crowned his long labours with success, by the restoration of the memory of count Lally, and the disgrace of his accusers.

The same year that beheld that officer's innocence legally established, was also rendered remarkable by the death of one of his ablest and most celebrated champions. It is the lively expression of Voltaire, "That count Lally was a man on whom every one had a right to lay his hand, except the executioner." But it was not permitted Voltaire to witness that justification for which he had combatted; and that wonderful genius, who has filled so distinguished a place in the republic of letters, expired only a few days before the sentence of the count was reversed. His private character, since his death, has been attacked by those who in the career of his genius had smarted under his pen; but whatever might be his faults as a man, as an author he perhaps stands unrivalled; and the various compositions to which he has given birth, all of them entertaining, and many of them instructive, are the best monuments to perpetuate his name.

Amidst the horrors of war and the destruction of the human species, France received some satisfaction in the pregnancy of the queen; that princess, whose free and amiable manners had endeared her to her subjects, was safely delivered of a daughter; the royal infant was baptized by the name of Maria-Theresa-Charlotta; and the count of Provence, and the princess Elizabeth, represented on this occasion, as sponsors, the king of Spain and the empress-queen.

A. D. 1779: In the mean time the war raged in the western part of the world with unabated fury. Count d'Estaing, after his double repulse at St. Lucia, had retired to Martinico, from whence the British fleet, now rendered equal to to him by the arrival of admiral Byron's squadron, in vain endeavoured to allure him. His conduct at this moment was as cautious as it had been formerly bold and enterprising, the junction of Monsieur de Grasse with a considerable convoy made no difference in the comparative strength of the hostile fleets, since the English about the same time received a reinforcement under admiral Rowley; and the count continued still to remain inactive within the harbour; or if he ventured forth, retreated immediately on the appearance of the enemy.

At length he reaped the harvest which his perseverance had sown. Admiral Byron deemed it expedient to quit his station, and convoy to a certain latitude the trade of the British West-India Islands; and the French commander was now left to turn his arms against whatever place he should think fit. St. Vincent's, one of the neutral islands, and which had been ceded to England, at the conclusion of the last war, was the first object of enterprise. The count d'Estaing detached against it the chevalier Romain, with near four hundred men; and though the garrison exceeded the number of the French, and the inhabitants had long been accustomed to war in their domestic contests with the Charibbs, yet so great was their terror, that they surrendered on the first summons, and thought themselves happy in obtaining the same terms as had been granted to the inhabitants of Dominica.

During this expedition count d'Estaing had been joined by monsieur de la Motte Piquet from Europe, who brought with him not only a supply of troops, but, what was at least equally necessary, of naval and military stores and provisions. Strengthened by this reinforcement, and animated by the easy acquisition of St. Vincent's, he meditated new and more important conquests. With twenty-five ships of the line, ten frigates, and near ten thousand troops, he arrived off the island of Grenada, which at that time was governed by lord Macartney, and was defended only by about one hundred and fifty, regulars, and three hundred armed inhabitants, who occupied a fortified hill that commanded the fort, harbour, and capital town of St. George.

The French landed between two and three thousand regular forces, under the conduct of count Dillon; who the next day invested the hill, and made the necessary preparations for carrying it by storm on the following night. Lord Macartney had placed great reliance on the natural and artificial strength of

this post; and the inhabitants deemed it to afford so perfect a security, as to render it a deposit for plate, jewels, and their most valuable moveables. Their resistance was proportioned to the booty it contained; and though count d'Estaing headed a body of the French troops in person, they were repelled on the first onset. The superiority of their numbers were at length decisive, and they entered the lines after a hard conflict that lasted about an hour and a half: without losing a moment or even halting to recruit their wasted strength, they dragged their artillery to the top of the hill that commanded the fort; and the governor, sensible of his dangerous situation, now solicited terms of capitulation, which he had before rejected. But the favourable moment was past; and count d'Estaing would only grant such conditions, as lord Macartney and the principal inhabitants thought it better to trust to the law and customs of nations than subscribe to; they therefore submitted without any stipulations whatsoever, and abandoned themselves to the discretion of the victor.

Whatever lustre might accrue to the count d'Estaing from the reduction of the island, was sullied by the severity and rapacity which he exercised over the vanquished; but he was soon summoned from the sweets of plunder to maintain his new acquisition by arms. Admiral Byron, on his return to St. Lucia, had been acquainted with the loss of St. Vincent's, and in conjunction with general Grant, had concerted a plan for the recovery of that Island. But while they were on their passage, they received the disagreeable intelligence of the invasion of Grenada, and they immediately changed their course in hopes of yet preserving that valuable settlement.

A signal from a battery on the island first apprised count d'Estaing of the approach of the English fleet; he immediately commanded his own to stand out to sea, and though superior in number to admiral Byron, deemed it more prudent to secure his present acquisition than to hazard it in search of fresh laurels. The English attacked with great spirit, but during the continuance of the action they were informed of the total reduction of the island of Grenada; the object of enterprise was thus at an end; their ships had suffered considerably in the engagement, and they determined to retreat to St. Christopher's; while d'Estaing, satisfied with having protected his new conquest, returned during the night to Grenada.

But no sooner had he regulated the government of that island than he steered for Martinico, and thence supplied with naval stores, proceeded towards St. Christopher's, and defied the English to battle; incapable of forcing them in their own harbour, and having thus retorted the insult that had been formerly offered to him at Martinico, he directed his operations to a different quarter, and failed to America, to second the designs of the United States.

The southern provinces of America had, in a great measure been exempt from those calamities which had afflicted the other parts of that continent; but towards the close of the last campaign, general Clinton had extended his views to

the recovery of South-Carolina and Georgia. The chief command was vested in general Prevost, who, after experiencing some vicissitudes of fortune, gained considerable footing in the latter province, and had established his head-quarters at the town of Savannah. The United States were not inclined patiently to submit to this disgrace; but the scene of action was so remote from the centre of force and the seat of council, that the war there was in a great measure beyond their reach; and the British marine afforded such decisive advantages to the operations of their troops, in countries every where bordered by the sea and intersected by inland navigations, as could scarcely be counteracted with effect by any moderate superiority at land.

Under these considerations, they implored the support and assistance of France; and the court of Versailles, desirous of affording essential aid to her allies, directed count d'Estaing, as soon as he had fulfilled the objects of enterprise in the West-Indies, to hasten to America; that commander accordingly, having seen the homeward bound West-India trade clear of danger, proceeded with twenty-two ships of the line and ten frigates to that coast, in hopes not only of overwhelming the force under general Prevost, and delivering the southern colonies from apprehension, but with the intention, in conjunction with general Washington, of attacking the British troops at New-York, and by one decisive stroke bringing the war on that continent to a final conclusion.

No sooner had the count arrived on the coast of America, than he was informed that general Lincoln, who commanded at Charleston, was instructed to act in concert with him; some few days were naturally lost in adjusting the future operations of their united forces; and it was not till a week from his first appearance that he anchored off the bar of the Tybee, near the mouth of the river Savannah. The French troops were landed at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from Savannah-town; the frigates were posted so as to secure the different inlets of the river; and the French, with the American light-horse, having driven in the outposts of the enemy, count d'Estaing summoned general Prevost, the British commander, to surrender.

Though that officer had diligently employed the interval in strengthening the works of the town, he yet was in hourly expectation of being joined by a considerable detachment then absent on an expedition against South-Carolina: this circumstance obliged him to return an ambiguous answer: and count d'Estaing, in hopes of obtaining possession of the town without bloodshed, consented to a truce for twenty-four hours. He had soon reason to lament the address that had deceived him into this suspension of hostilities; in the short space mentioned, the expected detachment re-entered Savannah, and the answer of general Prevost announced his resolution to defend himself to the last extremity.

The French forces consisted of upwards of four thousand regular troops, and the Americans who joined their standard might swell the army of the besiegers to about seven thousand men: the British garrison that defended Savannah could scarce be estimated at three thousand; every appearance promised count d'Estaing

the most rapid and brilliant success; and to augment the distress of the besieged, the allied generals refused a passage through their lines to the women and children in the town. The regular approaches that had been first determined on but ill suited the impetuosity of the French commander; he was sensible of the danger that his fleet of capital ships was exposed to, in lying without shelter upon an inhospitable coast at that critical season of the year; he observed that his batteries had produced but little effect on the British works; he was impatient to proceed in quest of new enterprises; and he relied with implicit confidence on the superiority of his force and the goodness of his troops.

These various motives induced a resolution which, had it been adopted previous to the return and junction of the British detachment to general Prevost, might have been attended with success; the works, then feeble and incomplete, were open to an assault, and would probably have been penetrated by the lively valour of the French; but they had now been strengthened by the assiduous labour of three weeks, and were covered by a numerous artillery amounting to near one hundred pieces, and directed by captain Moncrieffe, an engineer of approved and consummate skill. Yet these obstacles, though they escaped not the observation, could not extinguish the ardour of count d'Estaing; before the dawn of day a heavy cannonade and bombardment ushered in the attack; the count himself in person led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by the principal officers of each. But this enterprise was not attended with the success the gallantry of it deserved; the allies were encountered with obstinate resistance; they were entangled in their approach by swampy ground; though they persevered in their attack with extraordinary courage, and for some hours rivalled each other with mutual acts of valour, they were at length obliged with considerable loss, to retire from the field, and yield to the advantageous position and calm intrepidity of their enemies.

This repulse entirely broke the designs of the count d'Estaing; severely wounded himself, he lamented the fate of some of his most gallant officers who had fallen on the field: in about a week after he abandoned the unpropitious coast; and after detaching one squadron of his fleet to St. Domingo, a second under Monsieur de la Motte Piquet to Martinico, and a third under Monsieur de Vaudrieul to the Chesapeake, whose presence prevented the invasion of Virginia, and retarded that of Carolina, the count himself, with the ships least fit for service, sailed for Europe.

Whatever disappointments might have attended the arms of France in America, her negotiations in Europe afforded her ample compensation; and the court of Spain, aroused from the neutrality she had hitherto observed, and disgusted with the ministers of Great-Britain, who had rejected her proffered mediation, now resolved to fulfil the conditions of the celebrated family-compact; and to efface the unfortunate and disgraceful events of the last war, by uniting in this the strength of the house of Bourbon, while vigorous and yet unimpaired. Her ambassador, the marquis of Almadovar, after having presented a memorial to the

court of St. James's, in which he declared the insults offered to his sovereign amounted exactly to one hundred, quitted London and returned to Spain.

France immediately prepared to avail herself of the present disposition of the court of Madrid; count d'Orvilliers sailed with the grand fleet from Brest, and joined that of Spain; and the combined fleets of the house of Bourbon presented to their enemies the formidable sight of sixty-six ships of the line; with this prodigious force they entered the British Channel, and scattered terror and dismay throughout the coasts of that island. Admiral Hardy, who commanded the English fleet, was happy to find refuge in the convenient harbours of Great-Britain; Plymouth trembled for her safety; and that people who had so often vaunted their dominion over the seas, in their turn were taught to dread the calamities of a menaced invasion. The dread of the approaching equinoctial storms, after the capture of the *Ardent*, an English ship of the line, induced the fleets of France and Spain to separate; but the naval campaign proved more glorious than advantageous to the former; a pestilential disorder which the sailors on their return communicated to their countrymen, raged for a long time throughout France with fatal fury.

To increase the embarrassments of the English, and to divide their force, Spain, with a considerable army, formed the siege of Gibraltar; a fortress, which, situated on a rock, and occupied by the English, had long derided the attempts and wounded the pride of the court of Madrid. The land forces were entrusted to the command of Don Alvarez; Don Barcello blocked up the harbour with a number of xebecques and frigates, while Don Lewis de Cordova, with twelve ships of the line, was stationed near to afford support to his operations.

Amidst the fury of war Lewis displayed that regard for science which had early formed the prominent feature of his reign; and while he poured the thunder of his arms on his enemies, two ships were marked by an honourable exemption from the attacks of the hostile fleets of France. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, the English had sent two vessels into the South Seas, commanded by captains Cook and Clerke, to explore the coasts and islands of Japan and California; the return of those vessels was hourly expected in Europe; and Lewis, with a considerate humanity which reflects the brightest lustre on his character, by a circular letter to all his naval officers, commanded them to abstain from all hostilities against these ships, and to treat them as neutral vessels. The letters mentioned also in terms of the highest respect captain Cook, who had long distinguished himself in successive voyages of discovery. But death allowed not that celebrated navigator to enjoy this grateful testimony of his merit; and in one of the newly discovered islands he had already fallen a victim to the blind fury of the savage inhabitants.

Though Italy had escaped the destructive rage of war, and the sanguinary effects of ambition, yet the fertile fields of Naples were afflicted by a calamity not less fatal and more tremendous. A dreadful eruption from Mount Vesuvius, which

far exceeded any that had been known in the memory of man, overwhelmed in horror and ruin the adjacent country; in the district of Ottaiano, the habitations of twelve thousand persons were deluged or consumed by a stream of liquid fire; its fatal influence extended for above three miles; the hopes of the peasant and the wealth of the husbandman were in a moment blasted and destroyed, and the elements seemed to conspire with man in spreading misery and devastation throughout the human species.

A. D. 1780.] The public opinion that had raised *m. sieur* Necker to the observation and favour of his sovereign, still continued to follow him; and his talents were assiduously employed to merit applause. Under his direction a general reform took place throughout every department of the revenue; the people, instead of being burthened with new taxes, beheld the public income augmented by the economy and improvements that were introduced into the management of the finances; a variety of unnecessary offices in the household of the king and queen were abolished, and other important regulations adopted for the ease of the subject and the general benefit of the kingdom.

The zeal and industry of the director-general of the finances were rivalled by the address of the ministers of France at the different courts of Europe. The emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, after a short trial of each others strength, had agreed to sheath the sword; but they continued still agitated with mutual jealousy, and still maintained on foot the same armies as if in a state of actual hostility. But if the reciprocal suspicions of these rival courts diverted their attention from the neighbouring belligerent powers, the situation of Russia allowed her to contemplate at leisure what advantages she might derive from the general state of affairs. That empire at no time had appeared more formidable; and the success of her arms in the last war against the Ottoman Porte, had received additional lustre from the acquiescence of the divan in the conditions she had dictated with respect to the Crimea. A long and intimate connection had subsisted between the courts of Petersburg and London; and should the myriads of Russia be added to the wealth of England, it was presumed that Lewis thought the house of Bourbon must have sunk in the unequal contest.

The French ambassador at the court of Petersburg was therefore instructed at this critical juncture to conciliate the inclinations of the empress, by every compliance that the honour of his country would permit; and the fears of France were soon extinguished by a manifesto as favourable to the views of the court of Versailles, as it was unpropitious to those of St. James's. The jealousy that had been excited by the former ascendancy of Great Britain, and the dominion that she had attained on the sea, had even extended to, and been nourished by, the most distant powers of the north: the empress of Russia embraced the favourable opportunity to emancipate her commerce from the controul of those haughty islanders; and was readily persuaded by the ambassador of France to place herself at the head of a confederacy formed of her northern neighbours. She accordingly

addressed a declaration to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, in which, after dwelling on the justice and moderation of which she had given such convincing proofs in the course of her war with the Ottoman Porte, and the strict regard that she had always shewn for the rights of neutrality and of commerce in general, she lamented that her example had not been permitted to influence the present belligerent powers, but that her subjects had been precluded from enjoying peaceably the fruits of their industry, and the advantages belonging to neutral nations: that they had been molested in their navigation, and retarded in their operations by the ships and privateers of the contending sovereigns; and that she found herself, with concern, under the necessity of removing those vexations which were offered to the commerce of Russia in particular, and to that of Europe in general, by all the means compatible with her dignity and with the welfare of her subjects.

She proceeded to demand, that neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers; that all effects belonging to the belligerent powers should be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships, excepting only such goods as were expressly stipulated to be contraband, as arms, ammunition, and warlike stores; that if any such were found, beyond what might properly appertain to the ship's crew or passengers, they might be seized and confiscated according to law; but neither the vessels, passengers, or the rest of the goods were to be detained for that reason, or hindered from pursuing their voyage; that these principles were to serve as rules in the judicial proceedings and sentences upon the legality of prizes; and her imperial majesty declared, to render them still more respected, and to protect the honour of her flag, she had given orders to fit out a considerable naval force. The kings of Denmark and Sweden immediately acceded to the language and declarations of the empress of Russia; the states-general of the United Provinces, after that delay that has always prevailed in the deliberations of the republic, followed their example; and this formidable confederacy assumed the title of the armed neutrality, and engaged to make a common cause of it at sea, against any of the powers that should violate the principles which had been laid down in the memorial of the empress of Russia.

The answer of the king of France proclaimed how acceptable the nature of that memorial was to the court of Versailles. He declared that what her imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers, amounted to no more than was already prescribed in the rules for the French navy; the execution of which was maintained with an exactness known and applauded by all Europe. He expressed his approbation of the principles and views of the empress; and asserted, that from the measures she had now adopted, solid advantages would undoubtedly result, not only to her subjects but to all civilized nations.

While France by her intrigues secured the friendship of the north, she suffered a deep and fatal wound in the calamity of her kindred ally. A Spanish squadron

of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, cruising near Cape St. Vincent, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, was surrounded by the English fleet under admiral Rodney, then proceeding to the relief of Gibraltar. The Spaniards for a long time maintained the conflict with great gallantry; but they were at length forced to yield to the superior numbers of their enemies. The *St. Domingo* a Spanish ship of seventy guns and six hundred men, was blown up in the action. The admiral's ship, the *Phoenix* of eighty guns, with four more ships of the line, were taken; another of the same rate was driven on shore and destroyed; and the scattered remnant escaped with difficulty the pursuit of the victors. Admiral Rodney immediately after pursued his course to Gibraltar, relieved the garrison of that fortress, repassed the straits, and steered in triumph for the West-Indies; after detaching admiral Digby with his prizes and part of his squadron to Great-Britain, who on his passage fell in with and captured the *Prothée*, a French man of war of sixty-four guns.

This was not the only disaster that arose from the persevering attachment of Spain to the siege of Gibraltar. The naval preparations of France had been continued during the winter at an expence that bordered on profusion; and the united fleets of the house of Bourbon might have established their sovereignty in the Channel, and once more insulted the coasts of Great-Britain; but Spain, occupied in fruitless attempts on that fatal rock, suffered the moment for their junction to elapse; the fleet of France was confined to her harbours by the superior force of Great-Britain, whose naval armaments she was not able to encounter singly. Admiral Geary, with the English fleet, continued vigilantly to observe their motions; and the *Artois*, the *Capricieuse*, the *Nymphe*, and the *Belle Poule*, were successively taken by British cruisers. The chevalier de Kergarion, who commanded the latter, distinguished himself by a bloody and gallant resistance. Though the ship that attacked him mounted sixty-four guns, and the *Belle Poule* carried only thirty-two, he maintained the combat with undaunted resolution; mortally wounded, he continued to exclaim, "Courage my children, courage!" and expired while he yet endeavoured to animate by his expression and example his faithful crew. On his death the command devolved on his first lieutenant M. la Motte Tabourell, who defended the *Belle Poule*, with similar resolution, for three quarters of an hour. He then reluctantly struck his flag, as it was impossible any longer to keep the ship from sinking, had the engagement been continued. Six feet water were in the hold, sixteen shot in the body of the ship, the masts and yards broken, the sails and rigging cut to pieces, the captain and twenty-four men killed, and the second captain, with fifty men wounded. The chevalier du Remain, in the *Nymphe*, had defended himself with similar courage; equal in force to the English ship, he only yielded to her superior fortune; before the colours of the *Nymphe* were struck, two-thirds of her crew were killed and wounded, and among the former was the chevalier du Remain himself.

The French ships of war, impatient of the delay of the Spaniards, had escaped from Brest in small divisions, and rendezvoused at Cadiz. There they had joined the fleet of Spain, and once more united, were occupied in cruising off Cape St. Vincent, when fortune seemed inclined to compensate for their former disappointments. A rich and considerable convoy for the East and West-Indies, under the protection of one ship of the line and two frigates, had sailed from England, and Don Lewis de Cordova, who commanded the combined squadrons, was agreeably surprised with the sight of this invaluable and defenceless fleet. A signal was made for a general chase; the men of war escaped by their superior sailing: but five East-India men, and fifty vessels bound to the West Indies, were taken and carried into Cadiz, the former, besides arms and ammunition, with a train of artillery, conveyed naval stores for the supply of the British squadron in that quarter, and the latter contained tents and camp equipage for the troops designed for active service in the Leeward-Islands: but the most irreparable loss to Great-Britain were fifteen hundred and twenty seamen, and twelve hundred and fifty-five foldiers, who became by that event the captives of the house of Bourbon.

In the West Indies Monsieur de la Motte Piquet, with four ships of the line, attacked a squadron of the English under commodore Cornwallis.—The latter, during the action, was joined by another ship of the line, which rendered their force more equal to the encounter, and monsieur de la Motte, having received already considerable damage, and impatient to join the grand fleet, bore away for Cape-Francois. The count de Guichen had sailed from Brest to supply the place of count d'Estaign:—the fleet under his command, when united, consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, besides frigates, and soon after he fell in with admiral Rodney and twenty ships of the line. An engagement ensued, long, obstinate, and indecisive. The French retired to refit to Guadaloupe, and the English, resolute to renew the action, cruized off the island of Martinico,

The count de Guichen, whose gallantry in the last engagement had extorted the admiration of his adversaries, was not disposed to suffer the British fleet to insult by their presence a settlement belonging to France. On intelligence of the station of admiral Rodney, he quitted Guadaloupe, and steered to meet the rival of his glory. But the engagement did not commence till evening, and night soon after separated the combatants. A third encounter was equally partial and indecisive; and count de Guichen soon after joined a Spanish squadron, which, though it gave him a decided superiority, yet refused to concur in any attack on the settlements of the English; the French commander, by the superfluous caution of his colleague, thus rendered incapable of availing himself of his immediate strength, seized the opportunity to escort the homeward-bound trade towards Europe; the sickly state of his men induced him to continue his voyage, and he conducted his wealthy convoy in safety to Cadiz, there he was joined by the count de Estaign, who assumed the chief command; the fleet of France by this union was swelled to thirty-

six ships of the line ; but the ships themselves were foul and out of repair, and the feeble condition of the crews has already been noticed. Under these circumstances, and incumbered by the protection of his convoy, though count d'Estaign on his passage fell in with the British fleet under admiral Darby, consisting of only twenty-two ships of the line, yet he deemed it unadvisable to hazard an engagement, and pursued his course to the ports of France.

The repulse of count d'Estaign at Savannah had revived the hopes of the British commanders in America; they now aspired to the final reduction of the southern colonies, and the inclemency of the winter was not permitted to suspend their hostile operations. At the close of the last year, general Clinton set sail from New-York with a considerable body of troops for the attack of Charleston, the capital of South-Carolina ; he was escorted and supported by a British fleet commanded by admiral Arbuthnot ; after a tedious voyage they reached Savannah, and having refreshed the troops and repaired the damages the fleet had sustained, in the middle of March they arrived within sight of the place of their destination.

Though the Americans were not ignorant of the intentions of the British commander, yet the forces in Charleston, including every description, scarce amounted to six thousand men, and were by no means equal to the extent of the works ; many of these also were but little accustomed to military service, and very ill provided with clothes and other necessaries. This omission was not to be attributed to the supineness of Congress, but to the nature of the military establishment ; the men in general enlisted but for a single campaign, and on the approach of winter were impatient to return to their farms or families ; it was this very circumstance that probably induced general Clinton to engage in the expedition at the particular season when he knew the United States were least capable of affording succour to the besieged ; but though general Lincoln was sensible of the difficulties that he was exposed to, yet he rejected the terms of capitulation that were offered by the British commander, and prepared to discharge the trust reposed in him with fidelity and honour.

But personal courage could not alone supply the deficiency of every other requisite for a successful defence ; and general Lincoln beheld with regret, while his own hopes diminished, the strength of the enemy increase. A detachment from the British ships possessed themselves of Sullivan's-island, which, from its situation might greatly incommode the garrison ; a body of cavalry that had been collected in the adjacent country for the support of the besieged, was routed and totally dispersed ; in the progress of a month, the approaches of the besiegers had been successfully advanced ; and general Lincoln, unwilling by a fruitless perseverance to involve the town and inhabitants in certain destruction, resumed the negotiation that had been broken off, and subscribed the terms of capitulation ; these preserved to the inhabitants their lives and property ; the militia were per-

mitted to retire to their respective homes ; but the regulars of the American army were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged.

The danger and loss of Charleston had excited considerable alarm throughout America ; the United States had solicited in the strongest terms the support of France ; and Lewis, attentive to the interests of his allies, detached in the beginning of May from Brest the count de Rochambeau, with twelve thousand select troops, and the chevalier de Ternay, with seven ships of the line and several frigates. These arrived about the middle of June at Rhode-island, which, during the course of the preceding year had been evacuated by the British, and now acknowledged the authority of the United States.

Count Rochambeau was received by the Americans with every mark of cordial esteem ; a committee from the general-assembly of Rhode-island was appointed to congratulate him on his arrival ; and their satisfaction was not diminished by the declaration of the French commander, that his sovereign would never sheath the sword until the independence of America was acknowledged ; that the troops he had brought over were only the vanguard of a much greater force that was destined to their aid , and that the king had ordered him to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support ; he added, that the French troops were under the strictest discipline ; and acting under the orders of general Washington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

The United States allotted Rhode-island to their allies as a place of arms ; and count Rochambeau while he waited the promised reinforcement, diligently employed his troops in repairing and augmenting the works on the island. He had soon after reason to congratulate himself on this precaution. General Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, returned from the reduction of Charleston to New-York, formed a plan of attack against the French fleet and army ; but their designs could not elude the penetration of general Washington ; he rapidly crossed the North-river with twelve thousand men, and general Clinton perceiving the danger to which his absence must expose New-York, relinquished his attempt against Rhode-island.

The marquis de la Fayette, who had been so much distinguished by the early part that he took in the American cause, long before the court of Versailles had thought it prudent to avow their inclination, returned from his native country, to which he had paid a transient visit, to join again the standard of freedom. His early engagement, and great zeal and activity in the service of the United States, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to general Washington, and the commendations of that commander were productive of the most flattering attentions from Congress to the marquis.

But the visit of that nobleman to Philadelphia, where the Congress had again established their residence, was principally to concert and adjust the plan for the rest of the campaign. He, as well as count Rochambeau, held forth assurances of the most powerful support from France, and it was expected that monsieur

de Guichen from the West-India islands would steer his course to America; that he would join the fresh ships of monsieur Ternay; and that the grand army under general Washington, being also reinforced by the troops of Rochambeau, an attack by sea and land might be made on the British troops at New-York, with such a superiority of force as must have ensured success; the reduction of lord Cornwallis's detachment to the southward must naturally have ensued; and the marquis de la Fayette was to have proceeded with a considerable army on a winter expedition against Canada.

In expectation of these events, the marquis de la Fayette published a preparatory memorial addressed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them by all the ancient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural desire of recovering their freedom, to be ready to join and assist him; and holding out all the severities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to those, if any such there were, who, blindly perverse to their own interests, and forgetful of all those ties and duties, should in any manner oppose the arms or impede the generous designs of their deliverers; but when Washington had recruited his army with such diligence as to have swelled it to twenty-thousand men, the whole project was disconcerted by a circumstance that has been already related; and the count de Guichen, in proceeding with his fleet to Europe, exposed the Americans to as severe a disappointment as any they had experienced during the course of the war.

This conduct of monsieur de Guichen, however fatal to the splendid prospects of the allies of France, was sufficiently justified by the bad state of his ships when he arrived at Cadiz; and his departure from the West-Indies preserved him from the calamities in which those islands were soon after involved. A hurricane, the fury of which exceeded any thing that ever was known or can be conceived, swept throughout that quarter of the world, the seas and land, with wild and undistinguished rage. At Martinico the beautiful town of St. Pierre, built on the shore, was entirely overwhelmed and washed away; the town of Basseterre in Guadaloupe shared the same fate; sixty sail of transports from France, that had arrived that morning at Martinico, with stores, and two-thousand five-hundred troops on board, were driven out to sea, and almost all swallowed up by that ungovernable element. The Experiment of fifty guns, with the Juno of forty, and several other French frigates, were entirely lost. Grenada and St. Vincents equally presented a scene of desolation; and in the latter not a single house was capable of withstanding the fury of the tempest. The British settlements and marine suffered also proportionably; Jamaica, Barbadoes, and St. Lucia, were the principal victims of its rage; admiral Rodney, with eleven ships of the line, had fortunately proceeded to the coast of America; but the Andromeda and Laurel, British frigates, were both wrecked on the coast of Martinico. The humanity of the marquis de Bouille, governor-general of the French West-India islands, on this occasion shone forth with distinguished lustre; thirty-one English

failors, the scanty remnant that was saved from the crews of the *Andromeda* and *Laurel*, were sent by that commander under a flag of truce to the British commodore at St. Lucia. The marquis declared in the letter that accompanied them, that he could not consider in the light of enemies, men who had so hardly escaped in a contention with the force of the elements; he only lamented that their number was so small, and that none of the officers had been saved.

By the expedition of admiral Rodney to America, he had eluded the destructive rage of that tempest which desolated the West-India islands; but his continuance on the American coast was of short duration; and informed that the count de Guichen had proceeded for Europe, he himself soon after returned to Barbadoes. In the mean time the hostile armies in the neighbourhood of New-York continued vigilantly to observe each other's motions. But while the British commander appeared sunk in supineness, he meditated a deep and dark scheme, which could it have taken effect in its full extent, would probably have brought the war to a final conclusion, and for ever extinguished the independence of America.

In the course of the war we have already noticed the early attack on Quebec, in which the courage and conduct of general Arnold had been displayed to the highest advantage; the reputation he had acquired there, he continued to maintain by a series of bold and enterprising exertions: and the final capture of the British army under general Burgoyne, was in a great measure attributed to his counsels and gallant example. As a reward, congress had bestowed on him the government of Philadelphia; but the affections of his countrymen accompanied him not in that peaceful occupation; his profusion had plunged him into distresses from which he endeavoured to extricate himself by the oppression of the inhabitants of Philadelphia; their complaints exposed him to the judgment of a court-martial; that court declared his conduct highly reprehensible, and ordered that he should be reprimanded by general Washington. This censure first alienated his mind from the United States; and though soon after he was taken into actual service, and appointed to a principal command under general Washington, his pecuniary embarrassments, or resentments, triumphed over his fidelity, and he entered into a close correspondence with the enemies of his country.

The American commander had stationed his army for the winter on both sides of the North-River; and the important post of West-Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a considerable division of the army, were entrusted to general Arnold. That officer had agreed to make such a division of the wing under his command, as would enable general Clinton completely to surprise them; and the English troops once admitted within the lines, might have availed themselves of the rout and confusion, to the total destruction of the whole army. The loss of their only disciplined force, with most, if not all, of their experienced officers; must have blasted for ever the infant greatness of the United States.

From this melancholy catastrophe they were preserved by the fidelity of three young men, educated in the humblest walks of life, and who nobly disdained to

betray their trust; though tempted by the most fascinating offers. To adjust the plan of attack with general Arnold, major André, adjutant-general to the British army, had accepted the perilous commission of entering the American lines. When there, he had been persuaded by the caution of Arnold to lay aside his regimentals, assume a private dress, and return with a passport under the feigned name of Anderson; under that name he had already eluded the different guards and posts of the camps, when, at a small distance from the British lines, he was stopped by three young volunteers; these, notwithstanding his passport, insisted on examining him more strictly; and the major, whose ingenuous disposition but ill fitted him for deception, increased their suspicions by endeavouring to purchase his freedom with his purse and watch; to these he added offers of permanent provision and future promotion, on condition of their accompanying him to New-York; but the Americans were proof to the allurements of affluence and ambition, and they insisted on conducting him to their commanding officer.

Some delay in his examination allowed general Arnold to be apprised of his misfortune before his own connection with the prisoner was discovered. He immediately abandoned his quarters, and escaped to the protection of the British lines; but the unhappy major André fell the victim of the fatal project. Fourteen general officers were appointed by the American commander to determine on his case, and the punishment that ought to be inflicted; among these was the marquis de la Fayette; and the board, with the regret that was excited by the frank and noble demeanour of the prisoner, pronounced that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and agreeable to the laws of nations ought to suffer death. The repeated applications of general Clinton, to avert the stroke of justice, were in vain; but the last hours of the unfortunate victim were soothed by every mark of respect and even of regard; and the execution of the sentence was accompanied by the tears of the very judges who had pronounced it.

But though the vigilance of general Washington guarded against the dangerous effects which were to be apprehended from Arnold's treachery, he found still greater difficulties to encounter in the universal distress that reigned throughout the provinces. The troops under his command, destitute of clothing of every kind, could not be restrained from giving open vent to their discontents; they were again soothed into obedience by the address of their commander, and by the promises that were held out of liberal support from France.

The events of the campaign, though by no means adverse, had not answered the sanguine expectations of the court of Versailles, and those advantages which the ministers of France expected to derive from the united force of the house of Bourbon. But that confederacy acquired new strength by the presumption of their enemy; and Great-Britain having, by the capture of an American packet, obtained possession of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republics of Holland and the United States of America, gave loose to her indignation, and at the close of the year commenced hostilities against the Dutch; a measure which

was received at Paris with open exultation, and which necessarily threw that republic into the arms of France.

During the operations of the contending fleets and armies, some changes had taken place among the ministers of France. Monsieur Bertin had resigned the office of secretary of state. The prince de Montbarey had retired from the post of secretary at war, and was succeeded by the marquis de Segur; but the most important removal was that of monsieur Sartine, who had for five years presided over the marine-department; and whose unwearied application and ability had raised the naval power of France to a height that astonished Europe; but his colleagues in the cabinet loudly accused him of a profusion, which would have diverted into one channel the whole resources of the kingdom; the extent of his projects, and the expence of the armaments he suggested, were by no means consistent with the severe œconomy that characterised the comptroller-general of the finances; and his retreat opened a road to the ambition of the marquis de Castries, who was appointed in his place to the department of marine.

Whatever alteration Lewis might make in his ministers, his own disposition remained the same, and his mind was incessantly employed in augmenting the happiness of his subjects. He fixed on the anniversary of his birth-day to render it memorable by a new instance of humanity; and he abolished for ever the inhuman practice of putting the question, as it was called, by torture; a custom which had been so established by the practice and concurrence of ages, that it seemed to be an indivisible part of the constitution of the courts of justice of France. At the same time, to defray the expences of war, he continued to diminish his own expenditure; and sacrificing his magnificence to the ease of his subjects, dismissed at once no less than four hundred and six officers belonging to his court.

A. D. 1781.] It was indeed alone by the most rigid economy that France was able to supply the demands for the distant and various warfare in which she had engaged. The councils of Spain were still marked by that imbecility which for near a century had characterised them; and Holland systematically slow in her deliberations, long refused to war, and surprized into hostilities, at first required, rather than imparted support to her allies; in Europe, in America, the West-Indies, and the East, the burthen was to be borne by France; and though she could not but severely feel the incessant weight, yet her preparations still kept pace with the extent of the service.

In the commencement of the campaign the baron de Rullecourt, with a small band of adventurers, had meditated an attack on the island of Jersey: he embraced the opportunity of a favourable wind, and in the night traversed the sea which separates that island from France; he landed his men at dawn of day, and his first success seemed to sanction the temerity of the enterprize. The lieutenant-governor, with the principal inhabitants, were surprized, and in the moment of astonishment signed a capitulation; but the major part of the garrison refused to

accede to the conditions; their numbers were swelled by the natives, who had recovered from their first panic; and the detachment of the baron de Rullecourt was encompassed and assailed on every side. The baron himself fell, gallantly fighting at the head of his faithful adherents, the greater part of the French were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners, and a few only with better fortune regained their vessels, and escaped to the coast of Normandy, with the melancholy intelligence of the fate of their companions.

Towards the latter end of June the fleet of France, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, under the command of the count de Guichen, quitted Brest, and joined the fleet of Spain at Cadiz. The united squadrons, which presented the formidable spectacle of fifty ships of the line, steered south-east, and detached two ships of the line with several frigates, to escort the duke de Crillon and a considerable body of land forces to Minorca: the invasion of which island had been determined on by the courts of Versailles and Madrid. After performing this service, the combined naval strength of the house of Bourbon directed their course towards the English coasts; admiral Darby, with the British fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, hastily retired before them into the friendly harbour of Torbay; but the elements warred in favour of the English; a violent tempest dispersed the united fleets, and compelled each of them to seek shelter from its fury in their own ports.

The French availed themselves of their superiority at sea, to reinforce the duke de Crillon in his attack on Minorca, with several veteran regiments, under the command of the baron de Falkenheyn; but it was in the West-Indies and America, that their principal efforts were directed. Towards the end of March monsieur de Grasse, with twenty ships of the line, one of fifty-four guns, and several frigates, with six thousand land forces, sailed from Brest for Martinico. Off Fort-Royal he discerned the British fleet of seventeen sail of the line commanded by admiral Hood. The convoy with which monsieur de Grasse was encumbered, compelled him at first to prepare for action with caution; but four ships of the line having eluded the endeavours of the British admiral, and joined the French from Fort-Royal, he now determined to avail himself of this decided superiority, and to bring on a general engagement. In the mean time the English had been reinforced also by a ship of seventy-four guns, and their commander displayed admirable skill in his manœuvres; yet the advantages of the French were numerous and evident, and a conflict of three hours was only terminated by night. On the return of day monsieur de Grasse would have renewed the engagement; but the English, who had suffered severely, bore away to Antigua; they were pursued by the French, who, incapable of forcing them, under the batteries of that island, directed their operations to the reduction of the British settlements.

In the beginning of the war France had been severely mortified by the loss of St. Lucia, and she now aspired to the recovery of that island; great part of the English garrison had been drafted away for the capture of St. Eustatius, a wealthy

settlement belonging to the Dutch ; and while the captors revelled in their spoils, the marquis de Bouille, whose enterprising genius had already been repeatedly displayed, with the viscount Damas, and a considerable body of troops, landed on St. Lucia. They immediately occupied the town of Gros-Islet, and summoned brigadier-general St. Leger, the commanding officer, to surrender ; but the marquis was soon convinced that the strength of the English far exceeded what the natives, impatient to return under the government of France, had described ; a greater object, and less difficult of access, was in view ; and the French commander, having disguised his intentions from the enemy, by every preparation for a vigorous assault, suddenly reembarked his troops in the night, and steered his course towards Tobago.

Against that island he had previously detached a small French squadron, with a considerable body of troops, under the conduct of monsieur de Blanchelande, late governor of St. Vincent's. The feeble garrison of Tobago, scarce amounting to five-hundred men gradually retired before the invaders to Concordia, a high ground, naturally strong, and which commands a view of both sides of the island. They were there invested by monsieur de Blanchelande ; and the marquis de Bouille, soon after arriving with the fleet of France, assumed the supreme command.

Though that nobleman was possessed of such a superiority in the number of his troops, yet the resistance of the garrison of Tobago was long and obstinate ; during six days in the post of Concordia they maintained an undaunted countenance ; and when the French had occupied the adjacent hills, which in some measure commanded the post, the English on a sudden quitted it, and retreated to another station almost equally strong, and at a considerable distance.

But these efforts, though they protracted, could not avert the final submission of the island, the ardour of the marquis de Bouille was increased by the difficulties that successively arose ; under a burning sun, he in person conducted his troops through the most intricate passages of the island ; to unite terror to force, he reduced to ashes two of the neighbouring and most capital plantations ; a squadron, that had been dispatched by admiral Rodney to the relief of Tobago, had been chased, and with difficulty escaped the pursuit of the French fleet, and the inhabitants, hopeless of succour, at length consented to surrender. The marquis, instead of being irritated by the obstacles their perseverance had presented, displayed an example of generosity worthy of imitation by all other successful commanders, and granted to the vanquished the same favourable conditions as had been granted to the inhabitants of Dominica.

Tobago had scarce submitted to the dominion of France, before the British fleet, under admiral Rodney, appeared in sight. Monsieur de Grasse immediately got under sail, and offered his rival battle, the English, informed of the total loss of the island, the relief of which was most probably their sole object, thought proper to decline the encounter ; and the French admiral, instead of consuming his hours

in a fruitless pursuit, re-convoyed the marquis de Bouille to Martinico, touched at the Havannah to receive a considerable supply of money, and with twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates directed his course towards America, and anchored in the Chesapeak the last day of August.

From the desertion of General Arnold, the principal army of the Americans under general Washington had remained in a state of inaction within their lines near New-York, and were content with vigilantly observing the British commander at that place, who seemed satisfied with maintaining his ground, without attempting to extend his limits. The French under count Rochambeau, incapable of undertaking any important enterprise alone, had diligently employed themselves in strengthening the fortifications of Rhode-Island. But the war that languished in this quarter, was revived with increase of fury in the southern provinces. In South and North-Carolina, and Virginia, a variety of obstinate and indecisive engagements had taken place between the generals Gates, Greene, and Sumpter, in the service of the United States; and the lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, who commanded the British forces. At Camlen general Gates had suffered a severe defeat from an inferior army under lord Cornwallis; and though that nobleman had afterwards in his turn reason to lament the vicissitudes of war, and was mortified by the total destruction of several detachments, yet a second victory that he obtained at Guildford, in North-Carolina, over general Greene, had confirmed his reputation, and extended the terror of his arms throughout the adjacent country.

The ministers of Great Britain had early entertained an opinion that seems to have accompanied them throughout the whole course of the war; and the idea that the greatest part of the Americans were still inclined to submit to the ancient form of government, was industriously inculcated in England, where it was necessary to deceive the people into the pecuniary grants requisite for the continuance of hostilities, but the fallacy of this opinion was sufficiently exposed by the victories of lord Cornwallis; even after the splendid action of Guildford, the friends that joined the British standard were few, and inconsiderable in point of consequence; and the victorious commander was soon obliged to abandon the scene of his triumph, and consult his safety by a precipitate retreat into the province of Virginia.

The English had some time before detached their new convert Arnold, to invade that country, which, intersected with wide and navigable rivers, afforded a proper theatre for their naval exertions, and which had largely contributed from its flourishing plantations to furnish the resources of Congress. The ardour of that officer, in the cause he had lately espoused, was not inferior to that which he had formerly displayed in the service of the United States. His ravages soon drew the attention of general Washington; and the marquis de la Fayette was detached with a small but select corps to observe his motions and harass his rear. The French at Rhode-island also thought that a proper opportunity offered of

atonement for their former inactivity; and that they might render a most effectual service to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from the Chesapeake. To reconnoitre that bay they dispatched a ship of the line and some frigates; this small squadron fell in with and captured the *Romulus*, a British man-of-war of forty-four guns; and soon after count Rochambeau having embarked the land forces, with the French fleet under monsieur Ternay, sailed from Rhode-island.

A dreadful tempest had driven the English fleet from its station before that island; but monsieur Ternay had scarce made Cape-Henry, before he was disagreeably surprisèd by the appearance of the British squadron under admiral Greaves; an action immediately ensued, which though indecisive, and attended with no particular loss on either side, yet so far disabled the French ships, as to render it prudent to return to Rhode-Island, and disconcerted the sanguine hopes they had formed of affording their allies the most essential assistance.

In the interval general Clinton had strongly reinforced the detachment in Virginia, and nominated to the chief command of it general Phillips, an officer of approved abilities. The inferiority of the marquis de la Fayette allowed him only to observe the motions of the enemy, and while he remained on the opposite side of James-River, he witnessed with indignation those devastations which he was too weak to restrain.

It was at this critical juncture, when general Phillips had just fallen a victim to the heat of the climate, and the fatigues he had endured in a toilsome and desultory war, that lord Cornwallis, unable any longer to subsist in the exhausted province of Carolina, directed his attention to Virginia: with his way-worn army he traversed a hostile country of above three hundred miles, and arrived at Petersburg a few days after general Phillips had breathed his last. He immediately assumed the chief command, was reinforced by about two thousand infantry from New-York, and displayed that active vigour, the prominent feature of his character. He completed the devastation which had been left unfinished by Arnold, pushed his success as far as Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, on his retreat defeated a considerable corps which the marquis de la Fayette pressed forward to impede his passage of James-River, and established his place of arms at York-Town, situated on the banks of the river of that name, and which, as it was navigable for ships of great size and burthen, enabled him to receive any succours or support by sea.

This post, which at least promised security, lord Cornwallis diligently applied himself to fortify; but the hour was now rapidly approaching, destined to terminate the career of that commander, and by a decisive blow finally to establish the independence of America. By a series of the most artful address, general Washington had deceived his antagonist Clinton; count de Rochambeau had passed over from Rhode-Island; and in conjunction with the American army,

menaced New-York with an immediate attack ; that post, with its dependencies, was kept in a continual state of alarm for above six weeks ; when the combined army of French and Americans rapidly traversed the Jerseys, crossed the Delaware, passed through Philadelphia, and arrived at the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Chesapeak.

On the same day monsieur de Grasse, with his fleet from the West-Indies, arrived also in the bay, where, after blocking up York-River, he instantly applied himself to secure the river James, which he occupied with his armed vessels and his cruisers to a considerable distance ; by this manœuvre he not only precluded lord Cornwallis from any retreat to the Carolinas, but also was enabled to convey in security the marquis de Saint Simon, with three thousand three hundred land forces from the West-Indies, eighteen leagues up that river, where he formed a junction with the marquis de la Fayette, who had already been reinforced by general Wayne, and the succours from Pennsylvania.

The fleet of monsieur de Grasse consisted of twenty four ships of the line ; and the approach of the British squadron of nineteen ships of the line under the admirals Greaves and Hood, might rather have furnished matter of exultation than dread ; but the operations of monsieur de Grasse chiefly tended to the reduction of lord Cornwallis's army at York-Town ; he expected every hour to be joined by the squadron from Rhode-Island, commanded since the death of monsieur Ternay, by monsieur de Barras, whom he knew had already sailed with several transports, and a train of artillery for the siege of York-Town, and fifteen hundred of his seamen were still employed in transporting the French troops up James River. Under these circumstances he considered it as unadvisable to hazard much ; and though he stood out to sea, and engaged the English fleet, he was satisfied with maintaining the honour of the flag of France ; and without attempting to improve his advantage, he retired to his former station in Chesapeak bay, where he was soon after strengthened by the arrival of monsieur de Barras.

The united forces of France and America now diligently proceeded closely to invest lord Cornwallis, who with seven thousand select troops still occupied York-Town. The count de Rochambeau, and the marquis de la Fayette, with an equal number of French, extended from the river above the town to a morass in the centre, where they met the Americans under Washington, who occupied the opposite side from the river to that spot. Monsieur de Grasse was entirely master of Chesapeak-bay ; and the duke of Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Wieden, already pressed the post at Gloucester-Point, which was defended by colonel Tarleton with about six hundred infantry and cavalry.

Thus having surrounded their prey on every quarter, the different commanders began to urge their attacks with a vivacity that precluded every hope of relief ; the works of the English were penetrated by an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance ; their defences were in many places ruined ; and most of their guns were

silenced; two redoubts still incommoded the progress of the allied army, but the trenches had scarce been opened a week before it was determined to attack these as soon as the approach of the evening should conceal the motions of the assailants. To balance the honour as well as the duty between both nations, the attack of one was committed to the French, and of the other to the Americans. The former advanced with that impetuosity which ever has been their characteristic; and though the resistance of the English was firm and gallant, they were at length driven from their post, and the standard of France was displayed from the redoubt; the Americans on their side had been equally successful, and the fate of lord Cornwallis appeared unavoidable; some damage occasioned by two sallies, that he had made was quickly repaired; and his attempt to escape to the opposite side of the river was frustrated by the tempestuous weather and the vigilance of the French ships of war.

The ardour of count Rochambeau and general Washington was stimulated by the rumour of relief from general Clinton; and ten days after the trenches were first opened, every preparation was made for a final assault; but this scene of carnage was averted by the prudence of the British commander, who, sensible of his hopeless situation, resolved not to sacrifice wantonly the lives of the gallant men entrusted to his care: he accordingly opened a negotiation, by which the troops under his command submitted to become prisoners of war; the Guadeloupe frigate of twenty-four guns, with several transports, and fifteen hundred seamen, in the division of the spoils were assigned to monsieur de Grasse, in return for the French naval power and assistance; but the land forces, amounting to between five and six thousand men, became the captives of the United States of America.

Such was the important and decisive achievement of France and America, which may be considered as ultimately sealing the independence of the latter. The conduct of the French officers in the moment of victory had been as conspicuous for humanity, as their valour had been distinguished in the hour of danger; such was the testimony of the vanquished commander, who, in his official dispatches to the ministers of Great-Britain, declared "their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe; and will I hope make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power."

It was not alone the elder branch of the house of Bourbon that triumphed on the northern continent of America. An armament had been fitted out by Spain from the Havannah, and though at first it was scattered by a sudden and violent tempest, yet a persevering people continued their attempts, penetrated deep into West-Florida, and with an army of eight-thousand men, invested Pensacola, the capital of that province; general Campbell, the governor, made a gallant defence; but the weakness of his garrison compelled him at length to surrender. The

Spaniards, brave themselves, respected the valour of their enemy; the most favourable terms of capitulation were granted, and the standard of Spain was erected on the walls of Pensacola.

But Gibraltar, the favourite object of the court of Madrid, still continued to deride her attempts, and frustrate her incessant enterprises. A scheme to destroy the Panther and Experiment, two British ships of war, by means of fire ships, was rendered abortive by the vigilance and intrepidity of the English captains; and Spain, throughout the whole siege, had reason to regret her treasures lavishly expended, and her troops fruitlessly employed.

Holland, unprepared abroad and disunited at home, was an ally that claimed the more immediate attention and support of the court of Versailles; in the West-Indies the British commanders had eagerly invaded the island of St. Eustatius; that settlement during the war had become the general magazine of all nations; and the valuable commodities which it contained, became a prey to the rapacity of the victors. Yet the conquerors reaped not that advantage which they expected from their indiscriminate confiscation; several of the vessels richly laden with spoil were intercepted on their voyage to Europe, and even in sight of the British coast, by monsieur de la Motte Piquet, who was cruising off the Lizard with six ships of the line and five frigates. And before the close of the year the island itself was recovered by the activity of the marquis de Bouille, who suddenly landed with a select body of troops from Martinico, surprised colonel Cockburn the English commandant, and restored St. Eustatius to the dominion of the Dutch, the very day before count de Grasse cast anchor at Fort-Royal from his decisive triumph on the coast of America.

But it was in the East that the republic of Holland was most vulnerable; and her exclusive possessions of the spice islands, her wealthy and populous settlement of Batavia, afforded the most fascinating allurements to the avarice of her enemies. In the beginning of the war France had received with indignation the intelligence that her settlements throughout Asia had been swept away by the power of the English; she therefore readily listened to proposals which tended to restore her own colonies in the East, and to secure those of her ally; she signed a treaty with the republic, which was to put her troops in possession of the Cape of Good Hope, a port on the African coast, the most convenient for refreshments on the long voyage to India; and she also engaged to detach an armament to act in conjunction with the Dutch forces in the East.

To fulfil this treaty, at the same time that the count de Grasse sailed from Brest to the West-Indies, monsieur de Suffrein with five ships of the line and a considerable body of land forces was detached to the East, and the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, he discerned a British squadron of nearly equal force at anchor within the harbour; this had sailed from England under the conduct of commodore Johnstone, much about

the same time as Suffrein had quitted Brest, and was designed to surprize the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. The impetuosity of Suffrein, who was sensible how deeply the interests of his country were concerned in the destruction of this armament, prevailed over his respect to the crown of Portugal; and he hesitated not to enter a neutral harbour as an enemy, and to attack the English. But though in this enterprize he displayed the most daring spirit and undaunted resolution, yet all the efforts of courage served only to expose his ships to the destructive fire of his adversary, who derived advantages from his situation that neither skill nor courage could compensate. The French commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the attack, and after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, and reinforcing that settlement with a sufficient number of troops to secure it from insult, he steered to the island of Mauritius, to join the count d'Orves, who, after the loss of Pondicherry, had assembled at that place the scattered remnant of the French forces.

But while France rather hoped than expected to establish her ancient power and influence on the coast of Coromandel, her ambitious views were seconded by a new and formidable enemy to Great-Britain, who suddenly bursting through the unguarded passes, deluged with his myriads the devoted settlements of the English. This daring invader was Hyder-Ali, whose successful ambition had raised him from an humble situation to an extensive empire in the East, and who had established such a military force as India had never beheld, and was thought incapable of producing. He had more than once disputed the honour of victory with the English East-India Company; and though frequently defeated, yet he still appeared terrible, and had even menaced with his martial squadrons the capital of the victors, who were confounded by the rapid evolutions of a cavalry that precluded all flight, and derided all pursuit.

In the hour of presumptuous confidence, the English had violated the dignity of his throne by the reduction of Mahé, a French settlement established within his dominions, and under his protection. This insult had awakened those resentments which had rather been suspended than extinguished by former treaties; the sapineness of the government of Madras encouraged his hopes; he penetrated through the ghauts, or narrow passes in the mountains, which separate his territories from those of the English, and with a celerity that exceeds description, extended his bloody ravages over the face of the Carnatic. A considerable detachment, the flower of the English army on that coast, was overwhelmed after a gallant resistance by the irresistible weight of his cavalry. General Munro, who commanded the principal army belonging to the settlement of Madras, was reduced to retreat before the torrent of his arms; Madras even trembled for her safety; and the progress of the victor was only checked by the arrival of general Coote with a large reinforcement from the province of Bengal. After an obstinate conflict Hyder was compelled to relinquish the field to the superior skill of that veteran commander, and the persevering valour of his troops; but his nu-

merous cavalry were still spread over the fertile fields of the Carnatic, and extended on every side the terror of his name.

It was under the pressure of this unexpected and formidable invasion that the English first received the intelligence of a rupture with the United States of Holland; and they displayed no small degree of vigour in crushing the settlements of this new enemy before they could co-operate, or receive assistance from Hyder; in Bengal, Chinfura; on the coast of Coromandel, Negapatam; and Trincomalé in the island of Ceylon, were surprized or reduced by the English; and Holland beheld with terror the storm that threatened her settlements in Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas.

But if in the East and West-Indies the Dutch scarce displayed the shadow of resistance, in Europe they discovered a degree of resolution that astonished their friends, appalled their enemies, and restored that reputation for patient and obstinate courage which had emancipated them from the fetters of the house of Austria, and had raised them to contest with Great-Britain the dominion of the seas. The Dogger-bank was the scene where the Dutch and English encountered each other with equal valour and mutual animosity; their squadrons, which consisted of the same number of ships, seemed animated with a rage that knew no alternative between victory and death. The disabled state of their vessels compelled at length the combatants to desist; and though the Dutch, by retiring to their harbours, acknowledged the victory to the English, yet these were incapable of improving their advantage, and were glad also to shelter their shattered ships in port.

But whatever satisfaction France might derive from the spirit of her ally, it served not to counterbalance that discontent with which the people in general beheld the dismissal of a minister in whom they placed the most unbounded confidence. Monsieur Necker, in the management of the finances had acquired the reputation of activity, industry, and severe integrity; he had conceived the arduous, but popular project of maintaining a war by loans without taxes; and the rigid economy that he had introduced into all the departments of the royal household, and the various resources that presented themselves to his fertile genius, had supported him amidst the difficulties that attended this system. But his austerity of temper, had not rendered him equally acceptable to the sovereign and his subjects; the repeated reforms he had recommended, were represented as inconsistent with the dignity of the crown; he was dismissed from his office of comptroller-general, and monsieur Joli de Fleuri, counsellor of state, was appointed to that important department.

The birth of the dauphin closed the memorable occurrences of the year; and though it could not extinguish the regret, served to divert the attention of the Parisians; the young prince was baptized by the cardinal de Rohan; the count of Provence and the princess Elizabeth, represented as sponsors the emperor of Germany and the princess of Piedmont, and bestowed on their royal nephew the names of Lewis, Joseph, Xavier, and Francis.

A. D. 1782.] The advantages which, at the close of the last campaign, had been obtained by the arms of France, were at the commencement of this, diligently improved by the ministers of Lewis; and the greatest exertions were called forth by the house of Bourbon to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. The siege of Minorca, which had been undertaken in the preceding year, was terminated in the beginning of the present by the surrender of St. Philips; the garrison were made prisoners of war; and their commander, general Murray, acknowledged in the most express terms the humane treatment they experienced from the victorious leaders, the duke de Crillon and the baron de Falkenhayen.

The capture of the army under lord Cornwallis had insured the independence of America, and the subsequent operations in that quarter were confined to some faint struggles made by the English in the Carolinas and Georgia. France was now at leisure to direct her attention to the East and West-Indies; and monsieur de Grasse from the Chesapeake had steered his course to Martinico; his naval force when collected, consisted of thirty ships of the line; but he had already detached four to convoy from St. Domingo the homeward bound trade to Europe. The court of Versailles, to supply this deficiency, had fitted out at Brest nine ships of the line, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil; these were accompanied by a numerous convoy of transports, destined for the service of the East and West; and they were escorted by the count de Guichen, who sailed at the same time with ten ships of the line to join the grand-fleet of Spain off Cadiz. Off Scilly they were intercepted by the British fleet of thirteen ships of the line under admiral Kempenfelt; the admirable manœuvres of that officer were seconded by the favourable state of the wind, and the count de Guichen had the mortification to behold his convoy dispersed, and several of them taken by an inferior force. He himself continued his course to Cadiz, while the marquis de Vaudreuil, having detached part of his squadron to the Cape of Good Hope, with the rest joined monsieur de Grasse at Martinico.

That commander immediately prepared to avail himself of his decided superiority over the English squadron in those seas. With the marquis de Bouille, who had already erected the standard of France on the island of Nevis, he planned the attack of St. Christopher's, one of the most considerable of the West-India islands that yet remained to Great-Britain. The marquis landed with eight thousand men and a formidable train of artillery, while the count de Grasse, occupied with his fleet Basseterre-road, and seem to preclude every hope of relief; general Frazer, the English commander, immediately retired to Brimstone-hill, a strong post, which he declared he would defend to the last extremity. But the operations of the French were soon interrupted, by the appearance of a British squadron of twenty two ships of the line, conducted by admiral Hood, an officer of approved skill and experience. The count de Grasse, whose naval force consisted of twenty-nine large ships, hesitated not to quit his station to encounter his daring adversary. The action was partial and indecisive; but in the course of it admiral Hood, by a

sudden change of disposition, deceived the count de Grasse, eluded his attack, and pressing towards the island, gained the very anchorage in Basseterre-road which the French fleet had quitted.

Though the count de Grasse could not but admire the superior dexterity of his adversary, he was by no means inclined to leave him in quiet possession of his advantage. The next morning with his whole force he attacked the English Squadron from van to rear; but these sustained with a steady fire the repeated efforts of the French; and though the count in the course of the evening renewed the attempt, the damage that his ships had incurred compelled him reluctantly to desist.

The marquis de Bouille could not be indifferent to the operations of the hostile fleets, whose fate was likely to involve his own; but instead of desponding or endeavouring to retreat, he pushed his attacks with encrease of ardour. Brimstone-Hill was closely invested on every side; and while he confined the blockade of that post to the marquis of St. Simon, he himself marched with four-thousand troops to encounter a detachment that had been landed from the British ships. Although the strong situation and number of these, amounting to two-thousand four-hundred men, rendered an assault imprudent, yet the marquis continued vigilantly to observe their motions; till, hopeless of joining or succouring their countrymen, they re-embarked; in the mean time every moment was assiduously employed in the annoyance of the English entrenched on Brimstone-Hill; the marquis de Bouille had again resumed the command of the besiegers; and the incessant fire of his artillery had reduced the works and buildings to a heap of ruins. The English, under the terror of immediate destruction, consented to surrender a post that they were incapable of defending any longer; and the humanity of the marquis granted the same favourable terms of capitulation as had been agreed upon at the reduction of Dominica.

The English admiral was no sooner informed of the fate of St. Christophers, than he determined to abandon a situation which was no longer either secure or useful; and this resolution he executed with a secrecy and celerity that prevented all danger from the superior force of count de Grasse. Under cover of the night he cut his cables; and sailing from Basseterre-Road, directed his course towards Barbadoes, in hopes of joining a considerable squadron that was hourly expected from England; while the count de Grasse and the marquis de Bouille, after the reduction of Montserrat, returned to Martinico.

In that road had been assembled one hundred and fifty transports, with a large quantity of artillery, and a considerable body of land forces.—These were destined for an enterprize which, had it proved successful, must have extinguished in the West-Indies the power of Great Britain. The count de Grasse, whose fleet already amounted to thirty-three sail of the line fit for action, was to have been joined by a strong Spanish Squadron from the Havannah; and the united force of the house

of Bourbon was to have been directed against Jamaica, the most flourishing settlement belonging to the English in that quarter of the globe.

In pursuance of this design, the count quitted Fort-Royal bay about the beginning of April, to proceed to the place of his destination; but he scarce lost sight of the island of Martinico, before he descried the British fleet, commanded by admiral Rodney, and by late reinforcements from Europe swelled to thirty-six sail of the line. He immediately hoisted the signal for action, and sustained with great gallantry the attack of the enemy; but intent on the grand object of his court, he availed himself of a favourable wind, and bore away towards Guadaloupe.

But that prosperous fortune which hitherto had attended the enterprizes of France, on this occasion deserted her.—In the late action the *Zelee*, a seventy-four, had suffered material damage; and though the count de Grasse had gained a considerable start of admiral Rodney, yet the shattered condition of that ship allowed her not to keep up with the rest of the fleet. The French admiral was now reduced to the painful alternative of hazarding the success of his expedition by a second action, or to incur the disgrace of abandoning the *Zelee* a prey to the pursuing enemy.

On this trying occasion he determined to preserve inviolate the honour of the French flag; and though his judgment has been arraigned, since, in relinquishing the *Zelee*, and hastening to join the Spanish squadron, he might have severely revenged the loss of that ship by the probable reduction of Jamaica, yet the more honourable resolution was in some measure sanctioned by the state of the fleet under his command, and the probability that this engagement, like all the preceding ones, might prove indecisive.

In this hope he bore down to succour the *Zelee*, and compelled the most forward of the English ships to retire at the moment that they were ready to attack her; the approach of night precluded all immediate action; but in the morning the French admiral found the English had gained the wind of him, and that he must stake the fortune of France on a decisive engagement. This was continued from seven in the morning till half past six in the evening, when the setting sun put an end to the contest and to the hopes of France. The *Ville de Paris*, of one hundred and ten guns, commanded by count de Grasse himself, the *Glorieux*, the *Hector*, and the *Cæsar* of seventy-four, with the *Ardent* of sixty-four, were compelled to strike to the superior fortune of Great-Britain; the *Cæsar* soon after caught fire and blew up; while the marquis de Vaudreuil collected part of the scattered fleet, and with nineteen ships of the line escaped to Martinico; the rest, shattered and dispersed, endeavoured to reach the nearest ports and elude the pursuit of the victors.

If the prudence of the count de Grasse was in some measure impeached, his courage was universally acknowledged: though wounded, he defended his ship to the last extremity; and before he consented to strike his flag, the *Ville de*

Paris resembled a wreck. He was received on board the *Barfleur* with those marks of respect that the brave never fail to shew to each other; after continuing a short time at Jamaica, he was conveyed to England, and was there honoured by the constant attention of the royal family; while the applause of the multitude, who admired the personal gallantry of their enemy, contributed to sooth the painful recollection of defeat.

The misfortunes of France ended not with the twelfth of April. The *Cato* and the *Jason*, two men of war of sixty-four guns each, with the *Amiable* of thirty-two, and the *Ceres* of eighteen guns, were taken by a squadron under admiral Hood, detached from the main English fleet; the same baneful influence seemed also to extend to Europe; and in that month the *Pegase* of seventy-four guns, and the *Actionnaire* of sixty-four, which had sailed from Brest for the East-Indies, with ten ships of their convoy were captured by the English off Ushant.

The marquis de Vaudreuil, after the late defeat, steered with the remnant of the fleet that he could collect from Cape-Francois to America; but rising under the pressure of calamity, he previously detached monsieur Peyrouse in the *Sceptre* of seventy-four guns, with two large frigates, against the remote possessions and property of the English Hudson's Bay Company. As the marquis was unacquainted with the defenceless state of these settlements, he added three hundred soldiers, with some mortars and cannon for the sieges that might present themselves.

But the only difficulties that monsieur Peyrouse encountered were those which attended the navigation of obscure streights and gulphs, among the frozen regions of the north; and for three weeks, from the moment that they passed the islands of Resolution, which mark the entrance into Hudson's Straits, they were incessantly exposed to new and imminent peril; notwithstanding the power of the sun in the month of July, the ships at one time were so fast locked up in the ice, that the seamen went on foot from one to the other; and when after they had extricated themselves, things appeared so hopeless, that monsieur Peyrouse even meditated on sending back the *Sceptre* with one of the frigates to the West-Indies, and of wintering himself with the other frigate and a part of the troops in the Bay. So severe a trial of his constancy was however prevented by the appearance of a small opening in the ice two days afterwards; through this the ships forced their way with a press of sail, and afterwards discovered, to their no small joy, the English colours flying from a fort on the banks of Churchill River.

If the toils and dangers of the voyage had been great, some compensation was afforded by the facility of the conquest; the forts of the Hudson's-Bay Company were only garrisoned by a motley crew of store-keepers, clerks, and servants, who surrendered on the first appearance of an European enemy. Some few sought shelter in the deep and impenetrable woods; and monsieur Peyrouse having by the

destruction of the forts and merchandise completed the object of his expedition, had yet the humane precaution to preserve one of the magazines, in which he deposited provisions, arms, and ammunition for the use and subsistence of the fugitives who had eluded his pursuit, and who during the long and approaching winter could not have received any relief from home.

While France in every quarter of the globe displayed that active spirit which could not be repressed by defeat, the patient courage of the Spaniards was still exercised in the siege of Gibraltar. The duke de Crillon, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aspired to additional fame from this more arduous enterprise; and the count d'Artois, and the duke of Bourbon, disdaining the ease and luxury of Versailles, animated the camp of St. Roche by their presence. But they had scarce arrived before they endured the mortification of beholding the principal works of the besiegers destroyed. A heavy fire of hot shot and shells from the batteries of the garrison soon communicated the destructive flames to the batteries and magazines of the Spaniards, and the labour of months was consumed in a few hours.

Yet the court of Madrid though often baffled, still persevered: and to preclude the garrison of Gibraltar from the hope of relief, the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of forty-four ships of the line, were directed to block up the harbour. This was but the prelude to a new and different mode of attack, which had long been meditated, and on which the most sanguine expectations were grounded. Ten ships of different sizes, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were converted into floating batteries. They were secured by every art that ingenuity could devise, and provided with every offensive or defensive material that experience suggested, or the wealth of Spain could furnish. Two hundred and twelve brass guns, each of them carrying balls of twenty-six pounds, menaced from their massy decks immediate destruction; they were supported by a sufficient number of frigates; and three hundred large boats were also collected for the conveyance of the troops that were ready to avail themselves of the confusion of the garrison, and the breaches that it was expected the floating batteries must soon occasion. But Gibraltar was entrusted to the care of general Eliott, an officer whose vigilance, courage, and unshaken resolution were never excelled; and who with the caution and experience of age, preserved the activity and enterprise of youth. The fire from the floating batteries was indeed terrible; but they were soon answered by the thunder of the garrison; and the same engines of destruction that had proved fatal to the Spanish preparations on shore now blasted their hopes at sea. A shower of hot balls and shells in a few hours involved the floating batteries in flames; the gun-boats of the English prevented the Spaniards from approaching to the assistance of their countrymen; to avoid the rapid progress of one destructive element, the miserable men were compelled to confide themselves to another; part perished by the fire, part were overwhelmed by the sea, and the scanty remnant was only saved by the British seamen, who

discovered the same ardour in relieving their enemies, as they had displayed an hour before in conquering them.

One resource still remained to the house of Bourbon ; and the besiegers, thus fatally baffled in every assault, now resolved patiently to await the slow but certain effects of famine. To prevent the garrison from receiving any supplies, the combined fleets were directed to stretch across the bay ; but even this disposition could not ensure success ; a violent tempest that arose shattered their ships, and drove on shore the *Triumphant*, a Spanish man of war of seventy-four guns ; and the English fleet of thirty-four sail of the line, and a considerable convoy, before they could recover from their confusion, entered the Straits, and landed the troops and provisions for the relief of Gibraltar. On their return a partial and undecisive action took place off the Straits-mouth ; but the English had already effected the object of their expedition ; and the French and Spanish commanders judged it not prudent to press an engagement, which, if adverse, might be attended by the most fatal consequences, and, if successful, could not tend to the immediate reduction of that fortress.

If the war languished in America, it was resumed with increase of ardour in the East, and the coasts of Coromandel were stained with the blood of the contending powers. From the Cape of Good Hope monsieur Suffrein had proceeded with favourable winds to the island of Mauritius ; he there resigned the command to his senior officer, the count d'Orves ; and the French fleet, increased by this junction, to ten ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, besides several large frigates, sailed for the coast of Coromandel accompanied by a number of transports and store-ships, with a considerable body of land forces. On the voyage the count d'Orves, whose zeal in the service had rose superior to the infirmities of a debilitated constitution, expired ; and the sole command of the fleet devolved on monsieur Suffrein, whose skill and courage have deservedly ranked him among the most celebrated naval characters of the age.

On his passage he fell in with the *Hannibal*, a British man of war of sixty-four guns, which after a gallant but fruitless resistance, was compelled to surrender, and swelled the number of the French squadron. With this addition to his strength he swept the Coromandel coast, and entered Madras-roads in hopes of surprising, according to the intelligence he had received, the English admiral, sir Edward Hughes, with only six ships of the line. This force he considered himself capable of easily overwhelming ; the loss of the numerous trading ships and transports in the road must have attended the destruction of the fleet ; and while such an unexpected calamity spread terror through the town of Madras, the French forces, joined by Hyder-Ali's numerous army, would have carried on their attacks against it by land, and the victorious squadron would have assailed it by sea.

From this flattering illusion, which promised to determine the war at a single blow, monsieur Suffrein was awakened to a disappointment as mortifying as it

was unexpected ; a few days before the English squadron had been joined by a reinforcement from Europe ; they had at the same time been apprized of the approach of monsieur de Suffren ; three hundred land forces had been detached from Madras to strengthen their numbers ; and the French admiral now beheld, instead of the defenceless squadron, he fondly expected to surprize, nine ships of the line, drawn up in proper order and ready to receive him.

Under these circumstances all views of attack were abandoned, and monsieur Suffren stood out to sea with the intention of disembarking the land forces to the support of Hyder-Ali. The English, who penetrated his design, immediately followed, and an action ensued the next morning, long, bloody, but indecisive. The preservation of his convoy was now the chief object of the French commander, but in the course of the engagement he displayed a degree of intrepidity that extorted the applause of his adversaries. Night only parted the combatants ; and monsieur Suffren repressing his ardour, and anxious to secure the retreat of his convoy, stood off to the north-east.

This important object was no sooner attained than the French admiral once more directed his course in search of the English. The latter, during this interval, had been reinforced from Europe by two men of war of seventy four guns each ; but this formidable accession of strength could not damp the courage or alter the resolution of monsieur Suffren ; he himself led the attack on board the *Heros* of seventy-four guns, and continued to engage for a considerable time the English admiral within pistol-shot. The damages sustained by the *Heros* induced him to shift his flag into the *Hannibal*, a French ship of equal force ; and by his superior fire he disabled and drove out of the line the *Monmouth* of sixty-four guns.— Though every effort was made to board that ship, she was rescued by the approach of three other English ships ; the hostile fleets, after a fierce and bloody contest, in which they had displayed similar gallantry, and suffered similar loss, separated as if by mutual consent ; for several days following they however kept in sight of each other : but their reciprocal damages suspending on both sides all idea of attack ; the English retired to Trincomalé and the French squadron proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon, and about twenty leagues to the southward of Trincomalé.

The war on land raged not with less fury than at sea. In the general destruction of the French settlements on the commencement of hostilities, a small band had found shelter in the dominions of Hyder-Ali, and ever since under the command of monsieur Lally, had given stability to the operations of that enterprising prince. They now, in conjunction with Tippoo-Saheb, the son of Hyder, and who inherited the daring spirit of his father, attacked a British detachment under colonel Braithwaite, that had encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, for the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. This small but select corps consisted of two thousand veteran infantry, with thirteen field-pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two successive days they repulsed with undaunted

resolution the reiterated attacks of Hyder's cavalry, though amounting to the formidable number of twenty thousand ; but on the third they were broken by the charge of four hundred French, who advanced with bayonets fixed, and were led on by monsieur Lally himself. The humanity of that officer was not less conspicuous than his courage ; he not only issued orders for putting a stop to the carnage ; but hastened personally, and with apparent hazard, to chastise and restrain the cruel fury of the black cavalry, five of whom perished by his own hand in the generous exertion. He also prevailed on Tippoo-Saheb to commit the prisoners to his care, and endeavoured to soothe their misfortunes by every mark of kindness and respect ; nor can it have escaped the reader, that during the whole course of the war, the French and English mutually vied with each other in acts of generous compassion as well as daring valour.

In the first engagement with the English fleet, the ardour of monsieur Suffrein had been restrained by a prudent attention to his convoy. He soon after landed at Porto-Novo the land forces and artillery that had been entrusted to his care. These were joined by a body of native troops from Hyder-Ali ; and the combined army immediately marched to the siege of Cuddalore. The feeble garrison in that place was not long able to resist their arms ; and monsieur Duchemin, the French commander, having secured a future post for the reception of succours, which France before was destitute of, now proceeded to more distant conquests. He accordingly invested Permacoil to the northward ; and after the reduction of that fort, effected a junction with the main army of Hyder-Ali, and in concert with that prince meditated an attack on Wandiwash.

The approach of the English compelled them to abandon that enterprise ; and the combined army, strong in their numbers, possessed themselves also of such advantageous posts as defied any assault. But the British commander, general Coote, having menaced the siege of Arnee, a strong fortress in which Hyder's great magazines were deposited, that prince relinquished his situation, and advanced to the protection of it. A battle ensued, in which the allies were routed by the superior discipline of their adversaries. But the native troops, chiefly composed of cavalry, easily eluded the pursuit of the victors ; and monsieur Duchemin had cautiously avoided exposing the French ; whom he wished to preserve entire, till the arrival of the marquis de Bussy with a considerable force, an event that was daily expected, might enable them to act with efficacy.

In consequence of this plan he retired to Cuddalore, which he industriously strengthened by new works, and rendered secure from any sudden insult. The indisposition of general Coote about the same time compelled him to quit the field ; and the exhausted state of the country affording scarce any subsistence to the hostile armies, no event of any considerable importance took place in the Carnatic during the remainder of the year.

But this cessation was entirely confined to the land ; and the Indian-ocean was still destined to be the scene of hard and bloody action. Monsieur Suffrein had

returned from Batacalo to the coast of Coromandel; and having refreshed his fleet at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, he proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their strong and great place of arms, both for the land and sea service. It was his object to attack the English squadron before the arrival of a reinforcement, which he knew had sailed from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He was furnished at Cuddalore with four hundred French and as many Sepahis; and to these were added three hundred artillery-men, than which no aid could be more thoroughly effective.

Thus strengthened, he appeared off Negapatam, where the English fleet lay at anchor; and admiral Hughes, impatient of the insult, immediately quitted the security of his station to meet his rival. The number of ships on each side was the same as in the last engagement; the same courage and skill were displayed, and the event was nearly similar; the French fleet was however reduced to retire first from action; the captain of the *Severe* of sixty-four guns even struck his colours; but the officer next in rank immediately assumed the command, renewed the engagement, and brought off the ship, which, with the rest of the squadron, reached Cuddalore; while admiral Hughes, having kept the sea about a fortnight longer, proceeded to Madras.

Monsieur de Suffrein used the utmost industry and dispatch in refitting his squadron; and having received advice from the sieur d'Aymar, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the south side of the island of Ceylon, in his own ship the *St. Michael* of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the *Illustra* of seventy-four, and the second division of the marquis de Buffy's troops, the French admiral immediately sailed from Cuddalore, and having joined this squadron, proceeded with his whole force to the attack of Trincomalé, where he arrived towards the end of August.

The fire of the English batteries from that place could not prevent his fleet from anchoring in the most advantageous station for the annoyance of the garrison. The landing of the troops under the conduct of the baron d'Agoult was effected the next day, and the place was immediately invested. After two days employed in erecting batteries, those on the left were opened early in the morning, and soon gained such a decided superiority, that the English cannon were silenced before night. On the following day monsieur de Suffrein, encouraged by this success, summoned the garrison, and captain Macdowal, the British commandant, convinced that all further defence was fruitless, consented to capitulate.

The terms that he demanded were immediately subscribed by the generosity and prudence of the French commanders. The honours of war were granted in the fullest extent; the garrison was to be directly conveyed to Madras, in ships provided at the expence of France; the Dutch inhabitants, as well as the garrison, were to be secured in their private property; and all the rights and privileges of the former were to be preserved inviolate.

Monsieur de Suffrein had but scarce time to possess and secure his new acquisition, when the English fleet, on the second of September, was descried off Trincomalé; admiral Hughes had been lately joined by a ship of seventy four guns; but still the advantage was on the side of the French, and they were superior to their adversaries by one ship of the line and two of fifty guns. Monsieur de Suffrein now flattered himself the moment was arrived when he might establish the dominion of France in those seas by a glorious and decisive victory. He accordingly got under sail, and stood out to sea; and about three o'clock in the evening the action became general. Monsieur de Suffrein himself in the *Heros* again encountered admiral Hughes in the *Superbe*, and the rival commanders maintained a close and bloody conflict till half past five; had the other French officers imitated the conduct of their chief, that day had probably avenged the fatal defeat of monsieur de Grasse; but several seemed to consider their own personal safety beyond the honour of their country; and though the admiral himself, with his ship nearly dismasted, and one third of his gallant crew killed and wounded, bravely persevered, he perceived with indignation his hopes of conquest blasted by the cautious manœuvres of his followers. Under cover of the night he reluctantly condescended to retire to Trincomalé, whence, no longer under the necessity of disguising his sentiments, he sent six of his captains under arrest to the island of Mauritius; the approach of those hurricanes which, at a certain season of the year sweep with destructive fury the coast of Coromandel, compelled the hostile squadrons to consult their mutual safety; and while the French sought shelter at Achèn, a port belonging to the island of Sumatra, the English retired to the friendly harbour of Bombay.

While the fleets and armies of France were thus occupied in the East, the attention of her ministers at home was directed to the commotions which agitated the republic of Geneva. By the original constitution of Geneva, the sovereign power of the state was vested in the general council, which consisted of the citizens promiscuously assembled. By degrees the magistrates and senate had encreased their own authority, and diminished the privileges of the people. The latter had not suffered these innovations without repeated remonstrances; and the taxes which the senate imposed, and the severity with which they punished those who were most loud in their opposition, increased the number of the disaffected. Such a state of things naturally occasioned frequent contests; and to prevent a continuance of disputes, the democratical party required a regular code of laws, which should be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known standard of their obedience. This salutary project, which might have restored mutual confidence, was defeated by the intrigues of the aristocracy; the magistrates were determined not to circumscribe the authority they had hitherto possessed; and in support of their jurisdiction solicited the interference of foreign powers.

Of these the most considerable was the king of France, who, as protector of the republic, concerted with the king of Sardinia and the cantons of Zurich and

Bern, the means of restoring tranquillity to Geneva. They at length formed a code, which lodged the supreme power in the magistrates; and to give weight to their mediation, an army of twelve thousand men, belonging to the king of France, the king of Sardinia, and the Swiss cantons, encamped under the walls of the city. The leaders of the democratic party were unable to contend with their rivals, thus formidably supported, the gates of the city were opened to the combined forces; and the pretensions of the syndics were established by the count de Jancourt, the count of Marmora, and messieurs Stigeur and Valteville, the ministers plenipotentiary of the mediating powers. A general amnesty was at the same time published, out of which only nineteen persons were excepted: two of these were deprived of their employments, seven were condemned to perpetual exile, and the rest were banished for ten years; but the spirits of the inhabitants were severely wounded by these new regulations; and a great number hesitated not to quit their ancient habitations, in search of that freedom which they considered themselves deprived of in their native country.

Paris, amidst the gloom which naturally accompanies a long and extensive war, received a transient ray of splendor from the visit of the grand-duke and duchess of Russia; these illustrious travellers were peculiarly gratified by the marked attention of Lewis and his royal consort; but the visits of sovereigns, and their apparent successors, have become so frequent of late years, as no longer to excite the speculations of statesmen; and the grand-duke and duchess, after tasting, during a short month, the splendid enjoyments of the capital of France, directed their steps again towards the north.

With the administration of monsieur Necker had expired the great and popular system of supporting a war without encreasing the burthens of the people. The management of the finances had not long been entrusted to monsieur Fleuri, before the people were again awakened to a sense of their situation, by a variety of edicts and imposts, all of them probably necessary, but some of them undoubtedly grievous. These could not fail of recalling to their remembrance the virtuous economy of the late minister, whom they had beheld dismissed with regret, and for whose restoration they incessantly languished.

To multiply the resources of government, without augmenting the burthens of the public, the ministers endeavoured to kindle throughout the capital and different provinces, a flame of enthusiasm, which, if productive of no solid advantage, might yet dazzle the eyes of the multitude and awe the enemies of France. The defeat of the count de Grasse had impressed the kingdom with general grief and consternation; and to repair the loss that the national marine had sustained, several states and wealthy communities were prevailed upon to display their zeal in building and fitting out ships of war, according to their respective strength and affluence.

The liberality of the clergy this year was still more honourable to themselves, and more consistent with their sacred profession. To the exigencies of the state they granted a free-gift of fifteen millions of livres. At the same time they requested

the sovereign to accept an additional million, to be inviolably applied to the comfort and maintenance of those seamen who had been wounded in the course of the war, and to the support of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen, gallantly fighting in the defence of the naval glory of France.

A. D. 1783.] Yet these contributions, though they reflected the highest honour on the donors, were but a partial and scanty supply, while the immense preparations of France demanded the most solid and effectual support. In conjunction with the courts of Madrid and the Hague, Lewis was determined this year to make the most powerful efforts to bring the war to a conclusion. The combined fleets of the house of Bourbon still maintained their superiority, in Europe over the English. The marquis de Bussy with three ships of the line, three thousand land troops, and a considerable train of artillery, supported the hopes of France in the East, and already aspired to the conquest of the coast of Coromandel. Nine ships of the line, and thirty transports, in which were embarked seven thousand five hundred select soldiers, sailed from Brest to America, under the conduct of monsieur de Vialis, to reinforce the marquis de Vaudreuil, and to complete the expulsion of the English from that continent: while the state-general of Holland agreed to supply, at their own expence, ten ships of the line, which were to rendezvous at Brest, and to act in concert with the squadrons of France. The count de Estaing, grown grey in naval combats, was called by the general applause to the supreme command, and in the room of don Lewis de Cordova, was appointed to lead to victory the combined fleets of the house of Bourbon.

Such were the preparations for the ensuing campaign, which promised the most important advantages to France, when the voice of peace was again heard, and Lewis consented to sacrifice his ambition to the ease and happiness of his people. The ministers of great Britain, whose imprudence and incapacity had plunged their country in a war as calamitous in the conclusion, as it was impolitic in the origin, were at length, by the clamours of the multitude, and the indignation of parliament, removed from the councils of their sovereign; and they were succeeded by men who no longer nourished the frantic idea of controlling the independence of America; the freedom of that continent had been the grand object of France; the defeat in the West-Indies, and the repulse at Gibraltar, were still deeply impressed on the mind of Lewis; and though his vast armaments, and the resources of his allies, presented the fairest prospect of success in the ensuing campaign, he was not insensible of the various accidents to which military operations were liable, and how little he could confide in a naval superiority, which in a moment might be annihilated by the rage of a fickle and turbulent element.

These considerations induced him to listen to the proffered and powerful mediation of the two first potentates in Europe, the emperor of Germany and the

emprefs of Ruffia; and the count de Vergennes, who ftill occupied the poft of fecretary of foreign affairs, was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert the Englifh minifter at Bruffels, but who had lately proceeded to Paris to conduct this important negociation. The way was already fmoothed for the reftoration of the public tranquillity by provisional articles figned at the conclufion of the laft year, between the States of America and Great-Britain, and which were to conftitute a treaty of peace finally to be concluded, when that between France and Great-Britain took place.

By thefe articles the freedom, fovereignty, and independence of the Thirteen United States were individually by name, and in the full eft and moft exprefs terms acknowledged; and all claims to their government and territorial rights were for ever relinquifhed by the crown of Great Britain. Several lines were drawn to preclude all future difputes about boundaries; and on the fea-coafts, as the Britifh forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States, New-York, Long-Ifland, Staten-Ifland, Charlefton, and Nova-Scotia, with all their dependencies, were given up; and an unlimited right of fifhery on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and all other places where both nations had been hitherto accuftomed to fifh, was granted to the Americans:

Thus had France the fatisfaction of ftripping Great-Britain of thofe colonies fo long her pride and boaft, and in erecting a new power acrofs the Atlantic, to have fecured to herfelf a grateful and potent ally. This primary object was therefore no fooner attained, than the count de Vergennes quickened the negociations of his own court; and on the twentieth of January figned at Paris, with Mr. Fitzherbert, the preliminary articles of peace.

By thefe France acquired an extent of fifhery on the coaft of Newfoundland, which extended from Cape St. John in about fifty degrees north latitude, on the eaftern fide of the ifland, round by the north to Cape-Ray; on the western coaft, in forty-feven degrees and fifty minutes latitude; fhe alfo regained the iflands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, and tacitly delivered from any reftriktion in point of fortification, with which they had before been difgracefully incumbered

In the Weft-Indies, England reftored to her the ifland of St. Lucia, and ceded and guaranteed to her the ifland of Tobago; but France confented to relinquifh in return the iflands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with thofe of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriftopher's, Nevis, and Montferrat.

In Africa, France was invefted in full right with the river Senegal, and all its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podoz, Galem, Arguin, and Portendia; and obtained alfo in reftitution of the iflan of Gorée; but, on the other hand, fhe guaranteed to Great-Britain the poffeffion of Fort-James, and of the river Gambia.

In the East, France regained, with considerable additions, all that had been wrested from her by Great-Britain in the course of the war ; all her establishments in Bengal and Orixá were to be restored, and liberty was given for surrounding Chandernagore with a wet ditch ; Pondicherry and Carical were likewise restored to her ; her standard was again to be erected on Mahé, and she was once more reinstated in her factory at Surat ; while the king of Great-Britain was bound to procure from the princes, whose property they were, certain specified neighbouring districts round these places, which were to be annexed to them as dependencies.

In Europe, where the dominion of France could not be extended, her dignity and glory were studiously consulted. The degrading conditions which had marked the calamitous close of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, which had been revived in that of his successor, and which stipulated the demolition of the works round Dunkirk, were for ever abrogated and suppressed ; and Lewis the Sixteenth enjoyed the splendid satisfaction of restoring to France the entire sovereignty over her own territories.

Nor was the other branch of the house of Bourbon neglected on this occasion ; long refused to victory, and accustomed to behold her boundaries gradually recede, Spain now tasted the sweets of acquisition ; though continually baffled and repulsed before Gibraltar, her pride was soothed by the cession of the important island of Minorca in the Mediterranean ; and to the boundless possessions which she already held in South-America, were now added the fertile provinces of East and West-Florida, on the northern continent. Some retribution was however to be made ; and the Bahama-Islands, the most unworthy of her conquests, were restored to Great-Britain.

But Holland had entered too late into the war, and had been guided by too evident a tardiness in her operations against an unprovoked and unsparing enemy ; the characteristic industry of the Dutch, and their necessary attachment to the spirit of commerce unpremeditatedly co-operated with that secret influence which for so many years the English had maintained in the operative counsels of Holland ; divided into two powerful factions, distinguished by the titles of the *Louvesteins* and *Orangists*, at the head of the latter was the Stadtholder, connected by ties of blood and prospects of ambition with the court Great-Britain ; the other without any fixed leader, from necessity became attached to that power which from political circumstances and local relation, promised to afford them aid or protection ; the States-General, composed of these partisans, nevertheless afforded sufficient testimony of the predominancy of that which was adverse to the interests of Great-Britain ; but the immense executive power lodged in the Stadtholder, so effectually counterbalanced on the other side, that the energies of the states were palsied, and France left Holland at the conclusion of the peace, a striking example to nations of the fatal influence of foreign influence and domestic treachery. The close connection which had subsisted between the Hague and London, was not shaken by the events of inveterate hostility, and the Dutch discovered that

while they suffered from the destructive enmity of an old ally, that they incurred by the disordered and corrupt condition of their government, the contempt of the only power from whom they could expect succour.

Though tranquillity was thus restored to Europe, Africa, and America; Asia, distant from the scene of negotiation, continued still exposed to the ravages of war. Hyder-Ali, whose aspiring genius had so long and severely agitated that quarter of the globe, had sunk into the grave, and had left behind a character scarce to be paralleled in the annals of the East. His mind was so vast and comprehensive as at once to reach and embrace all the parts of war and of government; as a warrior, the Carnatic was a mournful testimony of his achievements; as a statesman, the internal regulation of his own territories proclaimed his sagacity; though daring in war, he was far from being naturally cruel; and strictly observant of his own word; he punished with rigour in others that breach of faith which he abhorred. He despised, and dispensed with, as far as with propriety it could be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers; and displaying in his own person the frank manners of a camp, instead of the proud distance and austere reserve of an Eastern despot.

His son, Tippoo-Saheb, equally bold, prompt, and vigilant, but less scrupulous, and more ferocious, was the heir of his throne and enterprizes; he was already distinguished by his successive victories over colonel Baillie in the Carnatic, and colonel Braithwaite on the banks of the Coleroon; and his enemies were soon convinced that the accession to royalty had not damped his ardour, nor chilled his martial spirit. General Mathews, a British officer, had penetrated with a select detachment to Bedanore, the capital of the wealthy kingdom of Canore; his progress had been marked by cruelty and avarice; and his rapacity not only stimulated him to plunder with unfeeling assiduity the prostrate city, but even to defraud his companions of their portion of the spoils. The avenger of his country's injuries was however at hand, and general Mathews had scarce time to indulge in the contemplation of his newly acquired riches, before he was alarmed by the approach of Tippoo-Saheb, who, with an host of cavalry, and a small corps of French, under the command of monsieur Lally, pressed forwards to chastise the temerity of the invader. The English commander marched out to meet the exasperated prince; but neither his strength nor skill seemed proportioned to his presumption; his ranks were instantly broken by the charge of the French; with the loss of five-hundred men he retired within the walls of Bedanore; and soon after signed a capitulation, which, on promise of their lives and liberties, delivered himself and his troops into the power of Tippoo-Saheb. That capitulation was soon violated by the faithless victor; he even justified the infraction of the treaty, by the evasion of the vanquished to restore the spoils of Bedanore, which they had stipulated to refund, but had endeavoured to conceal. The general was the unlamented victim of his own avarice, and is reported to have perished by

poison; several of the principal officers were barbarously murdered; and the scanty remnant, that were released at the conclusion of the peace, had experienced sufferings that rendered the fate of their slaughtered companions enviable.

The hostile ardour of the French and English squadrons had been mutually repressed by a sense of their own danger, and to avoid the monsoons, that scatter destruction along the coast of Comorandel, each sought shelter in their respective harbours; but that tempestuous season was no sooner elapsed, than the spirit of enterprise revived; and monsieur Suffrein, early in the year, proceeded from Trincomalé to Cuddalore; he was there reinforced by twelve hundred European troops, which he dispersed among his ships, and was lying at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, when he discovered the approach of the English fleet under admiral Hughes.

The British squadron had been joined by five ships of the line from Europe, and was now superior in number to the French by two ships of the line. But monsieur Suffrein was not dismayed by this disparity; and with the same spirit that had marked his former conduct, he prepared to maintain the honour of the French flag; the action began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and a heavy cannonade was continued until seven; at that hour the conflict ceased without any decisive consequences; each squadron had to lament the unavailing slaughter of a number of gallant men; and with this severe trial of their strength, concluded the naval warfare in India; admiral Hughes soon after retired to Madras; and monsieur de Suffrein, who throughout the whole war had sustained the character of a bold and skilful commander, proceeded to Cuddalore to return the land forces with which had been reinforced, and to which he added two thousand four hundred men from his own fleet.

This succour, though important, was not more than necessary to the immediate defence of that place. The marquis de Bufff, who had lately arrived in India with a considerable body of European troops, found his situation far from enviable; general Coote, whose skill, experience, and enterprising genius had been confirmed and displayed in the course of long service, was indeed no more; and by his death the command of the British forces had devolved on general Stuart. But the marquis de Bufff was soon taught that this officer aspired to rival the fame of his predecessor; and he was scarce arrived at Cuddalore before he beheld himself invested by the British troops, conducted by their new general; who had seized the favourable moment of enterprise when Tippoo-Saheb had evacuated the Carnatic for the recovery of Bedanore.

The works of Cuddalore had been strengthened by unwearied labour and diligence; and the marquis de Bufff was still employed in the construction of new fortifications, when his progress was interrupted by the menacing manœuvres of the English, who rapidly advanced to assault the lines before they could be completed. The attack and defence were both maintained with a degree of resolution that had seldom been experienced in that quarter of the globe, and perhaps never

surpassed in Europe; the assailants, though frequently repulsed, as constantly returned to the charge; but the French were at length overwhelmed by numbers, and were compelled to abandon their out-posts with the loss in killed and wounded of near six hundred of their best troops.

The arrival of the fleet under monsieur Suffrein, and the reinforcement that he landed from the ships, determined the marquis de Buffly to hazard a vigorous sally, in hopes of recovering the posts that he had lost, and of making some impression on the works of the besiegers. The conduct of this enterprise was entrusted to the chevalier de Damas, a knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine, and the hour fixed for the execution of it was three o'clock in the morning. But though under cover of the darkness a transient advantage was gained, yet the English were soon alarmed; as light opened their numbers increased; the French were pushed on every side; a complete rout ensued; the chevalier de Damas with about one hundred and fifty soldiers were taken prisoners, and near two-hundred fell in the conflict.

It was at this critical juncture that the *Medea* frigate arrived from Madras at Cuddalore, and brought information of the conclusion of peace between the two nations; a mutual cessation of hostilities, and restoration of prisoners, immediately took place; and that tranquillity which the French already enjoyed in Europe, Africa, and America, was now extended to their tottering settlements and war-worn veterans in Asia.

A. D. 1783.] The preliminary articles which had been signed at Versailles, were soon after succeeded by a definitive treaty; and France, throughout her extensive dominions, beheld peace once more established. Though the late war had been attended by the most brilliant success, and the independence of America struck deep at the source of her rival's power, yet she herself had not been entirely free from inconvenience; the retreat of monsieur Necker from the management of the finances, had, as we have already observed, diminished the public confidence; three different persons, who since his resignation had transiently occupied the post of comptroller-general, increased the jealousies of the people; and the failure of the celebrated *Caisse d'Escompte*, completed the universal consternation.

That bank had been established in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-six. The plan was formed by a company of private adventurers, and its capital was fixed at five hundred thousand pounds sterling. Its profess'd design was to discount bills at short dates, at the rate of four per cent. per annum; but as this interest could never be an equivalent for the capital sunk by the proprietors, they were entrusted with the additional power of issuing notes to the amount of their capital, which, as they were capable at any time of being converted into specie, might be often voluntarily taken by their customers from mere convenience.—The reputation of the bank soon caused its stock to sell above par, and its credit was still at the highest, when to the astonishment of the nation, the second day it suddenly stopped payment. The cause assigned was an uncommon scarcity of

specie; but the public imagined that it originated in a loan secretly made to the government; and what confirmed the suspicion was, that government, about the same time, stopped payment of the bills drawn upon them by their army in America.

Whatever was the source of this event, the king was prevailed on to extend his protection to the falling company; four successive edicts were published by administration tending to relieve the distress under which it laboured; by these the banks in Paris were ordered to receive the notes of the Caisse d'Escompte at currency; a lottery with a stock of one million sterling, redeemable in eight years, was also established, and the tickets were made purchasable in notes of the Caisse d'Escompte; by these expedients the public confidence in that bank was again revived, its business increased, and its stock rose to a surprizing amount, above double the original subscription; the bills from America were at the same time put in a train of payment, and public credit was happily restored throughout the kingdom.

Some compensation for the expences that had been incurred during the late war, was drawn from a treaty with the United States of America. These engaged to reimburse France in the sum of eighteen millions of livres, which had been advanced in the hour of their distress, and Lewis consented to receive the money, as more convenient to the states, in the space of twelve years, by twelve equal and annual payments.

With the return of peace, it might naturally have been expected that France would have delivered herself from the heavy demands occasioned by her numerous armies; yet instead of disbanding her forces, she continued diligently to fill up all deficiencies; and her military establishment in the midst of tranquillity, rivalled that which was collected for a state of professed hostility; nor could this afford astonishment to her neighbors, since the peace of Europe was already menaced by restless ambition and the insatiate lust of dominion.

The emperor of Germany had long cherished the hope of wresting from the Dutch the principal fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which had been deposited in their hands at the conclusion of the succession war, for the mutual security of the court of Vienna and themselves. The advantages of this arrangement had been repeatedly experienced during the succeeding depression of the house of Austria; but the present emperor felt his own power fully competent to the protection of his dominions; and he thought it derogatory to his honour, that a number of his principal cities should be garrisoned, and at his own expence too, by foreigners; he availed himself of the juncture when Great-Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was become the enemy of Holland, and extorted from the states in their distress a reluctant compliance. The Dutch garrisons and artillery were silently withdrawn from the barrier towns; and the emperor's order for dismantling the fortresses was immediately executed.

Though France, bound to the emperor by ties of alliance, friendship, and blood, had tacitly acquiesced in this claim, yet the court of Versailles did not regard with equal indifference his pretensions to the free navigation of the Schelde. That court for some years had been divided into two parties, and the most distinguished characters were the count de Vergennes, and the mareschal de Castries; the former, who had long resided at the Ottoman Porte, and was celebrated for his address in negociation, possessed the confidence of Lewis, who himself mild and humane, admired those talents in his minister which had been displayed in the restoration of peace; the latter, who had succeeded monsieur de Sartine in the marine department, was bold and enterprising, and had continually stood forth the advocate for war; he was supported by the queen, who, intelligent, active, and fond of public business, aspired to dispose of every lucrative or honorary appointment, and afforded no indifferent contrast to the mild indolence of her royal consort.

A. D. 1784, 1785.] Though Holland had in some measure been deserted at the conclusion of the peace, and suffered in her foreign possessions and her character as a nation, through the secret machinations of the British cabinet, yet the protection the republic had received from France during the war, was strongly enforced by the faction in the interest of the court of Versailles, and which consisted of the enemies of hereditary privileges and of the Orange family. Their ascendancy was become open and uncontrouled; they pursued with a degree of political violence, the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, field-mareschal of the Dutch forces, and intimately connected with the house of Orange and the royal family of England; the duke considered it as most prudent to bend before the storm; he resigned the offices that he had been entrusted with; and the democratic party having thus established their triumph over their domestic enemies, depended on the friendship of France for protection against their foreign foes.

The immediate consequence fully justified the confidence they had thus once more placed in their ally. The emperor, encouraged by the facility with which he had achieved the demolition of the Dutch barrier, now extended his pretensions to a free navigation beyond fort Lillo, as far as the land of Seftingen, seven miles up the Schelde; and insisted that the guardship that had been usually stationed by the states at fort Lillo, should be immediately withdrawn.

An acquiescence with this demand would have struck at the root of the wealth and power of the United States of Holland: the city of Antwerp, formerly renowned for its commerce, and still celebrated for its opulence, is situated on the banks of the Schelde; and Spain, the former sovereign of Antwerp, while she considered the greatness and opulence of that city as inconsistent with her views of despotism, had concurred with Holland in shutting up the Schelde; trade thus diverted, flowed into different channels; and Amsterdam, though long before considerable, had from that period risen on the ruins of Antwerp to be the first commercial city of Europe.

Her inhabitants, therefore, could not be indifferent to pretensions which so materially affected their interests. Memorials and remonstrances had in vain been presented; in vain did they insist that the whole course of the two branches of the Schelde, which passed within the dominion of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by and owed its existence to, the hands of Dutchmen: that its banks were the produce of ages of incessant labour; that they were still maintained at a great and constant expence; that if it had not been for those standing monuments of Dutch enterprise, those admirable dykes which excite the astonishment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde, stagnating in immense marshes and shallow lakes, had never reached the sea in any distinct or sufficient portion for navigation. And to these claims of natural right was to be added a series of treaties which fortified them in the most express and solemn terms in the exclusive possession of the Schelde. To disarm their formidable enemy by submission, they also removed the obnoxious guardship at Lillo, and rejected the proposal for repairing the works of Maestricht, a fortress to which the emperor had urged a claim, lest its being adopted at such a season should give umbrage to that prince.

But the arguments and pacific measures of the states were equally disregarded by the emperor, and even the mediation of France was listened to with cold indifference; a brig was directed to proceed down the Schelde from Antwerp to the sea, and his imperial majesty declared that he would consider the first insult offered to his flag on this occasion, as an act of formal hostility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic; the brig was however stopped by the Dutch naval officer; on the Austrian commander resuming his course, some shot, though without any fatal consequence to the crew, compelled him to desist; and he was detained for some days by the Dutch admiral at the mouth of the Schelde.

From this moment the seeds of discontent seemed to ripen; the imperial ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and all negotiation was suspended; an army of sixty-thousand men was under orders for marching from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands; and immense trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war were put in motion; the republic, alarmed at these menacing appearances, now redoubled their solicitations to the court of Versailles; the dismissal of the duke of Brunswick obliged the states to apply to France for a general, whose abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect in the war they expected; and Lewis granted to their distress the count de Maillebois, an officer of undoubted talents, who had seen much service in the late reign, but whose jealousy of marshal d'Etrees, in the last German war, had precipitated him into intrigues, which had drawn upon him a severe censure from the tribunal of the marshals of France.

But the king confined not his friendship to the republic within the narrow limits of recommending a commander; the Prussian monarch was equally interested with Lewis in resisting the pretensions of the emperor; prince Henry of Prussia, at this critical juncture, made a long visit at the court of Versailles; from that moment

the count de Vergennes expostulated with the court of Vienna with more freedom and in less equivocal terms. To give weight to his negociations, the standing forces of France were silently and gradually thrown into quarters on the borders of Alsace, Lorraine, and the Low Countries; and orders were given to form a camp of eighty thousand men in the plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the great Condé's most splendid victories.

The emperor, though apprised of the numerous enemies that he must encounter, still appeared inflexible in the prosecution of his design; and the queen of France could not be insensible to a contest which involved her nearest and dearest connections, and armed the hand of her consort against her brother. On the morning when a grand council was to be held, the result of which was to be conclusive in respect to the part that France should take, if the emperor persisted in his pretensions against Holland, that princess took an opportunity of meeting monsieur de Vergennes before he entered the cabinet, and desired that he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother; the minister replied that he certainly should not; but that he was bound likewise to remember that the king of France was her husband, and the dauphin her son.

The ability and firmness of that statesman was the effectual security of the republic; and while the mind of the emperor was supposed to be entirely occupied by the navigation of the Schelde, the world was astonished by his opening a new source of jealousy and discord in Germany. With a levity which for ever extinguished his reputation as a politician, he now meditated to exchange for the duchy of Bavaria the Austrian Netherlands; those very Netherlands, upon whose account he seemed at the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, the consequences of which, as had been strongly urged by the court of Versailles, could not even be calculated. Though this project was baffled by the firm and formidable interposition of the king of Prussia, the diversion that it occasioned allowed Holland leisure to recover from its first surprise; it enabled France to complete her preparations; and facilitated the negociations of the count de Vergennes.

Instead of overwhelming in his career a distracted and defenceless multitude, the emperor perceived he must have encountered a people stubborn by nature, and highly irritated by a sense of the injuries and indignities that had been imposed on them; they were also supported by an ally, whose friendship it was his interest to conciliate, and whose power, even single, had more than once menaced to subvert the house of Austria. He now assumed a more moderate language, and to the deputies of the republic, who professed their respect for his imperial majesty, answered, that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negociations, under the mediation of his brother the king of France; and he did not doubt but a speedy conclusion would prevent the unhappy occurrences which must be the unavoidable consequence of a farther delay.

The address and abilities of the count de Vergennes contributed to remove every obstruction, and under his auspices the preliminary articles of peace were

signed at Paris about the middle of September; and two months afterwards the definitive treaty was subscribed at Fontainebleau, under the guarantee of his most christian majesty.

The treaty of Munster was laid down as the basis of the present, and its stipulations to be in all cases binding, where they were not expressly excepted by the new clauses. The principal articles were, that the States acknowledged the emperor's independent sovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Seftingen; they bound themselves not to interrupt in any manner the commerce or navigation of his subjects thereon; but that the rest of the river beyond those limits to the sea, with the canals of the Sâs, the Swin, and other neighbouring mouths of the sea, were to continue under the sovereignty of the States-general; they agreed to evacuate and demolish the forts of Kruischens, and Frederic-Henry, and cede the territories to his imperial majesty; they also submitted to his discretion the forts of Lillo and of Liefkenshoek, with the fortifications in their present condition, only reserving to themselves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition. They also stipulated to pay to his imperial majesty the sum of nine millions and a half of florins in the current money of Holland, in lieu of all his rights and pretensions on Maastricht and its adjacent territories; and half a million more as an indemnification to his subjects for the damages they had sustained from the inundations when the dyke near Lillo had been broken down by the Dutch.

While the count de Vergennes acquired the glory of having conducted this delicate negociation, he was not inattentive to the immediate interests of his own court. In two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been signed, a new treaty of alliance between France and that republic was likewise concluded and finally ratified, the stipulations were such as might have been expected from the gratitude of the States, and the address of the court of Versailles. It included all the principles which can serve to bind or cement, in the closest and most indissoluble union, distinct nations under distinct governments; and by which they may mutually participate, in peace or in war, of good or of evil; and in all cases administer the most perfect aid, counsel, and succour to each other.

It also prescribed, if their united good offices for the preservation of peace should prove ineffectual, the assistance they were to impart to each other by sea and land; France was to furnish Holland with ten thousand effective infantry, two thousand cavalry, with twelve ships of the line and six frigates; and their high-mightinesses, in case of a marine war, or that France should be attacked by sea, were to contribute to her defence six ships of the line and three frigates; and in case of an attack on the territory of France, the States-general were to have the option of furnishing their land contingent either in money or in troops, at the estimate of five thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry; and if the

stipulated succours should be insufficient for the defence of the party attacked, or for procuring a proper peace, they engaged to assist each other with all their forces, if necessary; it being however agreed that the contingent of troops to be furnished by the States-general should not exceed twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry.

It was also added, that neither of the contracting powers should disarm, or make, or receive proposals of peace or truce, without the formal consent of the other; they promised also not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatever, directly or indirectly, contrary to the present treaty; and on any treaties or negotiations being proposed, which might prove detrimental to their joint interest, they pledged their faith to give notice to each other of such proposals as soon as made.

Thus was Holland, after beholding for above a century her fertile fields ravaged and her cities assaulted by the ambition of the house of Bourbon, now become the firm ally of that power against whose encroaching spirit she had formerly armed the most powerful kingdoms in Europe; while France having asserted the independence of America against Great-Britain, having rescued the States-general from the restless rapacity of the house of Austria, and having converted an ancient and formidable foe into an useful friend, seemed to have attained an influence over the nations of the earth that she had never been possessed of from the first foundations of her monarchy.

But however exalted her present situation might appear, the seeds of future commotion were already apparent to the eye of an accurate observer; the applause that had attended the parliament of Paris in their struggles with Lewis the Fifteenth, might be considered as the first dawn of freedom; the language of that assembly had boldly inculcated to their countrymen their natural rights, and taught them to look with a more steady eye on the lustre that hitherto had encompassed the throne. The war with America had contributed to enlarge the political ideas of the French; they had on that occasion stood forth as the champions of liberty, in opposition to regal power; and the officers who had acted on that conspicuous stage, accustomed to think and speak without restraint, on their return imparted the glorious flame to the provinces of France, which had been kindled in the wilds of America; from that moment the French, instead of silently acquiescing under the edicts of their sovereign, canvassed each action with bold and rigid impartiality; while the attachment of the army, which has ever been considered as the sole foundation of despotism, gave way to an enthusiastic admiration of freedom.

We have already noticed the public dissatisfaction that had attended the dismissal of monsieur Necker; his transient successor, monsieur de Fleuri, had retired from the management of the finances in eighty-three, and the more transient administration of monsieur d'Ormesson had expired in the same year that gave birth to it. On his retreat monsieur de Calonne, who had successively filled with acknowledged reputation the office of intendant of Metz, and afterwards of

the provinces of Flanders and Artois, was nominated to the post of comptroller-general; flexible and insinuating, eloquent in conversation, and polished in his manners, fertile in resources and liberal in the disposal of the public money, he soon rendered himself acceptable to the court, and acquired the favour of his sovereign. But he did not enter upon his new and arduous station favoured by the breath of popularity; he was reported to be more able than consistent, and not to have tempered the ardour of his spirit by the severity of deep research; and the people, amidst repeated loans, regretted that severe simplicity which had characterized the administration of monsieur Necker.

A. D. 1784.] Yet the first operations of monsieur Calonne had extorted the general approbation; and it was his bold and judicious measures that had restored credit to the Caisse d'Escompte, the only incorporated banking company then in France, and which had stopped payment a few weeks before his accession. In the establishment of the Caisse d'Amortissement, or sinking-fund, he merited a still higher degree of applause. The plan of that fund was simple and moderate; it was to pay annually by government, into the hands of a board set apart for that purpose, the entire interest of the national debts, whether in stock or annuities, together with an additional sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The annuities that would be extinguished every year were estimated at fifty thousand pounds; and in that proportion, the sum set apart for the redemption of the national debt, would annually encrease. The operation of this new fund was limited to the term of twenty-five years; and during that term the annual receipt of the Caisse d'Amortissement was declared unalterable, and incapable of being diverted to any other object.

From the discussion of these new regulations of finance, the public attention was directed to the conduct of those officers who, during the course of the war, had been entrusted with the naval forces of France. A council of war, which had been commissioned to try the count de Grasse, and other captains of the fleet defeated by admiral Rodney, honorably acquitted the commander with the majority of the officers, and slightly censured a few, among whom was monsieur Bougainville, who had acquired a distinguished reputation in exploring new coasts, and navigating the most distant recesses of the ocean.

If the personal gallantry of the count de Grasse, though unfortunate, could secure him an honorable acquittal, the successful courage and conduct of monsieur de Suffrein could not fail of commanding the most flattering reception. All ranks and orders of men vied with each other in marks of gratitude and attachment to the man who had so nobly sustained the glory of the French flag, and who had shewed his countrymen the way to conquest on an element which had so repeatedly witnessed their defeat and disgrace. The compliment which was paid him by the queen, whether considered as a mark of the sensibility of her character or the elegance of her taste, cannot be unacceptable to the reader. Introducing him to the dauphin, a boy of three years old, she added, "this is monsieur de Suffrein,

“to whom we owe the greatest obligations; observe him well, and remember
 “his name; it is one of the first of those which you must learn to repeat, in order
 “that you may never forget it.”

A.D. 1785.] During the last year, if the conduct of monsieur Colonne had not attached popularity to his administration, it yet might defy censure; but the principal measure of the year eighty-five was not equally guarded from reproach. From the year seventeen hundred and seventy-three France had been without an East India company; and though the idea of a free trade to that part of the world had hitherto been untried in Europe, she did not appear to suffer in an experiment; on the contrary, her annual importation from India during this time was considerably greater than during any former period. Yet not content with the silent profit that thus accrued to the public, the court was induced to listen to proposals for establishing a new East-India company; their privilege was for seven years, with the special proviso, that years of war which should occur in the interim, should be excluded from the computation.

In the preamble of the act, by which the scheme was adopted, it was asserted, “that the commodities of Europe not having of late been regulated by any
 “common standard, or proportioned to the demands of India, had on the one
 “hand sold at a low price, while on the other the competition of the subjects of
 “France had raised the price of the objects of importation; that upon their
 “return home, a want of system and assortment had been universally complained
 “of, the market being glutted with one species of goods, and totally destitute of
 “another; that these defects must necessarily continue as long as the trade
 “remained in private hands; and that on these accounts, as well as of the capital
 “required, the establishment of a new company was absolutely necessary.”

These reasonings appeared by no means satisfactory to the persons principally interested; it was remarked, that the arguments of the preamble did not apply more to the trade of India than to any other trade; and that if they were admitted in their entire force, they were calculated to give a finishing blow to the freedom of commerce. A provision in the act, directing that the prices of East-India goods in the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon should be regulated by a tariff fixed by the court of Versailles, excited still louder exclamations; in this instance it was said, that the first principles of commerce were trampled upon in a manner the most wanton and absurd; instead of suffering it to find its own level, by the mutual collision of the wants of one party, and the labour of another, it was arbitrarily to be fashioned by a power, whose extreme distance must naturally render its decisions ill-timed and inapplicable. The very mode in which the monopoly was introduced was a subject of complaint: it was determined by a resolution of the king in council; a proceeding totally inadequate to the importance of the subject, and which was to be regarded as clandestine and surreptitious. In all former instances such measures had assumed the form of edicts, and were registered in the parliaments; it was the prerogative of these courts to verify them; that is,

to enquire into the facts that had led to the adoption of them. The injured parties had an opportunity of being heard before the privilege assumed the form of a law; not privately by the ministers of the sovereign, but publicly by the most considerable bodies in the kingdom, and in the face of the nation.

Such were the free and animated strictures with which the establishment of a new East-India company was attended; nor could it escape observation, that the writers of the day had not only assumed a bolder and more independent style, but that they were desirous of reviving the pretensions of the parliament, and of raising the tribunal of that assembly above the will of the crown.

To monsieur de Calonne these discussions were far from favourable; and the time was now rapidly approaching, when the necessities of the state would compel him to measures still more unpopular, and destined to undergo a severer scrutiny; though peace had been re-established throughout Europe for three years, yet the finances of France seemed scarce affected by this interval of tranquillity, and it was found requisite to close every year with a loan; the public expenditure of the year eighty-five might probably seem to sanction this measure. It had been thought proper to fortify Cherbourg upon a large and magnificent scale; the claim of the emperor to the navigation of the Schelde, had obliged the French to increase their land forces, either to form a respectable neutrality, or to assist effectually their Dutch allies; and the marquis de Castries, fond of war, and profuse in his designs, had not suffered the navy, which monsieur Sartine had surrendered into his hands, to moulder away during the interval of peace.

A. D. 1786.] The treaty of commerce concluded this year with Great-Britain was a new source of discontent; though regarded by the English manufacturers as far from advantageous, it excited in France still louder murmurs, and was criticised with an uncommon degree of asperity. It was considered as likely to extinguish those infant establishments which were yet unable to vie with the manufactures of England, that had attained to maturity; and the market that it held out for the wines and oils of France was passed over in silence, while the distress of the artisan was painted in the most striking and lively colours.

But when the edict for registering the loan at the conclusion of the last year, and which amounted to the sum of three-millions three-hundred and thirty thousand pounds, was presented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people, seconded by that assembly, assumed a more legal and formidable form. The king however signified to the select deputation that was commissioned to convey to him their remonstrances, that he expected to be obeyed without further delay; accordingly the ceremony of the registering took place on the next day; but was accompanied with a resolution, importing that public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and restoring that credit, which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin.

This proceeding was no sooner known than the king required the attendance of the grand deputation of parliament; he erased from their records the resolution that had been adopted; and observed, though it was his pleasure that the parliament should communicate by its respectful representations whatever might interest the good of the public, yet he never would consent that they should so far abuse his confidence and clemency as to erect themselves into the censors of his administration; he expected in future that they should confine their expressions within the limits of wisdom and loyalty; he declared himself satisfied with the conduct of the comptroller-general, and determined on no account to suffer groundless apprehensions to interfere with the plans calculated for the good of the state and the ease of the nation; and more strongly to mark his displeasure at their expostulations, he directed the dismissal from further service, of one of their officers, who had appeared most active in forwarding the late resolution.

Though the approbation and support of his sovereign was doubtless highly gratifying to monsieur de Calonne, yet he could not fail of feeling himself deeply mortified by the opposition of the parliament; his address to conciliate that assembly had proved ineffectual, and he experienced their inflexible aversion at the critical juncture when their acquiescence might have proved of the most essential service. An anxious enquiry into the state of the public finances, had convinced him that the expenditure by far exceeded the revenue; in the present situation, to impose new taxes was impossible, to continue the method of borrowing was ruinous, and to have recourse only to economical reforms, would be found wholly inadequate; and he hesitated not to declare that it would be impossible to place the finances on a solid basis, but by the reformation of whatever was vicious in the constitution of the state.

To give weight to this reform, the minister was sensible that something more was necessary than the royal authority; he perceived that the parliament was neither a fit instrument for introducing a new order into public affairs, nor would submit to be a passive machine for sanctioning the plans of a minister, even if those plans were the emanations of perfect wisdom. Though originally a body of lawyers, indebted for their appointments to the king, there was not an attribute of genuine legislative assembly that they did not seem desirous to engross to themselves; and they had been supported in their pretensions by the plaudits of the people, who were sensible that there was no other body in the nation that could plead their cause against royal oppression; to suppress therefore the only power of control that remained, and to render the government more arbitrary, was deemed by the comptroller-general a measure of too much hardihood; yet to leave the parliament in the full possession of their influence, an influence that he was convinced would be exerted against him, was at once to render his whole system abortive.

Under these circumstances, the only alternative that seemed to remain was to have recourse to some other assembly, more dignified and solemn in its character,

and that should consist in a greater degree of members from the various orders of the state, and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promised to be a popular measure; it implied a deference to the people at large, and might be expected to prove greatly acceptable; but the true and legitimate assembly of the nation, the states-general, had not met since the year sixteen hundred and fourteen; nor could the minister flatter himself with the hope of obtaining the royal assent to a meeting which a despotic sovereign could not but regard with secret jealousy. Another assembly had occasionally been substituted in the room of the states-general; this was distinguished by the title of the *Notables*, and consisted of a number of persons from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly selected from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the king himself. This assembly had been convened by Henry the Fourth, and again by Lewis the Thirteenth; and was now once more summoned by the authority of the present monarch.

The writs for calling together the assembly of the notables were dated on the twenty-ninth of December eighty-six; they were addressed to seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field marshals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven of the heads of the law, twelve deputies of the *parlements*, the lieutenant-civil, and twenty-five magistrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was one hundred and forty-four; and the twenty-ninth of January eighty-seven was the period appointed for their opening.

A. D. 1787.] It was at the moment when the members of the notables had arrived at Paris, and that the attention of all the classes in the kingdom was fixed upon their meeting as an important æra in the national history, that the minister found himself yet unprepared to submit his system to their inspection, and postponed the opening of the council to the seventh of February. This delay was injudicious in the highest degree; politics had occupied the minds of men, particularly in the metropolis, to the exclusion of every other subject; some of the plans of the comptroller-general had not been entirely concealed; and it was natural that they should engage the premature reflections of the notables, forced from their usual employments, and left without any other occupation for their leisure; yet it was the design of the minister rather to dazzle their imagination, than to derive information from their debates; and he well knew if once they proceeded to doubt, they would assume the guise of a legislature, instead of a council of state, a circumstance the farthest from his intentions.

A second delay to the fourteenth of the same month was occasioned by the indisposition of monsieur de Calonne himself, and that of the count de Vergennes, president of the council of finance, and first secretary of state; and a third procrastination was the necessary result of the death of the count on the day previous to that fixed for the opening of the meeting. He was succeeded in the department of foreign affairs by the count de Montmorin, a nobleman of unblemished character. But his loss at this critical juncture was severely felt by the comptroller-gene-

ral; he alone of all the ministers had entered with warmth and sincerity into the plans of monsieur de Calonne. Monsieur de Miromesnil, keeper of the seals, was avowedly the rival and enemy of that statesman. The marshal de Castries, secretary for the marine department, was personally attached to Mr. Necker, and preferred the interests of friendship to considerations which might otherwise have engaged his support; and the baron de Breteuil, secretary for the household, was the creature of the queen, and deeply engaged in what was called the Austrian system.

It was under these difficulties that monsieur de Calonne, on the twenty-second of February, first met the assembly of the notables, and opened his long expected plan. He began by stating that the public expenditure had for centuries past exceeded the revenue, and that a very considerable deficiency had of course existed; that the Mississippi scheme of seventeen hundred and twenty, had by no means, as might have been expected, restored the balance; that under the æconomical administration of cardinal Fleuri the deficit still existed; that the progress of this derangement under the last reign had been extreme; at the appointment of the abbé Terray it had amounted to three millions sterling; that minister had reduced it to one million six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds; it became somewhat less under the short administrations that followed; it rose again in consequence of the war, under the administration of monsieur Necker; and at his own accession to office, it was three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

To remedy this evil the comptroller-general recommended a territorial impost, in the nature of the English land-tax, from which no rank or order of men were to be exempted; an enquiry into the possessions of the clergy, which hitherto had been deemed sacred, from their proportion of the public burthens; the various branches of internal taxation were also to undergo a strict examination; and a considerable resource was presented in mortgaging the demesne lands of the crown.

The very necessity for these reforms was combated with a degree of boldness and depth of reasoning that could not fail of strongly impressing the assembly; and from the hope of ready acquiescence, the minister was now launched into the boundless ocean of political controversy. Before monsieur Necker retired from the management of the finances, he had published his *Compte rendu au Roi*, in which France was represented as possessing a clear surplus of four hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling; this performance had been read with avidity, and had been regarded as marking a new era in the history of France; it probably contributed to estrange from the author the royal countenance; but the credit of it was ably vindicated by monsieur de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, a prelate eloquent and ambitious, and the passionate advocate and admirer of monsieur Necker.

A still more formidable adversary presented himself to the comptroller-general in the count de Mirabeau. This extraordinary man, has been characterised as restless in his disposition, licentious in his morals, but bold, penetrating, and enterprising; yet envy which rarely admits perfection of character to exist with transcendent genius has never questioned his superiority as a politician and an orator. He had occasionally visited every court in Europe; he had at one time been admitted to the confidence of the minister, and had been directed, though in no ostensible character, to observe at Berlin the disposition of the successor of the great Frederic; in this capacity he was frequently exposed to neglect and disappointment; his letters were often left unanswered; disgust quickly succeeded to admiration; and he who entered the Prussian court the intimate friend, returned to Paris the avowed enemy of monsieur de Calonne: while the archbishop of Thoulouse arraigned the understanding, the count de Mirabeau impeached the integrity of the comptroller-general; he hesitated not to rank him among those who preferred their fortune to their honour; and who had augmented their wealth by the most dishonourable speculations in the funds; he added that all his operations bore the stamp of despotism and personal interest; and he called upon the notables to address their sovereign in the honest language of truth; "let them tell him," said he, "that a man, who was estranged to every principle of good faith, of fidelity in engagements, of respect to property, was unfit to remain at the helm of commerce, of contracts, and of law. Let them tell him that pliancy of spirit, facility of study, correctness of style, the elegance of his preambles, the charms of his elocution, were but so many new crimes in a minister, who developed with skill the principles of an honest policy, and eluded and insulted them in his practice."

The eloquence of monsieur de Calonne might have possibly vindicated his system and his reputation against the calculations of Brienne, and the splendid invectives of Mirabeau; but the genius of the comptroller-general sunk under the influence of the three great bodies of the nation; the grand and essential object of reform, was to equalize the public burthens, and by rendering the taxes general, to diminish the load of the lower and most useful classes of the people. The ancient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public assessments; and had the evil gone no further, it might have been still perhaps borne with patience; but through the shameful custom of selling patents of nobility, such crowds of new noblesse started up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them; the first object with those who had acquired fortunes rapidly, was to purchase a patent, which, besides gratifying their vanity, afforded an exemption to them and their posterity from contributing proportionably to the exigencies of the state; the magistracies likewise throughout the kingdom enjoyed their share of these exemptions; so that the whole weight of the taxes fell on those who were least able to bear them.

The design of equalizing the public burthens, though undoubtedly great, thus united against the minister, the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy; and the

event was such as might have been expected; the intrigues of those three bodies raised against him so loud a clamour, that finding it impossible to stem the torrent, monsieur de Calonne not only resigned his place on the twelfth of April, but soon after retired to England from the storm of persecution; yet one ray of royal favor still gilded the evening of his administration; and his rival, monsieur Miromesnil, received at the same time orders to resign the seals.

While the mind of Lewis was assiduously occupied by the rising spirit of discontent at home, the republic of Holland, his new and close ally, presented a scene of anarchy and faction that demanded his most serious attention. The prince of Orange had been stripped of all authority by the democratic party and retiring from the Hague, maintained the shadow of a court at Nimeguen; yet feeble as his influence might appear in the United Provinces, he was still formidable from his powerful connections. His brother-in-law, the new king of Prussia, for Frederick the Great had closed his long and splendid career, was indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the interests of the stadtholder; and had offered, in concert with France, to undertake the arduous task of composing the differences which distracted the republic; the proposal was received with apparent cordiality by the court of Versailles; and monsieur de Rayneval, who had already acquired considerable credit in negotiation, particularly in concluding the late treaty of commerce with England, was appointed to be representative of Lewis in the office of mediation.

Notwithstanding these pacific measures, it could scarce be expected that France would become the instrument of restoring the prince of Orange to that share of weight and power which he had before occupied in the republic; and thus abandon one of the longest and dearest objects of her policy, the establishing a supreme and permanent controul in the affairs of Holland; the conditions that were framed by the Louvestein faction as the basis of reconciliation, were such as plainly implied their design to contract the influence and authority of the stadtholder within very narrow limits; on his renouncing his right of filling up the occasional vacancies in the town-senates, he was to be restored to the nominal office of captain-general; but he was to be restrained from marching the troops into or out of any province, without leave from the respective provinces concerned; and he was also to subscribe a resolution, passed some time before by the senate of Amsterdam, that the command should at all times be revocable at the pleasure of the states.

Had the prince of Orange acquiesced in these preliminaries, France would have completely attained the object of her long negotiations, and by means of the Louvestein faction have acquired the ascendancy that she had repeatedly sought in the councils of Holland; but however unequal the prince of Orange might seem to the difficulties that surrounded him, every deficiency was supplied by the genius, the spirit, and the abilities of his royal consort; she pertinaciously refused to give up any rights that had been attached to the office of stadtholder; and mon-

seigneur de Rayneval having in vain endeavoured to overcome her inflexible resolution, broke off the correspondence between the Hague and Nimeguen, and returned to Paris about the middle of January eighty-seven.

A. D. 1787.] It was about this time that the republican party brought forward the proposal of suspending the prince of Orange from his offices of stadtholder and admiral-general; the question was agitated with the utmost warmth and acrimony for two successive days; but those who had proposed it found the opposition so formidable, and the aspect of the independent members so doubtful, that they did not choose to hazard the decision of a vote.

To this defeat it is not improbable that the absence of Van Berkel, the first pensionary of Amsterdam; in a great measure contributed; this man had long been the leader and soul of the republican party, and was well qualified by his various talents for that lofty situation; by his opponents it has been asserted, that his ambition was boundless; but that his love of power was still exceeded by his lust of wealth; and tempted by the emoluments of office alone, he had sacrificed his influence at home to the lucrative appointment of representing the republic as minister to the United States of America. His adherents have placed him in the first rank of their patriots and sages, and represent him as sacrificing his personal fortune in an embassy where he could acquire only danger and honour.

The absence of this celebrated demagogue, though it embarrassed the counsels, did not extinguish the zeal and spirit of his party. They were convinced that their power could only be retained by prompt and decisive measures. In the senate of Amsterdam their influence daily diminished; in that of Rotterdam they had been out-voted by a considerable majority; the provinces of Zealand, Friesland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, had evinced the strongest inclination towards the prince of Orange; and the small provinces of Groningen and Overijssel alone remained firmly attached to them. Thus, already tottering, they had recourse to the restless multitude; associations were formed, and large sums of money subscribed; and the burghers, provided with arms, soon proceeded to acts of open outrage. At Rotterdam they surrounded the senate-house, compelled the senate to depose seven of their body, whom they considered as most adverse to their designs; and veiling their violence under the form of an election, they filled the vacant places with seven of the most zealous of their own party; and as the degraded senators comprised the deputies of the city in the assembly of the provincial states, the representation of Rotterdam was of course totally changed.

On the very same day that the senate of Rotterdam was purged in this manner by the armed burghers, similar measures were pursued by their brethren at Amsterdam. They surrounded the senate house early in the morning; and the affrighted magistrates entered into a negotiation with them, which was spun out until the evening, when finding they had no alternative, they were obliged to submit to the demands of the populace, by declaring that nine members of their body, whom the republican party had proscribed, had abdicated their offices. Among these victims to the revolution, were three deputies to the assembly of the provincial states, who had lately voted on some occasions on the side of the

stadtholder. At the same time that they were clearing the senate of their adversaries, the four colon ls of the city militia, and consequently the only legal commanders of the burghers, were doomed to undergo their persecution, and obliged to send in their resignations.

The court of Versailles had hitherto reason to exult in the success of their party; the republican faction seemed every where triumphant, and the trembling adherents of the prince of Orange, each moment expected to be overwhelmed by the headlong torrent; but the turbulent disposition of the people had at length aroused from their lethargy the states-general, who, accustomed solely to guard the republic from foreign invasion, regarded with no little emotion the dissensions of the different provinces. The dread of beholding the whole commonwealth involved in anarchy, awaked the latent sparks of power which, however concealed, must subsist in all states. The presumption of the city of Utrecht in withdrawing its allotted quota of revenue from their disposal, seemed an object that merited immediate chastisement; and a body of troops was commanded by the provincial states to besiege and humble the haughty inhabitants of that opulent capital. This feeble detachment was however encountered by a band of armed burghers: it was on this occasion that the first blood was shed in this civil conflict, and the regulars endured the mortification of retiring before an inferior number of undisciplined citizens.

Yet while the republicans received with avowed triumph the success of their first essay in arms, they were blind to the tempest that impended over them: whether too confident of their own strength, they had neglected to sooth, or were incapable of assuming those conciliating manners necessary to command the affections of the military:—the skirmish near Utrecht had scarce taken place, before the province of Holland was alarmed by the defection of two thirds of its regular forces, who quitted the posts that had been assigned them, and declared in favour of the prince of Orange. To supply the deficiency, the volunteers and armed burghers were summoned to the defence of their country, and were appointed to guard the frontiers.

While the states of that province were occupied in repressing the spirit of desertion among their troops, an event took place which introduced new and more important actors on the stage, and absorbed every other consideration. The princess of Orange, who had been driven by the violence of the adverse party from the Hague, now determined to return to the vicinity of that place, with the intention, as she declared, of communicating with the states-general, and bringing forward such conciliatory propositions, in the name of the prince, her husband, as might avert if possible the evils and horrors of a civil war.

But the adverse party regarded this journey in a different light; they said, that in order to facilitate the stadtholder's open operations against them in the field, the princess had come into Holland, with a view of exciting insurrection and rebellion; and that the debauching the troops of the state, and increasing their late defection, was also probably included in the system; by these pretences they

endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the populace to the rash and imprudent measure on which they now ventured; for the princess had scarce passed Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, before she was surrounded by a party of armed burghers, and was conveyed with every mark of licentious brutality to a small town at a considerable distance; she was thence escorted by the same guards to Schoonhoven; and hopeless of being permitted to pursue her journey to the Hague, she set out the next day for Nimeguen.

The king of Prussia, who had beheld with secret indignation, but with well-assumed indifference, the rights of his brother-in-law invaded by the turbulent spirit of the states of Holland, now found in the insult offered to his sister, that pretence for interference that he had so long ardently wished for. He ordered a strong memorial to be presented to the states of Holland, in which he insisted on the most ample and speedy satisfaction; at the same time he represented the indignity that he had suffered, in the person of the princess, to the court of Versailles; and Lewis in pointed terms condemned the insult, and recommended to the states to efface the affront by the most liberal reparation.

The republican party could not conceal their mortification at finding their conduct condemned by that ally on whose support they depended; yet whatever appearances the court of Versailles might think proper to preserve, the states of Holland still implicitly relied on the faith of France, and concluded that in the hour of extremity her assistance would be proportioned to their distress. In this confidence they still rejected all language of submission; they refused to enter into any discussion of the subject, and issued orders that every thing should be prepared for laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops should violate the territories of the republic.

The court of Berlin immediately made every disposition for entering into action; nine thousand Prussian troops lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, bordering on the territories of the republic; the governor of Wesel received orders to prepare accommodations for the reception of an army of sixty or seventy thousand men; and the celebrated hereditary duke of Brunswick, who by the death of his father was now become the sovereign and reigning duke of that country, was called from his tranquil enjoyments, to command the forces of his royal kinsman, the king of Prussia.

The prince of Orange himself was not entirely inactive during these transactions. With the small army that he had assembled, he possessed himself by a coup de main of the fortified town of Wick, in the province of Utrecht; a place eminently noted for its early adoption of the most violent republican principles; and which, from its situation, was of still more importance, since established on the borders of Holland, twenty-four miles only from Amsterdam, it commanded the course of that part of the Rhine called the Lech, and might be considered as the key of the province on the side of Utrecht: he soon after reduced Harderwycke, a town in Guelderland, erected on the Zuyder-sea, was acknowledged by the city of

Middleburg and the whole province of Zealand, which declared without reserve in his favour, blocked up the city of Utrecht, and repulsed an attempt that was made by the superior numbers of the garrison and inhabitants on one of his out-posts.

These successes probably served to quicken the motions of the Prussians; and the duke of Brunswick, at the head of an army which consisted of about eighteen thousand men, furnished with a train of light artillery, advanced from the duchy of Cleves, and about the middle of September entered the province of Guelderland in three columns; that on the right, which directed its course to the northward, was under the command of general Lottum; the centre was entrusted to the generals Waldeck and Gaudi; and the left, which pointed its march to the south, was led by the duke in person.

The success of each division was such as might have been expected from the dread conceived of the Prussian arms; and no superiority of number could embolden either the regular or irregular forces of the province to endure any thing like a conflict even with the hussars and chasseurs. Gorcum, though in a considerable state of defence, and under the government of the celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, so eminent for his republican principles, surrendered after a few shots; and the garrison and governor yielded themselves prisoners of war to the duke of Brunswick; Newport and Schoonhoven, both capable of a long resistance, were abandoned by their garrisons: Dort, Leyden, and Haerlem, submitted on the first summons; and Rotterdam, on the appearance of the Prussians, threw open her gates and received the invaders with the loudest acclamations.

The progress of the column in the centre was equally rapid and splendid; on the approach of it, the turbulent city of Utrecht, which had derided the small army under the prince of Orange, was thrown into the utmost consternation; every other object and consideration immediately gave way to the desire of escape; the city was evacuated by all orders of armed men; the artillery was left on the works without sentinels or guards; and the prince of Orange, without opposition, took possession of a city which had long been considered as the great bulwark of the province of Holland, and, next to Amsterdam, as the principal seat and grand citadel of the republican party.

The column led by general Lottum on the right, met with rather more resistance; Naarden, a strong place, lying at the south end of the Zuyder-Sea, within thirteen miles of Amsterdam, rejecting the summons of the Prussian commander, and gallantry prepared for defence. But general Lottum, whose detachment was by no means provided for a siege, turned aside from the walls and received the submission of Nieuwersluis, a strong fortress, with a garrison of near eight hundred soldiers, who surrendered prisoners of war.

During these military transactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague; that town, the residence of the states of Holland, was yet strong-

ly attached to the person and interests of the prince of Orange; the governing party, well aware of this disposition, had brought in a strong body of volunteers, to overawe the ordinary garrison and inhabitants; but under the dismay which the progress of the Prussians had excited on the republican side; it was easily seen that the volunteers would not long be able to keep the populace in subjection, and several principal persons of that party accordingly retired for safety to Amsterdam.

The event justified their precaution; the Swiss soldiers, who formerly composed the stadtholder's state-guard, boldly assembled, and carried off the two pieces of cannon that had been assigned for the support of the volunteers—their zeal soon communicated to the inhabitants—the republicans on every side were disarmed—the most violent members of the states retired to Amsterdam—and the rest of that assembly immediately sent a deputation to solicit the return of the prince of Orange.

The prince accepted with transport the invitation, and with his consort was received at the Hague with every demonstration of joy; the states, without hesitation, restored him to all those offices and rights from which he had been suspended, and consequently annulled all proceedings which had been pursued against him in that province; they likewise issued an edict forbidding all attempts to inundate the country, and strictly commanding the governors of all cities to give free admission to the Prussian troops; in consequence of this baron Matha, governor of Naarden opened the gates of that town, on the same principles of duty on which before he had kept them closed.

All opposition was now centred in the city of Amsterdam, and its environs, whither the most active and most obstinate of the republican party had fled from all quarters. That proud capital, undismayed by the general defection, made every preparation for the most desperate resistance. The surrounding country was laid under water; strong batteries were every where erected, all the posts capable of commanding the roads leading into the town were entrenched and fortified; and the citizens declared they would hold out to the last extremity.

The danger was indeed already at their gates; for the duke of Brunswick had established round the city a chain of posts wherever the nature of the ground and the intersection of the dykes would admit; a transient negotiation was scarce suffered to interrupt his ardour; and on finding the spirits of the Amsterdammers yet unsubdued, he determined to force their boasted barrier. In order to render the alarm and consternation more general, he not only ordered all the posts to be attacked at the same instant, but that each should be attacked in every quarter that it could be approached; in a defence so extensive, it is not surprising that some weak point should have escaped the vigilance, or exceeded the strength of the besieged; the military talents of the duke of Brunswick had never been displayed to more advantage, he availed himself of every favourable occurrence, and notwithstanding the gallantry of the republicans, penetrated and established his posts within their boasted barrier.

The haughty city of Amsterdam was now for the first time delivered to the discretion of a victor, and, open on every side to bombardment, reluctantly condescended to the language of submission. The magistracy declared themselves obliged by the impending danger to subscribe conditions which they yielded to, lest others more ruinous might be imposed. Sixteen persons most obnoxious to the princes of Orange, were deprived of their respective offices, the members of the regency, who had been tumultuously deposed for their attachment to the stadtholder, were immediately restored; the burghers, and all persons in the town, except the legal militia, were to be disarmed; and the Leyden-gate was delivered up to the Prussians, to facilitate the performance of the last condition.

The court of Versailles had long trusted to the natural strength of the republican party, and had been assiduous throughout the whole summer in endeavouring to second them by every description of succours that could be privately imparted. Crowds of French officers arrived every day in Holland, and either received commissions in the service of the states, or acted as volunteers in their troops. Several hundreds of tried and experienced foldiers, whose fidelity and discretion could be relied on, were selected from different regiments, and being furnished with money for their journey, and assurances of future favour, were dispatched in small parties to join the troops, and to discipline the burghers and volunteers. A considerable corps of engineers, disguised as mechanics, and instructed what answers to make to any enquiries, were directed to proceed towards Amsterdam, and to assist in strengthening the works of that city.

These aids, which might have proved effectual had the contest been confined to the states of Holland and the prince of Orange, were overwhelmed in the rapid invasion of the Prussians; and the court of Berlin had taken its measures with so much celerity, and the situation of the republicans was already become so desparate, that it was doubtful whether their affairs could be restored by any assistance that France was capable of immediately administering. Yet on Great-Britain fitting out a strong squadron of men-of-war at Portsmouth, to give confidence to the operations of the king of Prussia, the court of Versailles also sent orders to equip sixteen sail of the line at Brest, and recalled a small squadron which had been commissioned on a summer's cruise on the coast of Portugal.

In these preparations the king of France seemed rather to regard his own dignity, than to be actuated by any hopes of affording effectual relief to his allies. All opposition in Holland might be already considered as extinguished. The states assembled at the Hague, had officially notified to the court of Versailles, that the disputes between that province and the stadtholder were now happily terminated; and as the circumstances which gave occasion for their application to that court no longer existed, so the succours which they then requested would be now unnecessary.

Under these circumstances France could only wish to extricate herself from her present difficulty with honour; and the French king therefore readily listened to a

memorial from the British ministers at Paris, who proposed, to preserve the good understanding between the two crowns, that all warlike preparations should be discontinued, and that the navies of both nations should be again placed on the footing of a peace establishment. This was willingly acceded to by the court of Versailles; a short instrument was signed by monsieur de Montmorin and the duke of Dorset, in the names of their respective sovereigns; and that harmony which had been transiently interrupted, was restored between France and Great-Britain.

Though Lewis could not but severely feel the mortification of thus relinquishing the ascendancy that he had attained in the councils of Holland, and was not insensible to the disgrace of abandoning a people who had implicitly relied on his faith, yet every other consideration was absorbed by the state of his own domestic concerns, and the internal situation of his kingdom, which furnished matter for deep and serious reflection. The dismissal of monsieur de Calonne had left France without a minister, and almost without a system; and though the king bore the opposition of the notables with admirable temper, yet the disappointment which he had experienced was grievous and highly discouraging. Without obtaining any relief for his most urgent necessities, he perceived too late that he had opened a path to the restoration of the ancient constitution of France, which had been undermined by the crafty Lewis the Eleventh, and had been nearly swept away by the daring and sanguinary counsels of Richelieu, under Lewis the Thirteenth. The notables had indeed conducted themselves with respect and moderation, but at the same time they had not been deficient in firmness; the appointment of monsieur de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, and the vigorous adversary of monsieur de Calonne, to the office of comptroller-general, probably contributed to preserve the appearance of good humour in that assembly; yet the proposed territorial impost or general land-tax, which was an object so ardently coveted by the court, was rejected and, on this occasion the attorney-general of Provence was bold enough to declare, that neither that assembly, the parliaments, nor the king himself, could assess any such impost in the country which he represented, since it was directly contrary to the specific and indefeasible rights of the people.

The king now deprived of any further hope of rendering the convention the instrument for extricating him from his embarrassments, determined to dismiss the meeting; his speech on dissolving the assembly was well calculated to engage the inclinations of the members. He acknowledged that they had fulfilled his expectations in assisting him with their counsels; that they had not only properly enquired into various abuses, but had suggested the means of reforming them; that they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object of reducing the expences of the state to a level with the public revenues, by the provisional taxes which they had recommended as the most proper to be laid on his subjects; and he concluded by declaring the satisfaction that he enjoyed in the hope, that

these new imposts would not be so burthenfome as those of former times; the only wish of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and happy as possible.

Lewis thus disappointed of those advantages, which he had flattered himself that he should have drawn from the acquiescence of the notables, was obliged now to recur to the usual mode of raising money by the royal edicts; among the measures proposed for this purpose was the doubling of the poll-tax, the re-establishment of the third twentieth, and a stamp-duty; the whole was strongly disapproved by the parliament of Paris, but the last in particular was the immediate object of contention; and that assembly in the most positive terms refused to register the edict. The king was obliged to apply, as the last resort, to his absolute authority, and by holding what was called a bed of justice, compelled them to enroll the impost.

The parliament, though defeated, were far from subdued; on the day after the king had held his bed of justice, they entered a formal protest against the concession that had been extorted from them. They declared that the edict had been registered against their approbation and consent, by the king's express command; that it neither ought, nor *should* have any force; and that the first person who should presume to attempt to carry it into execution, should be adjudged a traitor and condemned to the gallies.

This declaration left to the crown no other alternative than either proceeding to extremities in support of its authority, or giving up for ever after the power of raising money upon any occasion, without the consent of the parliament; painful as every appearance of violence must have proved to the mild disposition of Lewis, he could not consent to surrender, without a struggle, that authority which had been so long exercised by his predecessors. Since the commencement of the present discontents, the capital had been gradually filled with considerable bodies of troops; and about a week after the parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the French guards, with a party of soldiers, went at break of day to the house of each individual member, to signify to him the king's command, that he should immediately get into his carriage, and proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house before his departure; these orders were served at the same instant; and before the citizens of Paris were acquainted with the transaction, the parliament were already on the road to the scene of their banishment.

But previous to their removal, they had presented a remonstrance on the late measures of government, and the alarming state of public affairs; in stating their opinions on taxes, they declared that neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, excepting that of the three estates of the kingdom, collectively assembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people;

and they strongly enforced the renewal of those national assemblies, which had rendered the reign of Charlemagne so great and illustrious.

The ardent desire of the parliaments to re-establish the national council, or states-general, was the more honourable, as the former assemblies must have sunk under the influence of the latter, and returned to their original condition of mere registers and courts of law. The confidence and attachment of the people of consequence rose in proportion to this instance of disinterestedness; their murmurs were openly expressed in the streets of the capital; and the general dissatisfaction was augmented by the stop that was put to public business, by the exile of the chief magistrates.

The court at the same time was apparently weak and divided, and continual changes took place in every department of the state. The king, averse to rigorous counsels, wished to allay the growing discontent by every concession that was consistent with his dignity; but it was generally believed that his royal comfort strongly dissuaded him from any step that might tend to the diminution of the regal authority; the influence of that princess in the cabinet was undoubtedly great; but the popularity which once had accompanied her was no more; and some, imputations of private levity, which had been rumoured through the capital were far from rendering her acceptable to the majority of the people; while the count d'Artois, the king's brother, who had expressed himself in the most unguarded terms against the perseverance of the parliament, stood exposed to all the hatred of a lively and insulted people.

It was not only in Paris that the flame of liberty once more burst forth; the provincial parliaments imitated that of the capital; among various instances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble passed a decree against lettres de cachet, the most odious engine of arbitrary power, and declared the execution of them, within their jurisdiction, by any person, and under any authority, to be a capital crime.

The king had endeavoured to sooth the discontented minds of the Parisians by new regulations of œconomy, and by continual retrenchments in his household; but these proofs of attention, which once would have been received with the loudest acclamations, were now lost in their open affliction for the absence of their parliament; and the monarch, to regain the affections of his subjects, after an exile of a month, consented to restore that assembly; the sources of dispute on the territorial impost, and stamp-duty, were abandoned by Lewis; and the parliament on their side consented to register an edict, by which the archbishop of Thoulouse was constituted first minister of state.

This harmony was not of long duration; the necessities of the state still continued, nor could the deficiency of the revenue be supplied but by extraordinary resources, or a long course of rigid frugality; about the middle of November, in a full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the blood, and the peers of France, the king entered the assembly, and proposed two edicts for

their approbation; the first was for a new loan for four hundred and fifty millions; near nineteen millions sterling; the second was for the re-establishment of the protestants in all their ancient civil rights, a measure which had long been warmly recommended by the parliament, and which was probably now introduced to secure a better reception to the loan.

In ushering in these edicts, the king had delivered himself in a speech of uncommon length, replete with every sentiment of regard for the people, but at the same time full of intimations to the parliament of the obedience he expected. It is possible that Lewis imagined that the dread of that banishment from which they had been so lately recalled, would have ensured the acquiescence of the assembly; but no sooner was permission announced for every member to deliver his sentiments, than he was convinced their spirits were unsubdued by their recent exile. An animated debate was continued for nine hours, when the king, wearied by incessant opposition, and chagrined at some freedoms used in their arguments, suddenly rose, and commanded the edict to be registered without further delay. This measure was most unexpectedly opposed by the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, considering it as an infringement of the rights of parliament, protested against the whole proceedings of the day as being thereby null and void. Though Lewis could not conceal his astonishment and displeasure at this decisive step, he contented himself with repeating his orders, and immediately after, quitting the assembly, retired to Versailles.

On the sovereign's departure, the parliament confirmed the protest of the duke of Orleans, and declared, as their deliberations had been interrupted, they considered the whole business of that day as of no effect. But it was not to be supposed that Lewis would silently pass over so bold an attack on the authority of the crown. The Baron de Breteuil next day delivered a letter to the duke of Orleans, in which he was commanded to retire to Villars Cotterel, one of his seats, a mile from Paris, and to receive no company there, except his own family; at the same time the abbé Sabatier, and monsieur Freteau, both members of the parliament, and who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were seized under the authority of *lettres de cachet*, and conveyed, the first to the castle of Mont St. Michel in Normandy, the last to a prison in Picardy.

The parliament were not slow in proclaiming their feelings at this act of oppression; on the following day they waited on the king, and expressed their astonishment and concern that a prince of the blood royal had been exiled, and two of their members imprisoned, for having declared in his presence what their duty and consciences dictated; and at a time when his majesty had announced that he came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of voices. The answer of the king was reserved and forbidding; "When I put away from my presence a prince of my blood, my parliament ought to believe that I have strong reasons for doing it; I have punished two magistrates, with whose conduct I ought to be dissatisfied."

This cold and stately repulse did not discourage the parliament from presenting a long address, in which they represented in glowing colours the consequence of the late acts of violence, and painted the unworthy treatment of the two suffering magistrates confined in horrid and unwholesome prisons, where life was a continual punishment; "if exile," they add, "is the recompence of fidelity to the princes of your blood; if outrage and captivity threaten the ingenuoufness of the first magistrates of the kingdom, we may ask ourselves with terror and grief, what will become of the laws—of the public liberty—of the honour—and of the manners of the nation?"

Yet this spirit of resentment did not prevent the parliament from attending to the exigencies of the state; and convinced of the emergency, they consented to register the loan for four hundred and fifty millions of livres, which had been the source of this unfortunate difference; it is probable this concession concurred to act upon the mind of the king, naturally humane; and the sentence of the two magistrates was in consequence changed from imprisonment to exile; monsieur Freteau being sent to one of his country seats, and the abbé Sabatieri to a convent of Benedictines.

The parliament was however unwilling to give up the points against which they had originally remonstrated; and in a petition conceived with freedom, and couched in the most animated language, they boldly reprobated the late acts of arbitrary violence:—"We do not come," they declare, "so much to claim your compassion, as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone that we address ourselves; it is not a favour your parliament solicits; it comes, sire, to demand justice. That justice which is subject to regulations, independent of the will of man; even kings themselves are subservient to them; that glorious prince Henry the Fourth acknowledged that he had two sovereigns, God, and the laws.

"One of these regulations is to condemn no one without a hearing; it is a duty in all times, and in all places; it is the duty of all men; and your majesty will allow us to represent to you, that it is as obligatory on you, as on your subjects.

"It is therefore in the name of those laws which preserve empires; in the name of that liberty of which we are the respectful interpreters and the lawful mediators; in the name of your authority, of which we are the first and most confidential ministers, that we dare to demand the trial or the liberty of the duke of Orleans, and the two exiled magistrates, who are imprisoned by a sudden order, as contrary to the sentiments as the interests of your majesty."

A. D. 1788.] Such pretensions struck at once at the root of arbitrary power; and while they delivered the subject from fear, would have disarmed the vengeance of the sovereign. But we have already noticed the fluctuating counsels of the court of Versailles; and Lewis, as often as he was left to pursue his own inclinations, adopted measures of reconciliation; in the beginning of the year he re-

called the duke of Orleans to court, and permitted the return of the abbé Sabatier and monsieur Freteau.

The parliament of Paris had not confined their demands to the liberation of these gentlemen, but had echoed the remonstrances of the parliament of Grenoble, and had loudly inveighed against the execution of *lettres de cachet*. These repeated remonstrances, mingled with personal reflections, seconded most probably the suggestions of the queen, and Lewis was once more prevailed on to recur to severity. Monsieur de Lamoignon, on the dismissal of monsieur de Miromesnil, had, on the recommendation of monsieur de Calonne, been entrusted with the seals, and he still continued to hold them under the administration of the archbishop of Thoulouse. The chancellor was summoned by monsieur de Brienne, to the arduous task of composing a new court of jurisprudence; the *Cour Plénier* was to be the result of their joint counsels; each measure for the establishment of that court was taken with the greatest secrecy; a press was erected at Versailles; printers were employed night and day; and the avenues were strictly guarded from the approach of curiosity by a triple row of bayonets.

These appearances of mystery served to excite fresh alarms; and the parliament of Paris conceived themselves too deeply interested in the event to be deterred by any obstacles. Monsieur d'Espreménil, a member of that assembly, possessed himself of the important secret; he divulged it to his associates; and animated them to oppose with their combined strength a project which aimed at nothing less than their final extinction.

The court of Versailles, but little satisfied with the discovery of monsieur d'Espreménil, was enflamed by the boldness with which he harangued against its designs; the king was persuaded that examples of punishment were become necessary to the support of his power, and messieurs d'Espreménil and Monfambert, whose open and pointed language had pressed most closely on the royal authority, were doomed to experience its immediate resentment. A body of armed troops, provided with axes to force the doors in case of resistance, surrounded the Palais; the Sieur Vincent d'Agoult, who commanded them, entered the assembly, and secured the persons of the obnoxious members. Monsieur d'Espreménil was conducted to the state-prison of the island of St. Marguerite, and monsieur Monfambert to that of Pierre-Encise.

The activity of monsieur de Brienne had advanced him from the chief of the council of finance to the post of first minister, and his zeal had been rewarded with a rich abbey and the archbishopric of Sens: But this transient prosperity was already in the wane; the late instance of despotism was followed by a remonstrance of the parliament, which exceeded in boldness all the former representations of that assembly. They declared they were now more strongly confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which was aimed at in the constitution. "But, sire," added they, "the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures to which you are advised, and the effects of which alarm the

“ most faithful of your magistrates ; we shall not repeat all the unfortunate
“ circumstances which afflict us ; we shall only represent to you, with respectful
“ firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom *must* not be trampled
“ upon ; and that *your authority can only be esteemed, so long as it is tempered with*
“ *justice.*”

Language so bold and decisive, and which asserted the controuling power of the laws above the regal authority, could not fail of seriously alarming the royal bosom. To diminish the influence of parliament, it was determined again to convene the notables ; and about the beginning of May, Lewis appeared in that assembly ; and after complaining of the excesses in which the parliament of Paris had indulged themselves, and which had drawn down his tardy indignation on a few of the members, he declared his resolution, instead of annihilating them as a body, to bring them back to their duty and obedience by a salutary reform. Monsieur de Lamoignon, as keeper of the seals, explained his majesty's pleasure to establish a *cour pleniere*, or supreme assembly, to be composed of princes of the blood, peers of the realm, great officers of the crown, the clergy, marshals of France, governors of provinces, knights of different orders, a deputation of one member from every parliament, and two members from the chambers of councils, and to be summoned as often as the public emergency, in the royal opinion, should render it requisite.

If the assembly of the notables listened in silent deference to the project of their sovereign, the parliament of Paris received it with every symptom of rooted aversion ; they strongly protested against the establishment of any other tribunal, and declared their final resolution not to assist at any deliberations in the supreme assembly which his majesty prepared to institute. A more unexpected mortification occurred to the king, in the opposition of several peers of the realm ; these expressed their regret at beholding the fundamental principles of the kingdom violated ; and while they were lavish in their professions of attachment to the person of their sovereign, concluded with apologizing for not entering on those functions assigned them in the plenary court, as inconsistent with the true interests of his majesty, which were inseparable from those of the nation.

The new archbishop of Sens was startled by these appearances of general discontent ; and his advice to his sovereign, was to recall once more monsieur Necker to the administration of the finances. This counsel, which had it been urged and adopted sooner, might have been productive of the most salutary effects, was now only agreed to as the last resource ; even in the very moment of giving it, the minister hesitated : He had flattered himself with the idea of still retaining the nominal direction of affairs ; but his rival suffered him not long to deceive himself with that vain hope ; and the first stipulation of monsieur Necker was the immediate dismissal of monsieur de Brienne, who, despoiled of power, was left to console himself with the dignity of cardinal, and an immense revenue, the fruits of his ministerial influence.

Monsieur de Lamoignon, whose elevation had a short time preceded that of the archbishop, was soon after included in his disgrace. Though the court was still desirous of retaining him in office, the parliament pursued him with implacable hatred; the firmness of that assembly had triumphed over the proposed establishment of the plenary court; but their unwearied resentment still continued to attend every patron of that obnoxious project. Monsieur de Lamoignon was unable to withstand their repeated and incessant attacks; he demanded and obtained his dismissal from office, and seemed at first to support the reverse of fortune with becoming magnanimity; but the mysterious circumstances of his death have left it doubtful how far his fortitude was equal to the appearances he assumed. He was accustomed to amuse himself with shooting; a few days after his resignation, he had walked out as if in pursuit of his usual sports: in little more than an hour afterwards he was discovered by a labourer in a grotto of the garden, dead, and weltering in his blood; the fusil, the instrument of his fate, was by his side; but whether discharged by accident or design has never been ascertained. Though neither addicted to play nor pleasures, and long in possession of the royal favour, monsieur de Lamoignon left his paternal estate deeply burthened with debt; and was accompanied to the tomb by the unfeigned tears of a wife and children, whose fortunes he had ruined: An upright magistrate and sincere patriot, he shook to the foundation, the magistracy and the kingdom; and he bequeathed his example as a salutary lesson to those ambitious spirits who besiege thrones, and aspire to places of eminence, without first enquiring whether they possess the abilities necessary to fill them.

The citizens of Paris had received the dismissal of the late minister with the loudest acclamations; but the joy of the public was soon converted into mourning by an event disastrous and sanguinary. The populace, in the excess of their transports, had assembled at the Place-dauphine; they had carried about in triumph a figure clothed in episcopal robes, of which three-fifths were satin, and two of paper; a satirical allusion to a late decree, which authorised the different banks to make two-fifths of their payments in paper. The figure itself was judged with ludicrous solemnity, and condemned to the flames. An ecclesiastic, who happened to pass by at that moment, was arrested by the crowd; they bestowed on him the name of the abbé Vermont, who was supposed to enjoy the confidence, and direct the counsels of the late minister; under this fictitious title, they compelled him to confess the image; which was immediately after burnt with much ceremony: and the people, gratified with this ideal vengeance, dispersed without any other marks of disorder.

The populace had been too much pleased with their harmless triumph, not to be desirous of enjoying it again; they accordingly assembled the succeeding day on the same spot; but that which they conceived as an innocent amusement appeared in a very different light to the chevalier Dubois, who commanded the *mare-chaussée* at Paris. Zealous in the discharge of his duty, and eager to distinguish

himself by his peculiar vigilance, he prepared to interrupt these tumultuous meetings, which he considered as endangering the tranquillity of the capital. The obvious method would have been to have occupied the passes leading to the *Place-Dauphine* early in the morning, and before the people began to assemble. But whether this measure escaped the penetration of that commander, or that he despised too much the unarmed and undisciplined multitude to execute it, it is certain near twenty thousand people were collected before he thought the numbers worthy his presence; even then the feeble guard that accompanied him proclaimed his contempt of resistance. His slender troop consisted only of twenty *marechaussée* mounted on horseback, sustained by fifty on foot. His appearance at the head of this escort was by no means productive of the terror that he flattered himself he should inspire; the people, equally deaf to his threats and admonitions, still kept their ground, and refused to disperse; and the chevalier Dubois, fatigued with ineffectual remonstrances, at length gave the reins to his natural impetuosity, and commanded his followers to charge.

The croud, unable to sustain the fury of the first attack, were broken by this handful of soldiers; several were trampled down by the horses of the cavalry, several were wounded by the swords and bayonets of their enemies, and not a few lost their lives amidst the general confusion. But no sooner were the first moments of surprise over, then shame and indignation triumphed over their transient fears: The spirit of the citizens were restored by the small number of their adversaries; their courage was confirmed by the disorderly pursuit of the *marechaussée*, who in the exultation of ideal victory had quitted their ranks, and renounced those advantages which they might have derived from superior discipline; in a moment they were assailed on every side by those arms which the immediate fury of the people supplied; the scene was instantly changed; the late victors now abandoned themselves to a precipitate flight, and the chevalier Dubois was the foremost of the fugitives.

The people, elated by this essay in arms, proceeded to force the guard placed near the statue of Henry the Fourth; all resistance was swept away by the torrent of the assailants; the vanquished were despoiled by their conquerors; their arms were seized; their uniforms were burnt; but some praise was due to the moderation of the multitude, who in the midst of popular insurrection respected the lives of these unfortunate men; and dismissed them after this severe lesson of humiliation, to join their companions.

Hundreds of the lower class of people dispersed themselves through the city; several guard-houses, which stood separate from other buildings, were set on fire by this disorderly troop; but on attempting to possess themselves of the *Greve*, the place of execution in Paris, they were repulsed by a body of regular troops; and many atoned with their lives for the tumult they had engaged in. The next morning order seemed restored throughout the city; but the minds of people

still remained agitated; the embers of insurrection were concealed, but not quenched, and the breath of occasion was only wanting to wake again the dormant flame.

This was supplied by the retreat of Monsieur de Lamoignon; on that event the same scenes were re-commenced; and the figure of that minister was burnt in effigy without any interruption from the police. But it is equally dangerous to treat with severity, or abandon the multitude to their own caprice; and the people from burning in effigy Monsieur de Lamoignon, rushed, with torches in their hands, to communicate the flames to the houses of the late ministers, and that of the chevalier Dubois.

It was at that instant that monsieur de Brienne, the brother of the archbishop, and secretary of war, arrived from Versailles. His own hotel was threatened by the insurgents; and his concern for the public safety was stimulated by personal interest: Immediate orders were given for the French guards to march; two different detachments entered at each end of the street of St. Dominique, where the greatest number of the populace had assembled; these were instantly pierced by the charge of the regulars; a number perished on the spot, and the rest fled in confusion, and concealed themselves in the adjacent houses, at the same time the street *Melée*, where the chevalier Dubois resided, presented a scene equally fatal and sanguinary.

Amidst these disorders the weak and fluctuating counsels that disgraced the cabinet of Versailles present themselves as a predominant feature. On the first tumultuary assemblage of the people, had a strong body of troops been posted in the different streets of the capital, the crowd over awed must instantly have dispersed; their momentary rage would soon have given way to their natural levity; their minds would not have been irritated by the loss of their companions; nor their spirits elated by their vaunted triumph over a feeble band of *marechaussée*; but the imbecility of the court neglected the first sparks of insurrection, and afterwards endeavoured in vain to extinguish the flame with the blood of the people.

Another effect, which was little apprehended, but which was attended by consequences of the utmost magnitude, was produced by these tumultuary conflicts. In every government the citizens are accustomed to regard the military with terror and suspicion; standing armies ever have been, and ever must remain, an object of jealousy to the bulk of mankind: But the soldier, though in some measure separated by his profession from his fellow-citizens, is by no means indifferent to their reproaches, or insensible of their hatred. In the late disturbances the French guards beheld themselves loaded with the invectives of the capital; they were persuaded to blush at the part they had acted in obedience to the orders of their officers; sentiments of patriotism succeeded to those of implicit submission; they wished to be restored to the favourable opinion of their countrymen; they declared they were engaged to defend, and not to oppress the people, and the

language of an individual corps was soon generally diffused throughout the army.

The parliament, so lately restored, beheld not in silence the commotions which shook the capital. The chevalier Dubois was commanded to appear before that assembly. The orders which he produced stifled all judicial proceedings against him, but could not extinguish the resentment of his fellow-citizens; the public tranquillity seemed to require his absence, and government, though reluctantly, consented to the sacrifice, and removed him to a distance from the capital.

The mareschal Duc de Biron, who had accepted the command of Paris, was also summoned before the tribunal of the parliament. He pleaded his age and infirmities, which no longer allowed him to partake the active duties of life; and this excuse, which ought to have prevented him from aspiring to a trust which he was no longer capable of discharging, was received by the compassion of the parliament as a palliation of his conduct; but the popular indignation augmented the weight of years, and in less than a month from this event, the Duc de Biron, oppressed by regret breathed his last.

The late unhappy disturbances had cast a gloom over the minds of the Parisians, but a ray of hope burst upon them from the recall of monsieur Necker to the administration. We have already noticed how invariably hitherto the public confidence had been attached to the measures of that gentleman—the credit of an individual seemed at this moment to support the tottering state of France—and the people flattered themselves that the national wealth, which had been so long diverted from its proper course, would by his integrity and ability, be again restored to its natural channel.

Few characters have been more severely scrutinized than that of monsieur Necker; while his friends and partizans, zealous and grateful, have attributed to him every quality that can adorn a great minister, his rivals and opponents have endeavoured to strip him of every pretension to merit: In a commercial line, the facility and depth of his calculations had challenged the approbation of his contemporaries; as comptroller-general, his splendid project of supporting a war by loans without taxes, had attracted the admiration of his countrymen; while the severe reform which he had introduced into the royal household, flattered and gratified the applauding multitude. But the commerce of a great people is not to be arranged like that of a simple individual. Frugality, industry, and probity, are the basis on which the latter is founded; while the former requires in addition, liberality of sentiment, expanded ideas, and penetration seldom to be eluded. The project of monsieur Necker, in maintaining a war establishment without encreasing the burdens of the people, was indeed captivating and magnificent; but it was attended by two fatal consequences, it opened to his successors the facility of borrowing, a measure which must ever ultimately prove fatal to a nation; while no security being immediately appropriated to the payment of

these new loans, the monied men availed themselves of this defect to advance the supplies at an exorbitant advantage.

If the talents of monsieur Necker had been severely exercised, when, amidst a war which agitated almost all Europe, he formerly occupied the post of comptroller-general, his situation was not less delicate, when, on the eve of civil commotion, he was called again to direct the finances of France.

That government possessed indeed the resources of an immense territory; a country fertile in every necessary production; ports and harbours which invited to commerce; and a people equally skilful to guide the plough or the loom. With these advantages its internal wealth and happiness ought to have kept pace with its power and grandeur. But before the harvests of the state could arrive to maturity, before the revenues could be collected into the public treasury, they for near a century past had been anticipated by needy and prodigal ministers; and France groaned beneath a national debt of five milliards, or upwards of two hundred and eight millions sterling.

The acclamations which welcomed monsieur Necker to the capital could not banish from his mind the difficulties he had to struggle with; he was sensible that monsieur de Calonne and the archbishop of Sens had both sunk under the public distress, and the impracticability of raising the necessary supplies: That distress had not diminished, and unless some expedient could be adopted to re-establish public credit, he foresaw his own fate in those of his predecessors.

The sole expedient that appeared likely to produce the desired effect was the assembly of the states-general: That assembly had been demanded by the unanimous voice of the people; but it was certainly with reluctance that the sovereign consented to convene a body of men, whose powers and popularity must overshadow his own authority, and whose jurisdiction would confine within narrow limits the ample prerogative he had inherited from his predecessors.

Even monsieur Necker himself was not a little embarrassed by the choice of difficulties which presented themselves in assembling the states-general. These had been wholly discontinued during the two preceding reigns; and though the queen-regent, during the troubles which attended the minority of Lewis XIV. frequently expressed her intention of calling them together, she was constantly dissuaded by the persuasions of the crafty Mazarin. The parliament also, who now began to repent their late patriotic remonstrances; and who recovering from the fumes of enthusiasm, beheld with terror, in the re-establishment of the states-general, the extinction of their own political consequence, endeavoured to augment the perplexity of the minister, by supporting the pretensions of the nobles and clergy against the commons; pretensions which they themselves had but lately protested against as unconstitutional.

From the reign of Philip the Fair, the period in which the third estate, or representatives of the commons, had first been admitted into the assembly of the states-general, to the year 1614, the influence of that estate had undergone a con-

siderable fluctuation; its numbers had been occasionally varied; it had always possessed a greater number of voices than either of the other orders separated, but had never been equal to the nobility and clergy united: The interesting question was now proposed, whether the representatives of the commons ought to be confined to a third in number of the states-general, or, whether they ought to be allowed a number equal to the other two orders united?

An object so important could not fail of being discussed with warmth and ability; the partisans of either party were numerous and active, the press groaned with incessant publications, even the sentiments of the princes of the blood were divided, and while the count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, with the duke de Bourbon, supported the ancient pretensions of nobility, the duke d'Orleans, sacrificing every narrow consideration, ranged himself on the popular side, and declared openly for the commons. His sentiments were received with the loudest applause, and the people looked with gratitude towards a leader, who in defending their rights was deaf to the voice of personal interest.

The declaration of the duke d'Orleans was soon after followed by the decision of monsieur Necker: his proposal was, after long and serious deliberation, approved by the king, and registered by the parliament. It fixed the number of the deputies to the states-general at one thousand and upwards; it ordained that the representatives of the third estate, or commons, should equal in number those of the nobility and clergy united; and it decreed that the different bailiwicks, in returning their members, should be guided by the standard of population.

In the moment of fermentation, when the hopes and fears of people were equally awakened, the election of deputies for the states-general was, with some few exceptions, conducted with tranquillity: At Paris indeed the contest was long and severe: monsieur d'Espremenil, who formerly had suffered from the royal indignation, and had been confined in the state-prison of the island of St. Marguerite; and the abbé Sieyes, who had defended with energy the pretensions of the third estate, in a popular performance entitled, *Qu'est-ce-que le Tiers-Etat*, were named among the representatives of the capital.

The advice of monsieur Necker had swelled the deputies of the third estate to an equality in number with the united orders of the clergy and the nobility; but this concession, important as it seemed, might yet be evaded, and it was early foreseen, by those who considered with attention the situation of two parties, that the nobility and clergy, (who had already offered to bear their part of the burden of the state) to preserve their influence, would urge their claim to vote by order; while the representatives of the commons would be equally strenuous that every question should be decided by a plurality of voices; that this difference of opinion would soon increase into an open schism; and would destroy that unanimity so necessary to the public tranquillity, and so essential to the deliberations of the states-general.

A. D. 1789. Those who ventured to foretel these consequences, were not disappointed in the event. On the fifth of May, 1789, the king opened at Versailles the long expected assembly of the states-general. His speech on this occasion was such as became the sovereign and the friend of the people: He declared,

“ that the day which his heart had so long panted after was at length arrived, in which he beheld himself surrounded by the representatives of a nation, which it was his glory to reign over.

“ That though a long interval had elapsed since the states-general had been assembled, and though those assemblies had appeared to have sunk into disuse, yet he had not hesitated to establish them again, as a source from whence the kingdom might derive additional strength, and which might open to the nation a new prospect of happiness.

“ The national debt,” he added, “ so considerable at his accession to the throne, had been augmented during his reign ; this was to be attributed to a war expensive indeed, but honourable ; the increase of taxes had been the necessary consequence, and had rendered still more apparent the inequality with which they were levied.

“ A general discontent, an eager thirst for innovations had,” he observed, pervaded the minds of the people, and might finally tend to delude them from their duty, if their opinions were not recalled by counsels at once wise, moderate, and united.

“ It was in that confidence, that he had assembled the states-general : and he beheld with pleasure his expectations justified by the disposition which the nobility and clergy had already shewn to renounce all pecuniary advantages : And he flattered himself that the hope he had conceived, to behold all the orders unanimously concur with himself in pursuing the public good, would not be disappointed.

“ In his own expences,” he said, “ he had already made considerable reductions. But with every exertion of economy, he dreaded that he should not be able to diminish the burdens of his subjects so soon as he desired ; that he should submit to their inspection an exact account of the finances ; and when they had examined them, he was assured they would propose the means most efficacious to establish permanent order, and to raise the public credit : This grand and salutary work, which would insure the internal happiness, and external grandeur of the kingdom, ought continually to occupy their thoughts.

“ The minds of the people still indeed remained agitated ; but the representative body of the nation would doubtless only listen to the language of wisdom and prudence ; they themselves had observed how often that language had been neglected ; but the spirit of their deliberations, (he doubted not), would answer to the true sentiments of a generous people, who had ever been distinguished by their attachment to the throne.

“ I know,” continued the prince, “ the authority and power of a just king in the midst of a people, faithful, and ever devoted to the principles of the monarchy : That authority and power have constituted the glory and grandeur of France ; and it is my duty, and I ever will firmly maintain them.

“ But whatever can be expected for the public welfare, whatever can be demanded of a sovereign, the friend of his people, you may—you ought—to hope, from my sentiments.

“ That a perfect unanimity may reign through this assembly ; that this period may become for ever memorable for the happiness and the prosperity of the

“ kingdom, is the wish of my heart, is the most fervent of my prayers ; it is the
“ reward that I expect for the uprightness of my intentions, and my love for my
“ people.”

Such was the language delivered from the throne on the first meeting of the states-general. The patriotic sentiments of the sovereign were followed by a cold and insipid harangue from the keeper of the seals, which was received without attention, and immediately consigned to oblivion.

But far different was the reception of the speech of monsieur Necker ; every word was strongly imprinted on the minds of the auditors, and every sentiment exposed to the severest scrutiny. He stated, that the same power which had thought proper to summon, might also have prevented the meeting of the states-general ; though in respect to the finances, the public debt was considerable, that various resources remained, without having recourse to this extraordinary expedient. He then touched upon the difficulties that had occurred in convening the assembly ; he represented the facility with which a king of France could always render himself master of their determinations, should these depend upon a plurality of voices ; and he concluded a speech of three hours, by strongly insinuating the propriety of deciding every question by a majority of the orders taken separately.

It was the misfortune of monsieur Necker, on this occasion, to be desirous of pleasing both parties, and of consequence he obtained the permanent confidence of neither ; the acclamations of the giddy multitude still indeed attended him, but several deputies of the third estate or commons, regarded already with suspicion the minister who represented the states-general merely as the effect of royal compliance, instead of a constitutional right : They were still less satisfied with the system he inclined to, to decide every question by a majority of orders instead of a majority of voices ; while the clergy and nobility recollected with indignation, that his counsels had shaken their former superiority, and had swelled the commons to equal in number the other two estates.

Neither the unanimity recommended by the king, nor the system of policy inculcated by his minister, had a momentary effect on the states-general. Scarce had the monarch left the hall, before the clergy and the nobility retired to their different chambers to verify their powers. The third estate regarded this separation with evident jealousy ; they considered it as an open attempt in the other two estates to establish the system which had been alluded to by the minister of the finances. Composing in number one half of that assembly, the commons were determined never to submit to the claims of the nobility and clergy to vote by orders, and thus to reduce themselves to a third part of the assembly ; a concession which they asserted would have rendered illusory the rights which had been acknowledged in the third estate : and why, added they, have we been granted a moiety of voices, if those voices are to be considered as only composing a third ?

The third estate, which had remained in the hall appointed for their deliberations, pressed the other two orders to continue with them, and to verify their powers in common : They urged, that at present the important question was by no means concerned, whether they should deliberate by orders or by number ;

and the sole matter in dispute was a simple verification of powers. Several days passed in fruitless invitations and negotiations; the patience of the third estate was at length exhausted; they determined to proceed to business, and they assumed the title of *commons*; a title which we have already bestowed upon them by anticipation.

On the eleventh of May, the nobility also, after having verified their powers, declared themselves a legal assembly; but the clergy followed their march with more cautious steps. They deferred the verification of their powers, and regarding themselves as yet composing no constitutional body, they offered their mediation between the other two orders. But the minds of each party grew daily more hostile; the schism became still wider; and at length the royal interposition was deemed necessary to compose those differences which blasted the happy fruits that had been expected from the meeting of the states-general.

But the seeds of discontent had taken root too deeply to be easily eradicated; in vain did Lewis recommend, in the most persuasive terms, that unanimity which alone could give weight to the proceedings of the assembly; his plan of conciliation produced only debates, assemblies of commissaries, addresses, and deputations, eloquent but indecisive. Several weeks were consumed in ineffectual motions on the scarcity of corn, the distress of the people, the regulation of the police, and the validity of elections.

At length, about the middle of June, the impatience of the commons prevailed over every other consideration; several of the clergy, already ashamed of their inactivity, had consented to verify their powers in the presence of the third estate; their example had been followed by a small body of the nobility; and on the fifteenth of June, the abbé Sieyès, availing himself of this event, made his celebrated motion.

He represented, “that the assembly already consisted of deputies returned by
“a very considerable majority of the nation; that such a body ought not to
“remain inactive because a certain description of citizens obstinately persevered
“in absenting themselves; that it belonged to them to proclaim the general
“wishes of the nation; that no intermediate power could exist between them
“and the throne; and that the title of *known and acknowledged representatives* of
“the nation belonged to that assembly: That it no longer became them to defer
“the salutary work of restoring order to the nation, in the vain hope that the
“deputies now absent would unite with them, and partake in the labours of
“re-establishing the glory and happiness of France.”

After long and animated debates, the commons, on the sixteenth of June, adopted the spirit of the abbé Sieyès’ motion; rejecting at the same time the title of the *known and acknowledged representatives of the nation*, and substituting in the place of it, that of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; thus assuming to themselves the vast power of legislative government, amidst the approbation of a vast concourse of spectators, whose plaudits of “long live the national assembly” rung the hall. — With the birth of this illustrious title to the French representation, a title and an era for ever memorable, we shall close this volume.

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TO

The Third Volume.

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